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THE WORKS OF Mr. Richard Hooker,

(That *Learned* and *Judicious Divine*)

IN

EIGHT BOOKS OF Ecclesiastical Polity,

Compleated out of his own Manuscrips;

Never before Published.

With an account of his LIFE and DEATH.

Dedicated to the Kings most Excellenty Majesty,

CHARLES IId.

By whose ROYAL FATHER (near His Martyrdom) the former Five Books (then onely extant) were commended to His Dear Children, as an excellent means to satisfie Private Scruples, and settle the Publick Peace of this Church and Kingdom.

JAM. 3. 17. *The Wisdom from above, is first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easie to be intreated, full of mercy and good works, without partiality and hypocrisie.*

Μονὰ τ' ἀληθινα βέβαια, καὶ τ' ἄριστα ἀιώνια. Plat.

Multi tædio investigandæ veritatis ad proximos divertunt errores. Min. Fel.

LONDON:

Printed by *Thomas Newcomb* for *Andrew Crook*, at the *Green-Dragon* in St. *Pauls* Church-yard. 1666.

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By whole ROYAL PATRONS (most His Majesty)

to His Dear Children, as an excellent means to Unite

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Carefully Collected and Printed.

LONDON:

Printed by Thomas Basset, &c.

in St. Dunst. Church-yard, 1682.

To the KING'S most Excellent MAJESTY

CHARLES II^d,

By the Grace of God,
King of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*,
Defender of the Faith, &c.

Most Gracious Soveraign,

ALthough *I know how little leisure* Great Kings *have to read large Books, or indeed any, save onely* Gods, (*the study, belief and obedience of which, is precisely commanded, even to* Kings, Deut. 17. 18, 19. *And from which, whatever wholly* diverts *them, will hazard to* damn *them*; *there being no affairs of so great importance, as their serving* God, *and* saving their own Souls; *nor any* Precepts *so wise, just, holy, and safe, as those of the* Divine Oracles; *nor any* Empire *so glorious, as that by which* Kings *being* subject to Gods Law, *have* dominion *over* themselves, *and so best deserve and exercise it over their* Subjects.)

Yet having lived to see the wonderful and happy Restauration *of* Your Majesty *to* Your *Rightful Kingdoms, and of this* Reformed Church *to its just Rights, Primitive Order, and Pristine Constitution, by* Your Majesties *prudent care, and unparallel'd bounty, I know not what to present more worthy of* Your Majesties *acceptance, and my duty, then these* Elaborate *and* Seasonable Works *of the Famous and Prudent Mr.* Richard Hooker, *now augmented, and I hope compleated with the* Three last Books, *so much desired, and so long concealed.*

The publishing of which Volume *so* intire, *and thus* presenting *it to* Your Majesty, *seems to be a* blessing *and* honor *reserved by* Gods *Providence, to add a further lustre to*

Your Majesties *glorious Name, and* happy Reign, *whose transcendent favor, justice, merit, and munificence to the* long afflicted Church *of* England, *is a subject no less worthy of* admiration *then* gratitude *to all Posterity. And of all things* (*next* Gods *grace*) *not to be abused or turned into wantonness by any of* Your Majesties *Clergy, who are highly obliged beyond all other* Subjects *to Piety, Loyalty, and Industry.*

I shall need nothing more to ingratiate this incomparable Piece *to* Your Majesties *acceptance, and all the* English Worlds, *then those* high commendations *it hath ever had, as from all prudent, peaceable, and impartial* Readers, *so especially from* Your Majesties *Royal* Father, *who a few days before he was* Crowned with Martyrdom, *commended to* His deareſt Children, *the diligent Reading of Mr.* Hookers Eccleſiaſtical Polity, *even next the* Bible; *as an excellent means to settle them in the* Truth of Religion, *and in the* Peace of this Church, *as much* Chriſtian, *and as well* Reformed *as any under* Heaven: *As if* God *had reserved this* ſignal Honor *to be done by the best of* Kings, *and* greateſt Sufferers *for this* Church, *to* Him *who was one of the best* Writers, *and ableſt* Defenders *of it.*

To this Compleated Edition, *is added such particular accounts as could be got of the* Authors Perſon, Education, Temper, Manners, Fortunes, Life, *and* Death, *which is now done with much* exactneſs *and* proportion: *That hereby* Your Majeſty, *and all the* World, *may see what sort of Men are fitteſt for* Church-work (*which like the Building of* Solomons *Temple, is best carried on with most* evenneſs *of Judgment, and leaſt* noiſe *of Passion.*) *Also what manner of* Man *he was, to whom we all ow this* Noble Work, *and* durable Defence.

Which is indeed at once (*as the Tongues of* Eloquent Princes *are to themselves, and their* Subjects) *both a* Treaſury *and an* Armory, *to inrich their friends, and defend them againſt the Enemies of the* Church *of* England: *A rare compoſition of* unpaſsionate Reaſon, *and* unpartial Religion; *the mature product of a* Indicious Scholar, a Loyal Subject, *an* Humble

Preacher,

Preacher, *and a most* Eloquent Writer: *The very* abstract *and* quintessence *of* Laws Humane *and* Divine; *a* Summary *of the Grounds, Rules, and Proportions of* true Polity *in* Church *and* State: *Upon which clear, solid, and safe* Foundations, *the good Order, Peace, and Government of this* Church *was anciently setled, and on which, while it stands firm, it will be* flourishing. *All other popular and specious* pretensions *being found by late sad experiences, to be as* novel *and* unfit, *so* factious *and* fallacious, *yea, dangerous and destructive to the* Peace *and* Prosperity *of this* Church *and* Kingdom, *whose inseparable* happiness *and* interests *are bound up in* Monarchy *and* Episcopacy.

The Politick and Visible managing of both which, God *hath now graciously restored and committed to* Your Majesties *Soveraign* Wisdom *and* Authority, *after the many and long* Tragedies *suffered from those* Club-Masters *and* Tub-Ministers, *who sought not fairly to obtain* Reformation *of what might seem amiss, but violently and wholly to overthrow the ancient and goodly* Fabrick *of this* Church *and* Kingdom. *For finding themselves not able in many years to* Answer this one Book, *long ago written in defence of the Truth, Order, Government, Authority, and Liberty (in things indifferent) of this* Reformed Church, *agreeable to* Right Reason, *and* True Religion (*which makes this well-tempered Peice, a File capable to break the Teeth of any that venture to bite it;*) *they conspired at last to betake themselves to* Arms, *to kindle those horrid fires of* Civil Wars, *which this wise* Author *foresaw, and foretold in his admirable* Preface, *would follow those* sparks, *and that* smoak *which he saw rise in his* days: *So that from* impertinent Disputes (*seconded with* scurrilous Pamphlets) *they fled to* Tumults, Sedition, Rebellion, Sacriledge, Parricide, *yea,* Regicide; Counsels, Weapons, *and* Practices, *certainly, no way becoming the hearts and hands of* Christian Subjects, *nor ever sanctified by* Christ *for his Service, or his* Churches *good.*

What now remains, but Your Majesties *perfecting and preserving that* (*in this* Church) *which you have with much*

prudence

prudence and tenderness, so happily *begun and prosecuted, with more* zeal *then the establishment of* Your *own* Throne. *The still* crazy Church *of* England, *together with this* Book (*its great and impregnable* Shield) *do further need, and humbly implore* Your Majesties *Royal Protection under* God: *Nor can* Your Majesty *by any generous instance and perseverance* (*most worthy of a* Christian King) *more express that pious and grateful sense which* God *and all good Men expect from* Your Majesty, *as some retribution for his many* miraculous mercies *to Your Self, then in a wise, speedy, and happy setling of our* Religious peace, *with the least* grievance, *and most* satisfaction *to all* Your good Subjects; Sacred Order *and* Uniformity *being the* centre *and* circumference *of our* Civil Tranquillity: Sedition *naturally rising out of* Schism, *and* Rebellion *out of* Faction; *The onely cure and antidote against both, are good* Laws *and* Canons, *first wisely made, with all* Christian Moderation, *and* Seasonable Charity; *next, duly executed with Justice and Impartiality*; *which sober Severity, is indeed the* greatest Charity *to the Publique. Whose Verity, Unity, Sanctity and Solemnity in Religious Concernments, being once duly* established, *must not be shaken or sacrificed to any private varieties and extravagancies. Where the internals of Doctrine, Morality, Mysteries, and Evangelical Duties, being* (*as they are in the* Church of England) *sound and sacred, the externals of decent Forms, Circumstances, Rites and Ceremonies, being subordinate and servient to the main, cannot be either evil or unsafe, neither offensive to* God *nor good* Christians.

For the attaining of which blessed ends *of Piety and Peace, that the sacred* Sun *and* Shield *of the* Divine Grace *and* Power *directing and protecting, may ever shine upon* Your Majesties *Person and Family, Counsels and Power, is the humble Prayer of*

Your Sacred Majesties
most Loyal Subject,
and devoted Servant,

JOH. EXON.

TO THE READER.

Think it neceſſary to inform my Reader that Doctor Gauden *(the late Biſhop of* Worceſter*) hath alſo lately wrote and publiſht the Life of Maſter* Hooker*; and though this be not writ by deſign to oppoſe what he hath truly written; yet, I am put upon a neceſsity to ſay, That in it there be many Material Miſtakes, and more Omiſſions. I conceive ſome of his Miſtakes did proceed from a Belief in Maſter* Thomas Fuller*, who had too haſtily publiſhed what he hath ſince moſt ingennouſly retracted. And for the Biſhops Omiſſions, I ſuppoſe his more weighty Buſineſs and Want of Time, made him paſs over many things without that due Examination, which my better Leiſure, my Diligence, and my accidental Advantages, have made known unto me.*

And now for my ſelf, I can ſay, I hope, or rather know, there are no Material Miſtakes in what I here preſent to you, that ſhall become my Reader. Little things that I have received by Tradition (to which there may be too much and too little Faith given) I will not at this diſtance of Time undertake to juſtifie; for, though I have uſed great Diligence, and compared Relations and Circumſtances, and probable Reſults and Expreſſions: yet, I ſhall not impoſe my Belief upon my Reader; I ſhall rather leave him at liberty: But, if there ſhall appear any Ma-

terial Omiſſion, I deſire every Lover of truth and the Memory of Maſter Hooker, *that it may be made known unto me. And, to incline him to it, I here promiſe to acknowledge and rectifie any ſuch Miſtake in a ſecond Impreſſion, which the Printer ſays he hopes for; and by this means my weak (but faithful) Endeavours may become a better Monument, and in ſome degree more worthy the Memory of this Venerable Man.*

I confeſs, that when I conſider the great Learning and Vertue of Maſter Hooker, *and what ſatisfaction and Advantages many Eminent Scholars and Admirers of him have had by his Labours: I do not a little wonder that in Sixty years no man did undertake to tell Poſterity of the Excellencies of his Life and Learning, and the Accidents of both; and ſometimes wonder more at my ſelf, that I have been perſwaded to it; and indeed I do not eaſily pronounce my own Pardon, nor expect that my Reader ſhall, unleſs my Introduction ſhall prove my Apology, to which I refer him.*

The Copy of a Letter writ to Mr. Walton, *by Dr.* King, *Lord Bishop of* Chicheſter.

Honeſt ISAAC,

THough a Familiarity of Forty years continuance, and the conſtant experience of your Love, even in the worſt times, be ſufficient to indear our Friendſhip: yet, I muſt confeſs my affection much improved, not onely by evidences of private reſpect to thoſe very many that know and love you, but by your new demonſtration of a Publick Spirit, teſtified in a diligent, true, and uſeful Collection of ſo many Material Paſſages as you have now afforded me in the Life of Venerable Mr. *Hooker*; Of which, ſince deſired by ſuch a Friend as your ſelf, I ſhall not deny to give the Teſtimony of what I know concerning him and his learned Books; but ſhall firſt here take a fair occaſion to tell you, that you have been happy in chuſing to write the Lives of three ſuch Perſons, as Poſterity hath juſt cauſe to honour; which they will do the more for the true Relation of them by your happy Pen: of all which I ſhall give you my unfeigned Cenſure.

I ſhall begin with my moſt dear and incomparable Friend Dr. *Donne*, late Dean of St. *Pauls* Church, who not only truſted me as his Executor, but three days before his death delivered into my hands thoſe excellent Sermons of his which are now made publick: profeſſing before Dr. *Winniff*, Dr. *Montford*, and I think your ſelf then preſent at his bed-ſide, that it was by my reſtleſs importunity that he had prepared them for the Preſs; together with which (as his beſt Legacy) he gave me all his Sermon-Notes, and his other Papers, containing an Extract of near Fifteen hundred Authors. How theſe were got out of my hands, you, who were the Meſſenger for them, and how loſt both to me and your ſelf, is not now ſeaſonable to complain: but, ſince they did miſcarry, I am glad that the general Demonſtration of his Worth was ſo fairly preſerved, and repreſented to the World by your Pen in the Hiſtory of his Life; indeed ſo well, that beſide others, the beſt Critick of our later time (Mr. *John Hales* of *Eaton* Colledge) affirm'd to me, *He had not ſeen a Life written with more advantage to the Subject, or more reputation to the Writer, than that of Dr.* Donnes.

After the performance of this task for Dr. *Donne*, you undertook the like office for our Friend Sir *Henry Wotton*, betwixt which two there was a Friendſhip begun in *Oxford*, continued in their various Travels, and more confirm'd in the religious Friendſhip of Age: and doubtleſs this excellent Perſon had writ the Life of Dr. *Donne*, if Death had not prevented him; by which means, his and your Pre-collections for that Work, fell to the happy manage of your Pen: A Work, which you would have declin'd, if imperious perſwaſions had not been ſtronger then your modeſt reſolutions againſt it. And I am thus far glad, that the firſt Life was ſo impos'd upon you, becauſe it gave an unadvoidable cauſe of writing the ſecond; If not, 'tis too probable we had wanted both, which had been a prejudice to all lovers of Honor and ingenuous Learning. And let me not leave my Friend Sir *Henry* without this Teſtimony added to yours, That he was a Man of as florid a Wit, and elegant a Pen, as any former, or ours, which in that kinde is a moſt excellent Age, hath ever produced.

And now having made this voluntary obſervation of our two deceaſed Friends, I proceed to ſatisfie your deſire concerning what I know and believe of the ever-memorable Mr. *Hooker*, who was *Schiſmaticorum Malleus*, ſo great a Champion for the Church of *Englands* Rights, againſt the Factious Torrent of Separatiſts that then ran high againſt Church-Diſcipline, and in his unanſwerable Books continues ſtill to be ſo againſt the unquiet Diſciples of their Schiſm, which now under other names carry on their deſign; and who (as the proper Heirs of their Irrational Zeal) would again rake into the ſcarce-cloſed Wounds of a newly bleeding *State* and *Church*.

And firſt, though I dare not ſay I knew Mr. *Hooker*; yet, as our Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory reports to the honor of *Ignatius*, That he lived in the time of St. *John*, and had ſeen him in his childhood; ſo I alſo joy, that in my minority I have often ſeen Mr. *Hooker* with my Father, then Lord Biſhop of *London*; from whom, and others at that time, I have heard moſt of the material paſſages which you relate in the Hiſtory of his Life; and, from my Father received ſuch a Character of his *Learning*, *Humility*, and other Vertues, that like Jewels of unvaluable price, they ſtill caſt ſuch a luſtre as Envy

or

or the Ruſt of Time ſhall never darken. From my Father I have alſo heard all the circumſtances of the Plot to defame him; and how Sir *Edwin Sandys* outwitted his Accuſers, and gained their confeſſion; and could give an account of each particular of that Plot, but that I judge it fitter to be forgotten, and rot in the ſame Grave with the malicious Authors. I may not omit to declare, That my Fathers knowledge of Mr. *Hooker* was occaſioned by the Learned Dr. *John Spencer*, who after the death of Mr. *Hooker*, was ſo careful to preſerve his unvaluable Sixth, Seventh, and Eighth Books of *ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY*, and his other Writings, that he procured *Henry Jackſon*, then of *Corpus-Chriſti* Colledge, to tranſcribe for him all Mr. *Hookers* remaining written Papers, many of which were imperfect; for his Study had been rifled or worſe uſed by Mr. *Clark*, and another of principles too like his: But as theſe Papers were, they were endeavored to be compleated by his dear Friend Dr. *Spencer*, who bequeathed them as a precious Legacy to my Father; after whoſe death they reſted in my hand, till Dr. *Abbot*, then Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, commanded them out of my cuſtody, authoriſing Dr. *John Barkham*, (his Lordſhips Chaplain) to require and bring them to him to *Lambeth*: At which time I have heard they were put into the Biſhops Library, and that they remained there till the Martyrdom of Archbiſhop *Laud*, and were then by the Brethren of that Faction given with the Library to *Hugh Peters*, as a reward for his remarkable ſervice in thoſe ſad times of the Churches confuſion: And though they could hardly fall into a fouler hand, yet there wanted not other endeavors to corrupt and make them ſpeak that Language, for which the Faction then fought; which was, *To ſubject the Soveraign Power to the people*. I need not ſtrive to vindicate Mr. *Hooker* in this particular; his known Loyalty to his Prince whilſt he lived, the ſorrow expreſſed by King *James* for his death; the value our late Soveraign (of ever-bleſſed Memory) put upon his Works, & now the ſingular Character of his worth given by you in the paſſages of his life, (eſpecially in your *Appendix* to it) do ſufficiently clear him from that imputation: And I am glad you mention how much value *Robert Stapleton*, Pope *Clement* the Eighth, and other eminent Men of the Romiſh perſwaſion, have put upon his Books, having been told the ſame in my youth by perſons of worth that have travelled *Italy*. Laſtly, I muſt again congratulate this undertaking of yours, as now more proper to you then any other perſon, by reaſon of your long knowledge and alliance to the worthy family of the *Cranmers* (my old friends alſo) who have been men of noted wiſdom, eſpecially Mr. *George Cranmer*, whoſe prudence added to that of Sir *Edwin Sandys*, proved very uſeful in the compleating of Mr. *Hookers* matchleſs Books; one of their Letters I herewith ſend you to make uſe of, if you think fit. And let me ſay further, you merit much from many of Mr. *Hookers* beſt friends then living; namely, from the ever-renowned Archb. *Whitgift*, of whoſe incomparable worth, with the Character of the times, you have given us a more ſhort and ſignificant account then I have received from any other Pen. You have done much for Sir *Henry Savile*, his contemporary and familiar friend; amongſt the ſurviving Monuments of whoſe Learning (give me leave to tell you ſo) two are omitted; his Edition of *Euclid*, but eſpecially his Tranſlation of King *James his Apology for the Oath of Allegeance*, into elegant Latine: Which flying in that dreſs as far as *Rome*, was by the Pope and Conclave ſent unto *Franciſcus Suarez* to *Salamanca* (he then reſiding there as Preſident of that Colledge) with a command to anſwer it. When he had perfected the work (which he calls *Defenſio Fidei Catholicæ*,) it was tranſmitted to *Rome* for a view of the Inquiſitors; who according to their cuſtom blotted out what they pleaſed, and (as Mr. *Hooker* hath been uſed ſince his death) added whatſoever might advance the Popes Supremacy, or carry on their own intereſt, commonly coupling together *Deponere & Occidere*, the depoſing and killing of Princes: Which cruel and unchriſtian Language Mr. *John Saltkell* (his *Amanuenſis*, when he wrote at *Salamanca*; but ſince a Convert, living long in my Fathers-houſe) often profeſſed, the good old man (whoſe Piety and Charity Mr. *Saltkell* magnified much) not onely diſavowed, but deteſted. Not to trouble you further, your Reader (if according to your deſire my approbation of your work carries any weight) will finde many juſt Reaſons to thank you for it; and for this circumſtance here mentioned (not known to many) may happily apprehend one to thank him, who is,

Chicheſter,
Novemb. 13. 16.

Sir,
Your ever-faithful and affectionate Old Friend,

Henry Chicheſter.

THE LIFE OF Mr. Richard Hooker.

THE INTRODUCTION.

I Have been perſwaded by a Friend, that I ought to obey, to write, The Life of RICHARD HOOKER, *the happy Author of Five (if not more) of the Eight Learned Books of* The Laws of Eccleſiaſtical Polity. *And though I have undertaken it, yet it hath been with ſome unwillingneſs, foreſeeing that it muſt prove to me, and eſpecially at this time of my Age, a Work of much labor to enquire, conſider, reſearch, and determine what is needful to be known concerning him. For I knew him not in his Life, and muſt therefore not onely look back to his Death, (now Sixty four years paſt) but almoſt Fifty years beyond that, even to his Childhood and Youth, and gather thence ſuch Obſervations and Prognoſticks, as may at leaſt adorn, if not prove neceſſary for the compleating of what I have undertaken.*

This trouble I foreſee, and foreſee alſo, that it is impoſsible to eſcape Cenſures; againſt which I will not hope my well-meaning and diligence can protect me, (for I conſider the Age in which I live) and ſhall therefore but intreat of my Reader a ſuſpenſion of them, till I have made known unto him ſome Reaſons, which I my ſelf would now fain believe, do make me in ſome meaſure fit for this undertaking: And if theſe Reaſons ſhall not acquit me from all Cenſures, they may at leaſt abate of their ſeverity; and this is all I can probably hope for.

My Reaſons follow.

About Forty years paſt (for I am now in the Seventieth of my age) I began a happy affinity with William Cranmer, *(now with God) Grand Nephew unto the Great Archbiſhop of that name; a family of noted prudence and reſolution; with him and two of his ſiſters I had an entire and free friendſhip: One of them was the Wife of Dr.* Spencer, *a Boſom-friend, and ſometime Compupil with Mr.* Hooker *in* Corpus-Chriſti *Colledge in* Oxford, *and after Preſident of the ſame. I name them here, for that I ſhall have occaſion to mention them in this following Diſcourſe; as alſo* George Cranmer *their Brother, of whoſe uſeful abilities my Reader may have a more authentick teſtimony then my Pen can purchaſe for him, by that of our Learned* Cambden *and others.*

This William Cranmer *and his two forenamed Siſters, had ſome affinity, and a moſt familiar friendſhip with Mr.* Hooker, *and had had ſome part of their Education with him in his Houſe, when he was Parſon of* Biſhops-Born *near* Canterbury; *in which City their good Father then lived. They had (I ſay) a great part of their Education with him, as my ſelf ſince that time, a happy Cohabitation with them; and having ſome years before read part of Mr.* Hookers *Works with great liking and ſatisfaction, my affection to them, made me a diligent Inquiſitor into many things that concerned him; as name-*

ly, of his Perſon, his Nature, the management of his Time, his Wife, his Family, and the Fortune of him and his. Which inquiry hath given me much advantage in the knowledge of what is now under my conſideration, and intended for the ſatisfaction of my Reader.

I had alſo a friendſhip with the Reverend Dr. Uſher, *the late Learned Archbiſhop of* Armagh; *and with Dr.* Morton, *the late Learned and Charitable Biſhop of* Durham; *as alſo with the Learned* John Hales *of* Eaton *Colledge*; *and with them alſo (who loved the very name of Mr.* Hooker) *I have had many diſcourſes concerning him*; *and from them, and many others that have now put off Mortality, I might have had more Informations, if I could then have admitted a thought of any fitneſs for what by perſwaſion I have now undertaken. But, though that full Harveſt be irrecoverably loſt, yet my Memory hath preſerved ſome Gleanings, and my diligence made ſuch Additions to them, as I hope will prove uſeful to the compleating of what I intend. In the diſcovery of which I ſhall be faithful, and with this aſſurance put a period to my Introduction.*

THE LIFE

IT is not to be doubted, but that *Richard Hooker* was born within the Precincts, or in the City of *Exeter*. A City which may juſtly boaſt that it was the Birth-place of him and Sir *Thomas Bodley*; as indeed the County may in which it ſtands, that it hath furniſhed this Nation with Biſhop *Jewel*, Sir *Francis Drake*, Sir *Walter Raleigh*, and many others memorable for their Valor and Learning. He was born about the Year of our Redemption One thouſand five hundred fifty and three; and of Parents, that were not ſo remarkable for their Extraction or Riches, as for their Vertue and Induſtry, and Gods Bleſſing upon both: By which they were enabled to educate their Children in ſome degree of Learning, of which, our *Richard Hooker* may appear to be one fair Teſtimony: And that Nature is not ſo partial, as always to give the great Bleſſings of Wiſdom and Learning, and with them the greater Bleſſings of Vertue and Government, to thoſe onely that are of a more high and honorable Birth.

His Complexion (if we may gueſs by him at the Age of Forty) was Sanguine, with a mixture of Choler; and yet his Motion was ſlow even in his Youth, and ſo was his Speech, never expreſſing an Earneſtneſs in either of them, but a Gravity ſuitable to the Aged. And it is obſerved (ſo far as Inquiry is able to look back at this diſtance of Time) that at his being a School-boy, he was an early Queſtioniſt, quietly inquiſitive, *Why this was, and that was not, to be remembred? Why this was granted, and that denied?* This being mixt with a remarkable Modeſty, and a ſweet ſerene Quietneſs of Nature; and with them a quick Apprehenſion of many perplext parts of Learning, impoſed then upon him as a Scholar, made his Maſter and others to believe him to have an inward Bleſſed Divine Light, and therefore to conſider him to a little wonder. For in that, Children were leſs pregnant, leſs confident, and more malleable, then in this wiſer, but not better Age.

This Meekneſs and conjuncture of Knowledge, with Modeſty in his Converſation, being obſerved by his School-maſter, cauſed him to perſwade his Parents (who intended him for an Apprentice) to continue him at School till he could finde out ſome means, by perſwading his rich Uncle, or ſome other charitable Perſon, to eaſe them of a part of their Care and Charge: Aſſuring them, that their Son was ſo enriched with the Bleſſings of Nature and Grace, that God ſeemed to ſingle him out as a ſpecial Inſtrument of his Glory. And the good Man told them alſo, that he would

would double his diligence in instructing him, and would neither expect nor receive any other Reward, then the content of so hopeful and happy an imployment.

This was not unwelcome news, and especially to his Mother, to whom he was a dutiful and dear Childe; and all Parties were so pleased with this Proposal, that it was resolved *So it should be.* And in the mean time his Parents and Master laid a Foundation for his future Happiness, by instilling into his Soul the *Seeds of Piety*, those Conscientious principles of *Loving and fearing God*; of *an early belief, that he knows the very secrets of our Souls*; *that he punisheth our Vices, and rewards our Innocence*; *that we should be free from Hypocrisie, and appear to Man, what we are to God, because first or last the crafty man is cateht in his own snare.* These Seeds of Piety were so seasonably planted, and so continually watered with the daily dew of Gods Blessed Spirit, that his Infant-vertues grew into such holy Habits, as did make him grow daily into more and more favor, both with God and Man; which with the great Learning that he did attain to, hath made *Richard Hooker* honored in this, and will continue him to be so to succeeding Generations.

This good School-master, whose name I am not able to recover, (and am sorry, for that I would have given him a better Memorial in this humble Monument, dedicated to the memory of his Scholar) was very sollicitous with *John Hooker*, then Chamberlain of *Exeter*, and Uncle to our *Richard*, to take his Nephew into his care, and to maintain him for one year in the University, and in the mean time to use his Endeavors to procure an Admission for him into some Colledge; still urging and assuring him that his Charge would not continue long; for the Lads Learning and Manners were both so remarkable, that they must of necessity be taken notice of; and that God would provide him some second Patron, that would free him and his Parents from their future care and charge.

These Reasons, with the affectionate Rhetorick of his good Master, and Gods blessing upon both, procured from his Uncle a faithful promise that he would take him into his care and charge before the expiration of the year following, which was performed.

This Promise was made about the Fourth year of the Reign of Queen *Mary*; and the Learned *John Jewel* (after Bishop of *Salisbury*) having been in the first of this Queens Reign expelled out of *Corpus-Christi* Colledge in *Oxford*, (of which he was a Fellow) for adhering to the truth of those Principles of Religion, to which he had assented in the days of Her Brother and Predecessor, *Edward* the Sixth; and he having now a just cause to fear a more heavy punishment then expulsion, was forced by forsaking this, to seek safety in another Nation, and with that safety the enjoyment of that Doctrine and Worship for which he suffered.

But the Cloud of that Persecution and Fear ending with the Life of Queen *Mary*, the Affairs of the Church and State did then look more clear and comfortable; so that he, and many others of the same judgment, made a happy return into *England* about the first of Queen *Elizabeth*; in which year, this *John Jewel* was sent a Commissioner or Visitor of the Churches of the Western parts of this Kingdom, and especially of those in *Devonshire*, in which County he was born; and then, and there he contracted a friendship with *John Hooker*, the Uncle of our *Richard*.

In the Third year of Her Reign, this *John Jewel* was made Bishop of *Salisbury*; and there being always observed in him a willingness to do good and oblige his Friends, and now a power added to it: *John Hooker* gave him a visit in *Salisbury, and besought him for Charities sake to look favorably upon a poor Nephew of his, whom Nature had fitted for a Scholar*; *but the estate of his Parentt was so narrow, that they were unable to give him the advantage of Learning*; *and that the Bishop would therefore become his Patron, and prevent him from being a Tradesman*; *for he was a Boy of remarkable hopes.* And though the Bishop knew Men do not usually look with an indifferent eye upon their own Children and Relations, yet he assented so far to *John Hooker*, that he appointed the Boy and his School-master should attend him about *Easter* next following at that place; which was done accordingly: And then after some Questions and Observations of the Boys Learning, and Gravity, and Behavior, the Bishop gave his School-master a Reward, and took order for an Annual Pension for the Boys Parents, promising also to take him into his care for a future preferment; which was

performed. For, about the Fourteenth year of his age, which was *Anno* 1567. he was by the Bishop appointed to remove to *Oxford*, and there to attend Dr. *Cole*, then President of *Corpus-Christi* Colledge: Which he did, and Dr. *Cole* had (according to a promise made to the Bishop) provided for him both a Tutor (which was said to be the Learned Dr. *John Reynolds*) and a Clerks place in that Colledge: Which place, though it were not a full maintenance, yet with the contribution of his Uncle, and the continued Pension of his Patron, the good Bishop, gave him a comfortable subsistence. And in this condition he continued unto the Eighteenth year of his age, still increasing in Learning and Prudence, and so much in *Humility* and *Piety*, that he seemed to be filled with the Holy Ghost, and even like St. *John Baptist*, to be sanctified from his Mothers Womb, who did often bless the day in which she bare him.

About this time of his age, he fell into a dangerous Sickness, which lasted two Moneths: All which time, his Mother having notice of it, did in her hourly Prayers as earnestly beg his life of God, as the Mother of St. *Augustine* did, that he might become a true Christian: And their Prayers were both so heard, as to be granted. Which Mr. *Hooker* would often mention with much joy, *and pray that he might never live to occasion any sorrow to so good a Mother, whom he would often say, he loved so dearly, that he would endeavor to be good, even as much for her sake, as for his own.*

As soon as he was perfectly recovered from this Sickness, he took a journey from *Oxford* to *Exeter*, to satisfie and see his good Mother, being accompanied with a Countreyman and Companion of his own Colledge, and both on foot; which was then either more in fashion, or want of Money, or their Humility made it so: But on foot they went, and took *Salisbury* in their way, purposely to see the good Bishop, who made Mr. *Hooker* and his Companion dine with him at his own Table; which Mr. *Hooker* boasted of with much joy and gratitude when he saw his Mother and Friends: And at the Bishops parting with him, the Bishop gave him good Counsel, and his Benediction, but forgot to give him Money; which when the Bishop had considered, he sent a Servant in all haste to call *Richard* back to him: And at *Richards* return, the Bishop said to him, *Richard, I sent for you back to lend you a Horse which hath carried me many a mile, and I thank God with much ease.* And presently delivered into his hand a Walking-staff, with which he professed he had travelled through many parts of *Germany*. And he said, *Richard, I do not give, but lend you my Horse; be sure you be honest, and bring my Horse back to me at your return this way to* Oxford. *And I do now give you Ten Groats to bear your charges to* Exeter; *and here is Ten Groats more, which I charge you to deliver to your Mother, and tell her, I send her a Bishops Benediction with it, and beg the continuance of her Prayers for me. And if you bring my Horse back to me, I will give you Ten Groats more to carry you on foot to the Colledge: And so God bless you, good Richard.*

And this, you may believe, was performed by both parties. But alas! the next news that followed Mr. *Hooker* to *Oxford* was, That his Learned and Charitable Patron had changed this for a better life. Which may be believed, for that as he lived, so he died, in devout Meditation and Prayer; and in both so zealously, that it became a Religious question, *Whether his last Ejaculations, or his Soul, did first enter into Heaven?*

And now Mr. *Hooker* became a Man of Sorrow and Fear: Of Sorrow, for the loss of so dear and comfortable a Patron; and of Fear, for his future subsistence. But Dr. *Cole* raised his spirits from this dejection, by bidding him go cheerfully to his Studies, and assuring him he should neither want Food nor Rayment, (which was the utmost of his hopes) for he would become his Patron.

And so he was for about Nine Moneths, or not much longer; for about that time this following accident did befal Mr. *Hooker*.

Edwin Sandys (then Bishop of *London*, and after Archbishop of *York*) had also been in the days of Queen *Mary* forced, by forsaking this, to seek safety in another Nation; where for many years, Bishop *Jewel* and he were Companions at Bed and Board in *Germany*; and, where in this their Exile, they did often eat the Bread of Sorrow, and by that means they there began such a friendship, as time did not blot out, but lasted till the death of Bishop *Jewel*, which was One thousand five hundred seventy

venty and one. A little before which time the two Biſhops meeting, *Jewel* began a ſtory of his *Richard Hooker*, and in it gave ſuch a Character of his Learning and Manners, that though Biſhop *Sandys* was educated in *Cambridge*, where he had obliged, and had many Friends: Yet his reſolution was, that his Son *Edwin* ſhould be ſent to *Corpus-Chriſti* Colledge in *Oxford*, and by all means be Pupil to Mr. *Hooker*, though his Son *Edwin* was then almoſt of the ſame age: For the Biſhop ſaid, *I will have a Tutor for my Son, that ſhall teach him Learning by Inſtruction, and Vertue by Example; and my greateſt care ſhall be of the laſt, and (God willing) this* Richard Hooker *ſhall be the Man, into whoſe hands I will commit my* Edwin. And the Biſhop did ſo about Twelve Moneths after this reſolution.

And doubtleſs, as to theſe two, a better choice could not be made: For, Mr. *Hooker* was now in the Nineteenth year of his age; had ſpent five in the Univerſity; and had by a conſtant unwearied diligence, attained unto a Perfection in all the Learned Languages: By the help of which, an excellent Tutor, and his unintermitted Study, he had made the ſubtilty of all the Arts eaſie and familiar to himſelf, and uſeful for the diſcovery of ſuch Learning as lay hid from common Searchers. So that by theſe added to his great Reaſon, and his Induſtry added to both, *He did not onely know more of Cauſes and Effects; but what he knew, he knew better then other men.* And with this Knowledge he had a moſt bleſſed and clear Method of Demonſtrating what he knew, to the great advantage of all his Pupils, (which in time were many) but eſpecially to his two firſt, his dear *Edwin Sandys*, and his as dear *George Cranmer*, of which there will be a fair Teſtimony in the enſuing Relation.

This for his Learning. And for his Behavior, amongſt other Teſtimonies, this ſtill remains of him, That in four years he was but twice abſent from the Chappel prayers; and that his Behavior there was ſuch as ſhewed an awful reverence of that God which he then worſhipped and prayed to; giving all outward Teſtimonies that his Affections were ſet on Heavenly things. This was his Behavior towards God; and for that to Man, it is obſervable, That he was never known to be angry, or paſſionate, or extream in any of his deſires; never heard to repine or diſpute with Providence, but by a quiet gentle ſubmiſſion and reſignation of his will to the Wiſdom of his Creator bore the burthen of the day with patience; never heard to utter to an uncomly word: And by this and a grave Behavior, which is a Divine Charm, he begot an early Reverence unto his Perſon, even from thoſe that at other times, and in other companies, took a liberty to caſt off that ſtrictneſs of Behavior and Diſcourſe that is required in a Collegiate Life. And when he took any liberty to be pleaſant, his Wit was never blemiſhed with ſcoffing, or the utterance of any conceit that bordered upon, or might beget a thought of looſneſs in his hearers. Thus innocent and exemplary was his Behavior in his Colledge; and thus this good man continued till his Death; ſtill increaſing in *Learning*, in *Patience*, and *Piety*.

In this Nineteenth year of his Age, he was choſen, *December* 24. 1573. to be one of the Twenty Scholars of the *Foundation*; being elected and admitted as born in *Devonſhire*, (out of which County a certain number are to be elected in Vacancies by the Founders Statutes.) And now he was much encouraged; for now he was perfectly incorporated into this beloved Colledge, which was then noted for an eminent Library, ſtrict Students, and remarkable Schollars. And indeed it may glory, that it had Biſhop *Jewel*, Doctor *John Reynolds*, and Doctor *Thomas Jackſon*, of that *Foundation*. The firſt, famous by his Learned Apology for the Church of *England*, and his Defence of it againſt *Harding*. The ſecond, for the learned and wiſe Menage of a publick Diſpute with *John Hart*, of the *Roman* perſwaſion, about the Head and Faith of the Church, then Printed by conſent of both parties. And the third, for his moſt excellent Expoſition of the Creed, and for his other Treatiſes; all ſuch as have given greateſt ſatisfaction to men of the greateſt Learning. Nor was this man more eminent for his Learning, then for his ſtrict and pious Life, teſtified by his abundant Love and Charity to all Men.

In the year 1576. *February* 23. Mr. *Hookers* Grace was given him for *Inceptor* of Arts; Doctor *Herbert Weſtphaling*, a Man of noted Learning, being then Vice-Chancellor; and the Act following he was compleated Maſter, which was *Anno* 1577. His Patron Doctor *Cole* being that year Vice-Chancellor, and his dear Friend

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Henry Savil of *Merton* Colledge, then one of the Proctors. It was that *Henry Savil*, that was after Sir *Henry Savil*, Warden of *Merton* Colledge, and Provoſt of *Eaton*: He which founded in *Oxford* two famous Lectures, and endowed them with liberal maintenance. It was that Sir *Henry Savil* that tranſlated and enlightned the Hiſtory of *Cornelius Tacitus*, with a moſt excellent Comment; and, enriched the World by his laborious and chargeable collecting the ſcattered pieces of St. *Chryſoſtome*, and the Publication of them in one entire Body in *Greek*; in which Language he was a moſt judicious Critick. It was this Sir *Henry Savil* that had the happineſs to be a Contemporary, and a moſt familiar Friend to our *Richard Hooker*, and let Poſterity know it.

And in this year of 1577. he was choſen Fellow of the Colledge: Happy alſo in being the Contemporary and Friend of Dr. *John Reynolds*, of whom I have lately ſpoken, and of Dr. *Spencer*; both which were after, and ſucceſſively, made Preſidents of his Colledge: Men of great Learning and Merit, and famous in their Generations.

Nor was Mr. *Hooker* more happy in his Contemporaries of his Time and Colledge, then in the Pupillage and Friendſhip of his *Edwin Sandys* and *George Cranmer*, of whom my Reader may note, That this *Edwin Sandys* was after Sir *Edwin Sandys*, and as famous for his *Speculum Europæ*, as his Brother *George* for making Poſterity beholden to his Pen by a Learned Relation and Comment on his dangerous and remarkable *Travels*; and for his harmonious Tranſlation of the *Pſalms* of *David*, the Book of *Job*, and other Poetical parts of Holy Writ, into moſt high and elegant Verſe. And for *Cranmer*, his other Pupil, I ſhall refer my Reader to the Printed Teſtimonies of our Learned Maſter *Cambden*, the Lord *Tottenes*, *Fines*, *Moriſon*, and others.

This Cranmer, *whoſe Chriſten name was* George, *was a Gentleman of ſingular hopes, the eldeſt Son of* Thomas Cranmer, *Son of* Edward Cranmer, *the Archbiſhops Brother: He ſpent much of his Youth in* Corpus-Chriſti *Colledge in* Oxford, *where he continued Maſter of Arts for many years before he removed, and then betook himſelf to Travel, accompanying that worthy Gentleman Sir* Edwin Sandys *into* France, Germany, *and* Italy, *for the ſpace of three years; and, after their happy return, he betook himſelf to an imployment under Secretary* Daviſon: *After whoſe fall, he went in place of Secretary with Sir* Henry Killigrew *in his Embaſſage into* France; *and after his death, he was ſought after by the moſt Noble Lord* Mount-Joy, *with whom he went into* Ireland, *where he remained, until in a Battel againſt the Rebels near* Carlingford, *an unfortunate wound put an end both to his life, and the great hopes that were conceived of him.*

Betwixt Mr. *Hooker*, and theſe his two Pupils, there was a Sacred Friendſhip; a Friendſhip made up of Religious Principles, which increaſed daily by a ſimilitude of Inclinations to the ſame Recreations and Studies; a Friendſhip elemented in Youth, and in an Univerſity, free from ſelf-ends, which the Friendſhips of Age, uſually are not. In this ſweet, this bleſſed, this Spiritual Amity they went on for many years: And, as the Holy Prophet ſaith, ſo *they took ſweet counſel together, and walked in the Houſe of God as Friends*. By which means they improved it to ſuch a degree of Amity, as bordered upon Heaven; a Friendſhip ſo ſacred, that when it ended in this World, it began in the next, where it ſhall have no end.

And, though this World cannot give any degree of pleaſure equal to ſuch a Friendſhip; yet obedience to Parents, and a deſire to know the Affairs, and Manners, and Laws, and Learning of other Nations, that they might thereby become the more ſerviceable unto their own; made them put off their Gowns and leave Mr. *Hooker* to his Colledge: Where he was daily more aſſiduous in his Studies, ſtill enriching his quiet and capacious Soul with the precious Learning of the Philoſophers, Caſuiſts, and Schoolmen; and with them the Foundation and Reaſon of all Laws, both Sacred and Civil; and with ſuch other Learning as lay moſt remote from the Track of Common Studies. And as he was diligent in theſe; ſo, he ſeemed reſtleſs in ſearching the ſcope and intention of Gods Spirit revealed to mankinde in the Sacred Scripture: For the underſtanding of which, he ſeemed to be aſſiſted by the ſame Spirit with which they were written: He that regardeth truth in the inward parts,

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making him to understand Wisdom secretly. And the good man would often say, *The Scripture was not writ to beget Pride and Disputations, and Opposition to Government; but Moderation, and Charity, and Humility, and Obedience, and Peace, and Piety in Mankinde; of which, no good man did ever repent himself upon his Death-bed.* And that this was really his Judgment, did appear in his future Writings, and in all the Actions of his Life. Nor was this excellent man a stranger to the more light and aery parts of Learning, as Musick and Poetry; all which he had digested, and made useful: And of all which, the Reader will have a fair Testimony in what follows.

Thus he continued his Studies in all quietness for the space of Three or more years; about which time he entered into Sacred Orders, and was made both Deacon and Priest; and not long after, in obedience to the Colledge Statutes, he was to Preach either at St. *Peters, Oxford,* or at St. *Pauls* Cross, *London,* and the last fell to his Allotment.

In order to which Sermon, to *London* he came, and immediately to the *Shunamites* House; which is a House so called, for that: Besides the stipend paid the Preacher, there is Provision made also for his Lodging and Diet two days before, and one day after his Sermon. This House was then kept by *John Churchman,* sometimes a Draper of good note in *Watlingstreet,* upon whom, after many years of Plenty, Poverty had at last come like an armed man, and brought him into a necessitous condition: Which, though it be a Punishment, is not always an Argument of Gods disfavor, for he was a vertuous man: I shall not yet give the like testimony of his Wife, but leave the Reader to judge by what follows. But to this House Mr. *Hooker* came so wet, so weary, and weather-beaten, That he was never known to express more Passion, then against a Friend that disswaded him from Footing it to *London,* and for hiring him no easier an Horse, (supposing the Horse trotted when he did not;) and at this time also, such a faintness and fear possest him, that he would not be perswaded two days quietness, or any other means could be used to make him able to Preach his Sundays Sermon; but a warm Bed, and Rest, and Drink proper for a Cold given him by Mistress *Churchman,* and her diligent attendance added unto it, enabled him to perform the Office of the day, which was in or about the year One thousand five hundred eighty and one.

And in this first publick appearance to the World, he was not so happy as to be free from Exceptions against a point of Doctrine delivered in his Sermon, which was, *That in God there were two Wills; an Antecedent, and a Consequent Will: His first Will, That all mankinde should be saved; but his second Will was, That those onely should be saved, that did live answerable to that degree of Grace which he had offered or afforded them.* This seemed to cross a late opinion of Mr. *Calvins,* and then taken for granted by many that had not a capacity to examine it, as it had been by him, and hath been since by Dr. *Jackson,* Dr. *Hammond,* and others of great Learning, who believe that a contrary opinion trenches upon the Honor and Justice of our Merciful God. How he justified this, I will not undertake to declare; but it was not excepted against (as Mr. *Hooker* declares in an Occasional Answer to Mr. *Travers*) by *John Elmer,* then Bishop of *London*; at this time one of his Auditors, and at last one of his Advocates too, when Mr. *Hooker* was accused for it.

But the justifying of this Doctrine did not prove of so bad consequence, as the kindness of Mistress *Churchmans* curing him of his late distemper and cold; for that was so gratefully apprehended by Mr. *Hooker,* that he thought himself bound in conscience to belive all that she said: So that the good man came to be perswaded by her, *That he was a man of a tender constitution;* and, *that it was best for him to have a Wife, that might prove a Nurse to him; such an one as might both prolong his life, and make it more comfortable; and such a one, she could and would provide for him, if he thought fit to marry.* And he not considering, that *the Children of this World are wiser in their Generation then the Children of Light:* But, like a true *Nathaniel,* fearing no guile, because he meant none; did give her such a power as *Eleazar* was trusted with, when he was sent to chuse a wife for *Isaac*; for even so he trusted her to chuse for him: Promising upon a fair Summons to return to *London,* and accept of her choice; and he did so in that, or the year following. Now, the Wife provided for him was

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her Daughter *Joan*, who brought him neither Beauty nor Portion; and, for her Conditions, they were too like that Wife's, which is by *Solomon* compared to a Dripping Houſe: So that he had no reaſon to *rejoyce in the Wife of his Youth*, but rather to ſay with the Holy Prophet, *Wo is me that I am conſtrained to have my habitation in the Tents of* Kedar!

This choice of Mr. *Hookers* (if it were his choice) may be wondered at; but let us conſider that the Prophet *Ezekiel* ſays, *There is a Wheel within a Wheel*; a ſecret Sacred Wheel of Providence (eſpecially in Marriages) guided by his hand that *allows not the Race to the ſwift*, nor *Bread to the wiſe*, nor good Wives to good Men: And he that can bring good out of evil, (for Mortals are blinde to ſuch Reaſons) onely knows why this Bleſſing was denied to patient *Job*, and (as ſome think) to meek *Moſes*, and to our as meek and patient Mr. *Hooker*. But ſo it was; and let the Reader ceaſe to wonder, for *Affliction is a Divine Diet*; which though it be not pleaſing to mankinde, yet Almighty God hath often, very often, impoſed it as good, though bitter Phyſick to thoſe Children whoſe Souls are deareſt to him.

And by this means the good man was drawn from the tranquillity of his Colledge: From that Garden of Piety, of Pleaſure, of Peace, and a ſweet Converſation, into the Thorny Wilderneſs of a buſie World; into thoſe corroding cares that attend a Married Prieſt, and a Countrey Parſonage; which was *Draiton Beauchamp* in *Buckinghamſhire*, (not far from *Alesbury*, and in the Dioceſs of *Lincoln*;) to which he was preſented by *John Cheny* Eſquire (then Patron of it) the Nineth of *December*, 1584. where he behaved himſelf ſo, as to give no occaſion of evil, but (as St. *Paul* adviſeth a Miniſter of God) *in much patience, in afflictions, in anguiſhes, in neceſſities, in poverty, and no doubt in long-ſuffering*; yet troubling no man with his diſcontents and wants.

And in this condition he continued about a year; in which time his two Pupils, *Edwin Sandys*, and *George Cranmer*, were returned from Travel, and took a journey to *Draiton* to ſee their Tutor; where they found him with a Book in his hand (it was the *Odes* of *Horace*) he being then tending his ſmall allotment of Sheep in a common Field; which he told his Pupils he was forced to do, for that his Servant was then gone home to Dine, and aſſiſt his Wife to do ſome neceſſary houſhould buſineſs. When his Servant returned and releaſed him, his two Pupils attended him unto his Houſe, where their beſt entertainment was his quiet company, which was preſently denied them; for, *Richard* was called to rock the Cradle; and the reſt of their welcome was ſo like this, that they ſtaid but till next morning, which was time enough to diſcover and pitty their Tutors condition: And having in that time remembred and paraphraſed on many of the innocent Recreations of their younger days, and by other ſuch like diverſions, given him as much preſent pleaſure as their acceptable company and diſcourſe could afford him, they were forced to leave him to the company of his Wife, and ſeek themſelves a quieter Lodging. But at their parting from him, Mr. *Cranmer* ſaid, *Good Tutor, I am ſorry your lot is faln in no better Ground, as to your Parſonage: And more ſorry your Wife proves not a more comfortable Companion after you have wearied your thoughts in your reſtleſs Studies.* To whom the good man replied, *My dear* George, *if Saints have uſually a double ſhare in the miſeries of this life, I that am none, ought not to repine at what my Wiſe Creator hath appointed for me; but labor, as indeed I do daily, to ſubmit to his Will, and poſſeſs my Soul in Patience and Peace.*

At their return to *London*, *Edwin Sandys* acquaints his Father, then Biſhop of *London*, and after Archbiſhop of *York*, with his Tutors ſad condition, and ſollicites for his removal to ſome Benefice that might give him a more comfortable ſubſiſtence: Which his Father did moſt willingly grant him, when it ſhould next fall into his power. And not long after this time, which was in the year One thouſand five hundred eighty and five, Mr. *Alvy* (Maſter of the *Temple*) died, who was *a man of a ſtrict Life, of great Learning, and of ſo venerable Behavior, as to gain ſuch a degree of love and reverence from all men that knew him, that he was generally known by the name of* Father Alvy. At the *Temple* Reading, next after the death of this *Father Alvy*, the Archbiſhop of *York* being then at Dinner with the Judges, the Reader and Benchers of that Society, he met there with a Condolement for the Death of *Father Alvy*, an high

high commendation of his Saint-like Life, and of his great Merit both to God and Man: and as they bewail'd his Death, so they wisht for a like Pattern of Virtue and Learning to succeed him. And here came in a fair occasion for the Bishop to commend Mr. *Hooker* to *Father Alvies* Place, which he did with so effectual an earnestness, and that seconded with so many other Testimonies of his worth, that Mr. *Hooker* was sent for from *Draiton Beauchamp* to *London*, and there the Mastership of the Temple proposed unto him by the Bishop, as a greater freedom from his Country Cares, the advantage of a better Society, and a more liberal Pension than his Parsonage did afford him. But these Reasons were not powerful enough to incline him to a willing acceptance of it: his wish was rather to gain a better Country Living, where he might *be free from Noise*, (so he exprest the desire of his Heart) and eat that bread which he might more properly call his own, in privacy and quietness. But, notwithstanding this averseness, he was at last perswaded to accept of the Bishops Proposal; and was by * Patent for Life made Master of the *Temple* the 17th of *March*, 1585. He being then in the 34th year of his Age.

* This you may find in the Temple Records. *Will. Ermstead* was Master of the Temple at the Dissolution of the Priory, and died 2. *Eliz.* Richard Alvey *Bac. Divinity, par.* 13. Feb. 2 Eliz. *Magister sive Custos Domûs & Ecclesiæ novi Templi*; died 27 Eliz. *Richard Hooker* succeeded that year by Patent *in terminis* as *Alvy* had it, and he left it, 33 *Eliz.* That year Dr. *Balgey* succeeded *Richard Hooker*.

And here I shall make a stop; and, that the Reader may the better judge of what follows, give him a Character of the Times, and Temper of the people of this Nation, when Mr. *Hooker* had his Admission into this Place. A Place which he accepted, rather than desired; and yet here he promised himself a virtuous quietness: that blessed Tranquillity which he always prayed and laboured for; that so he might in Peace bring forth the Fruits of Peace, and glorifie God by uninterrupted Prayers and praises: for this he always thirsted; and yet this was denied him. For his Admission into this Place was the very beginning of those Oppositions and Anxieties, which till then this Good man was a stranger to, and of which the Reader may guess by what follows.

In this Character of the Times, I shall, by the Readers favour, and for his information, look so far back as to the beginning of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; a time in which *the many pretended Titles to the Crown, the frequent Treasons, the Doubts of her Successour, the late Civil War, and the sharp Persecution that had raged to the effusion of so much Blood in the Reign of Queen Mary*, were fresh in the memory of all men; and these begot fears in the most Pious and Wisest of this Nation, least the like days should return again to them or their present Posterity. The apprehension of which Dangers begot an earnest desire of a Settlement in the Church and State; believing there was no other probable way left to make them sit quietly under their own *Vines* and *Fig-trees*, and enjoy the desired Fruit of their Labours. But *Time*, and *Peace*, and *Plenty*, begot *Self-ends*; and those begot *Animosities*, *Envy*, *Opposition*, and *Unthankfulness* for those blessings for which they lately thirsted: being then the very utmost of their Desires, and even beyond their Hopes.

This was the temper of the Times in the beginning of her Reign; and thus it continued too long: For those very people that had enjoyed the desires of their hearts in a Reformation from the Church of *Rome*, became at last so like the Grave, as never to be satisfied; but were still thirsting for more and more: neglecting to pay that Obedience to Government, and perform those Vows to God, which they made in their days of Adversities and Fear: so that in short time there appeared three several Intereſts, each of them fearless and restless in the prosecution of their Designs; they may for distinction be called, The *active Romanists*, The *restless Non-conformists* (of which there were many sorts) and The passive *peaceable Protestant*. The Counsels of the first considered and resolved on in *Rome*: the second in *Scotland*, in *Geneva*, and in divers selected, secret, dangerous Conventicles, both there, and within the bosom of our own Nation: the third pleaded and defended their Cause by Establisht Laws, both Ecclesiastical and Civil; and if they were active, it was to prevent the other two from destroying what was by those known Laws happily establisht to them and their Posterity.

I shall forbear to mention the very many and as Dangerous Plots of the Romanists against the Church and State: because, what is principally intended in this

Digreſſion, is an account of the Opinions and Activity of the Non-conformiſts; againſt whoſe judgement and practice, Mr. *Hooker* became at laſt, but moſt unwillingly, to be ingaged in a Book-war; a War which he maintained not as againſt an Enemy, but with the ſpirit of Meekneſs and Reaſon.

In which number of Non-conformiſts, though ſome might be ſincere and well-meaning men, whoſe indiſcreet zeal might be ſo like Charity, as thereby to cover a multitude of Errors, yet of this Party there were many that were poſſeſt with an high degree of Spiritual wickedneſs; I mean with an innate reſtles radical Pride and Malice; I mean not thoſe leſſer ſins that are more viſible and more properly Carnal, and ſins againſt a mans ſelf, as Gluttony, and Drunkenneſs, and the like, (from which good Lord deliver us;) but ſins of an higher nature; becauſe more unlike to the nature of God, which is *Love*, and *Mercy*, and *Peace*; and more like the Devil: (who is not a glutton nor can be drunk; and yet, is a Devil:) thoſe wickedneſſes of Malice, and Revenge, and Oppoſition, and a Complacence in working and beholding Confuſion) which are more properly his work, who is the Enemy and diſturber of mankind, and greater ſins, though many will not believe it) Men whom a furious Zeal and Prejudice had blinded, and made incapable of hearing Reaſon, or adhearing to the ways of Peace; Men whom Pride and Self-conceit had made to overvalue their own Wiſdom, and become pertinacious, and to hold fooliſh and unmannerly diſputes againſt thoſe Men which they ought to Reverence, and thoſe Laws which they ought to obey; Men that laboured and joyed to *ſpeak evil of Government*, and then to be the Authors of Confuſion (of Confuſion as it is Confuſion:) whom Company, and Converſation, and Cuſtom had blinded, and made inſenſible that theſe were Errours: and at laſt became ſo reſtleſs, and ſo hardened in their opinions, that like thoſe which periſht in the gain-ſaying of *Core*, ſo theſe dyed without repenting theſe ſpiritual wickedneſſes, of which *Coppinger* and *Hacket*, and their adherents are too ſad teſtimonies.

And in theſe times which tended thus to Coufuſion, there were alſo many others that pretended a Tenderneſs of Conſcience, refuſing to ſubmit to Ceremonies, or to take an Oath before a lawful Magiſtrate: and yet theſe very Men did in their ſecret Conventicles, Covenant and Swear to each other, to be aſſiduous and faithful in uſing their beſt endeavours to ſet up a Church Government that they had not agreed on. To which end, there was many Select parties that wandered up and down, and were active in ſowing Diſcontents and Sedition, by venemous and ſecret Murmurings, and a Diſperſion of ſcurrilous Pamphlets and Libels againſt the Church and State; but eſpecially againſt the Biſhops: by which means, together with very bold, and as indiſcreet Sermons, the Common people became ſo Phanatick, as St. *Peter* obſerved, there were in his time, *ſome that wreſted the Scripture to their own deſtruction:* ſo by theſe men, and this means many came to believe *the Biſhops to be Antichriſt*, and the onely Obſtructers of Gods Diſcipline; and many of them were at laſt given over to ſuch deſperate deluſions, as to find out a Text in the *Revelation of* St. *John*, that *Antichriſt was to be overcome by the ſword*, which they were very ready to take into their hands. So that thoſe very men, that began with tender *meek Petitions*, proceeded to print publick *Admonitions*; and then to *Satyrical Remonſtrances*; and at laſt, (having like *David* numbred who was not, and who was, for their Cauſe,) they got a ſuppoſed Certainty of ſo great a Party, that they durſt threaten *firſt the Biſhops*, and not long after, both *the Queen and Parliament*; to all which they were ſecretly encouraged by the *Earl of Leiceſter*, then in great favour with her Majeſtie, and the reputed Cheriſher and Patron-general of theſe Pretenders to Tenderneſs of Conſcience; whom he uſed as a ſacreligious ſnare to further his Deſign, which was by their means to bring ſuch an *odium* upon the *Biſhops*, as to procure an Alienation of their Lands, and a large proportion of them for himſelf: which Avaritious deſire had at laſt ſo blinded his Reaſon, that his ambitious and greedy Hopes had almoſt flattered him into preſent poſſeſſion of *Lambeth-houſe*.

And to theſe ſtrange and dangerous Undertakings, the Non-conformiſts of this Nation were much encouraged and heightened by a Correſpondence and Confederacy with that Brotherhood in *Scotland*; ſo that here they became ſo bold, that one

one told the Queen openly in a * Sermon, *She was like an untamed Heyfer, that would not be ruled by Gods people, but obſtructed his Diſcipline.* And in *Scotland* they were more confident, for there † they declared Her an Atheiſt, and grew to ſuch an height, as not to be accountable for any thing ſpoken againſt Her; *No nor for Treaſon againſt their own King, if ſpoken in the Pulpit:* Shewing at laſt ſuch a diſobedience even to Him, that His Mother being in *England*, and then in diſtreſs, and in priſon, and in danger of Death, the Church denied the King their Prayers for Her; and at another time, when he had appointed a day of Feaſting, their Church declared for a general Faſt, in oppoſition to his Authority.

* Mr. *Dering.*

† See Biſhop *Spotſwoods* Hiſtory of the Church of *Scotland.*

To this height they were grown in both Nations, and by theſe means there was diſtill'd into the mindes of the common people ſuch other venemous and turbulent Principles, as were inconſiſtent with the ſafety of the Church and State: And theſe, vented ſo daringly, that beſide the loſs of Life and Limbs, the Church and State were both forced to uſe ſuch other ſeverities as will not admit of an excuſe, if it had not been to prevent Confuſion, and the perilous conſequences of it; which without ſuch prevention, would in ſhort time have brought unavoidable ruine and miſery to this numerous Nation.

Theſe Errors and Animoſities were ſo remarkable, that they begot wonder in an ingenious *Italian*, who being about this time come newly into this Nation, writ ſcoffingly to a Friend in his own Countrey; *That the common people of* England *were wiſer then the wiſeſt of his Nation; for here the very Women and Shop-keepers were able to judge of Predeſtination, and determine what Laws were fit to be made concerning Church Government; then, what were fit to be obeyed or aboliſhed. That they were more able (or at leaſt thought ſo) to raiſe and determine perplex'd Caſes of Conſcience, then the moſt Learned Colledges in* Italy. *That Men of the ſlighteſt Learning, and the moſt ignorant of the common people, were mad for a new, or* Super- *or* Re-Reformation *of Religion; and that in this* they appeared like that man, who would never ceaſe to whet, and whet his Knife, till there was no Steel left to make it uſeful. And he concluded his Letter with this obſervation, *That thoſe very Men that were moſt buſie in Oppoſitions, and Diſputations, and Controverſies, and finding out the faults of their Governors, had uſually the leaſt of Humility and Mortification, or of the Power of Godlineſs.*

And to heighten all theſe diſcontents and dangers, there was alſo ſprung up a Generation of Godleſs-men; Men that had ſo long given way to their own Luſts and Deluſions; and, had ſo often, and ſo highly oppoſed the Bleſſed Motions of his Bleſſed Spirit, and the inward Light of their own Conſciences, that they had thereby ſinned themſelves to a belief of what they would, but were not able to believe: Into a belief, which is repugnant even to Humane nature (for the Heathens believe there are many gods;) but theſe had ſinned themſelves into a belief, that there is no God: And ſo finding nothing in themſelves, but what is worſe then nothing, began to wiſh what they were not able to hope for, *That they ſhould be like the Beaſts that periſh*; and, in wicked company (which is the Atheiſts Sanctuary) were ſo bold as to ſay ſo: Though the worſt of mankinde, when he is left alone at midnight, may wiſh, but cannot then think it. Into this wretched, this reprobate condition, many had then ſinned themſelves.

And now! When the Church was peſtered with them, and with all theſe other Irregularities; when her Lands were in danger of Alienation, her Power at leaſt neglected, and her Peace torn to pieces by ſeveral Schiſms, and ſuch Hereſies as do uſually attend that ſin: When the common people ſeemed ambitious of doing thoſe very things which were attended with moſt dangers, that thereby they might be puniſhed, and then applauded and pittied: When they called the Spirit of Oppoſition a Tender Conſcience, and complained of Perſecution, becauſe they wanted power to perſecute others: When the giddy multitude raged, and became reſtleſs to finde out miſery for themſelves and others; and the rabble would herd themſelves together, and endeavor to govern and act in ſpight of Authority. In this extremity, fear, and danger of the Church and State, when to ſuppreſs the growing evils of both, they needed a Man of Prudence and Piety, and of an high and fearleſs Fortitude; they were bleſt in all by *John Whitgift*, his being made Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*;

of whom ingenious Sir *Henry Wotton* (that knew him well) hath left this true Character, *That he was a Man of a Reverend and Sacred Memory; and of the Primitive temper: A Man of such a temper, as when the Church by lowlineſs of Spirit did flouriſh in higheſt examples of Vertue.*

And though I dare not undertake to add to his Character, yet I ſhall neither do right to this Diſcourſe, nor to my Reader, if I forbear to give him a further and ſhort account of the life and manners of this excellent Man; and it ſhall be ſhort, for I long to end this digreſſion, that I may lead my Reader back to Mr. *Hooker*, where we left him at the *Temple*.

John Whitgift was born in the County of *Lincoln*, of a Family that was ancient, and noted to be prudent and affable, and gentile by nature: He was educated in *Cambridge*; much of his Learning was acquired in *Pembroke-Hall* (where Mr. *Bradford* the Martyr was his Tutor:) From thence he was remov'd to *Peter-houſe*; from thence to be Maſter of *Pembroke-Hall*; and from thence to the Maſterſhip of *Trinity* Colledge. About which time the Queen made him her Chaplain; and not long after Prebend of *Ely*, and then Dean of *Lincoln*; and having for many years paſt looked upon him with much reverence and favor, gave him a fair teſtimony of both, by giving him the Biſhoprick of *Worceſter*, and (which was not a uſual favor) forgiving him his Firſt-fruits; then by conſtituting him Vice-Preſident of the Principality of *Wales*. And having for ſeveral years experimented his Wiſdom, his Juſtice, and Moderation in the menage of Her affairs, in both theſe places, She in the Twenty ſixth of Her Reign, made him Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; and not long after, of Her Privy Council; and truſted him to menage all Her Eccleſiaſtical Affairs and Preferments. In all which Removes, he was like the Ark, which left a Bleſſing upon the place where it reſted; and in all his Imployments, was like *Jehoida*, that did good unto *Iſrael*.

Theſe were the ſteps of this Biſhops Aſcenſion to this place of Dignity and Cares; in which place (to ſpeak Mr. *Cambdens* very words in his *Annals*) *He devoutly conſecrated both his whole life to God, and his painful labors to the good of his Church.* And yet in this place he met with many oppoſitions in the regulation of Church Affairs, which were much diſordered at his entrance, by reaſon of the age and remiſneſs of Biſhop *Grindal* (his immediate Predeceſſor) the activity of the Non-conformiſts, and their cheif aſſiſtant, the Earl of *Leiceſter*; and indeed, by too many others of the like Sacrilegious Principles. With theſe he was to encounter; and though he wanted neither courage nor a good cauſe, yet he foreſaw, that without a great meaſure of the Queens favor, it was impoſſible to ſtand in the Breach that was made into the Lands and Immunities of the Church, or to maintain the remaining Rights of it. And therefore by juſtifiable Sacred Inſinuations, ſuch as St. *Paul* to *Agrippa*, (*Agrippa, believeſt thou? I know thou believeſt*) he wrought himſelf into ſo great a degree of favor with Her, as by his pious uſe of it, hath got both of them a greater degree of Fame in this World, and of Glory in that, into which they are now entred.

His merits to the Queen, and Her Favors to him were ſuch, that *ſhe called him Her little black Husband, and called his Servants Her Servants:* And She ſaw ſo viſible and bleſſed a ſincerity ſhine in all his cares and endeavors for the Churches, and for Her good, that She was ſuppoſed to truſt him with the very ſecrets of Her Soul, and to make him Her Confeſſor: Of which She gave many fair teſtimonies; and of which, one was, That *She would never eat fleſh in Lent without obtaining a Licence from Her little black Husband:* And would often ſay, *She pittied him, becauſe She truſted him, and had eaſed Her-ſelf by laying the burthen of all Her Clergy-cares upon his ſhoulders, which She was certain he managed with Prudence and Piety.*

I ſhall not keep my ſelf within the promiſed Rules of Brevity in this account of his Intereſt with Her Majeſty, and his care of the Churches Rights, if in this digreſſion I ſhould enlarge to particulars; and therefore my deſire is, that one example may ſerve for a teſtimony of both. And that the Reader may the better underſtand it, he may take notice, that not many years before his being made Archbiſhop, there paſſed an Act or Acts of Parliament intending the better preſervation of Church Lands, by recalling a Power which was veſted in others to Sell or Leaſe them, by lodging and truſting the future care and protection of them onely in the Crown: And

amongſt

amongſt many that made a bad uſe of this Power or Truſt of the Queens, the *Earl of Leiceſter* was one; and the good Biſhop having by his Intereſt with Her Majeſty put a ſtop to the Earls Sacrilegious deſigns, they two fell to an open Oppoſition before her; after which they both quitted the Room, not Friends in appearance. But the Biſhop made a ſudden and a ſeaſonable return to Her Majeſty, (for he found her alone) and ſpake to her with great Humility and Reverence, and to this purpoſe.

I beſeech your Majeſty to hear me with patience, and to believe that yours and the Churches Safety are dearer to me than my Life, but my Conſcience dearer than both: and therefore give me leave to do my Duty, and tell you that Princes are deputed Nurſing Fathers of the Church, and owe it a Protection; and therefore God forbid that you ſhould be ſo much as Paſſive in her Ruines, when you may prevent it; or that I ſhould behold it without horrour and deteſtation; or ſhould forbear to tell your Majeſty of the Sin and Danger. And though you and my ſelf are born in an Age of Frailties, when the Primitive Piety and Care of the Churches Lands and Immunities are much decayed; yet (Madam) let me beg that you will but firſt conſider, and then you will believe there are ſuch ſins as Prophaneneſs and Sacriledge; for if there were not? they could not have Names in Holy Writ: and particularly in the New-Teſtament. And I beſeech you to conſider, that though our Saviour ſaid, He judged no man; *and to teſtifie it, would not judge nor divide the Inheritance betwixt the two Brethren, nor would judge the Woman taken in Adultery; yet, in this point of the Churches Rights, he was ſo zealous, that he made himſelf both the Accuſer, and the Judge, and the Executioner to puniſh theſe ſins; witneſſed, in that he himſelf made the Whip to drive the Prophaners out of the Temple; overthrew the Tables of the Money-changers, and drove them out of it. And conſider that it was S.* Paul *that ſaid to thoſe Chriſtians of his time that were offended with Idolatry, yet* Thou that abhorreſt Idols, doſt thou commit Sacriledge? *Suppoſing I think Sacriledge to be the greater ſin. This may occaſion your Majeſty to conſider that there is ſuch a ſin as Sacriledge; and to incline you to prevent the Curſe that will follow it; I beſeech you alſo, to conſider that* Conſtantine *the firſt Chriſtian Emperor, and* Helena *his Mother; that King* Edgar, *and* Edward the Confeſſor, *and indeed many others of your Predeceſſors, and many private Chriſtians, have alſo given to God and to his Church, much Land, and many Immunities, which they might have given to thoſe of their own Families, and did not; but gave them as an abſolute Right and Sacrifice to God: And with theſe Immunities and Lands they have entailed a Curſe upon the Alienators of them; God prevent your Majeſty from being liable to that Curſe.*

And, to make you that are truſted with their Preſervation, the better to underſtand the danger of it; I beſeech you forget not, that, beſides theſe Curſes, the Churches Land and Power have been alſo endeavoured to be preſerved, as far as Humane Reaſon and the Law of this Nation have been able to preſerve them, by an immediate and moſt ſacred Obligation on the Conſciences of the Princes of this Realm. For they that conſult Magna Charta *ſhall find, that as all your Predeceſſours were at their Coronation, ſo you alſo were ſworn before all the Nobility and Biſhops then preſent, and in the preſence of God, and in his ſtead to him that anointed you,* to maintain the Church Lands, and the rights belonging to it; *and this teſtified openly at the holy Altar, by laying your Hands on the Bible then lying upon it. And not only* Magna Charta, *but many Modern Statutes have denounced a Curſe upon thoſe that break* Magna Charta. *And now what account can be given for the breach of this Oath at the laſt Great Day, either by your Majeſty, or by me, if it be wilfully, or but negligently violated, I know not.*

And therefore, good Madam, let not the late Lords Exceptions againſt the failings of ſome few Clergie-men, prevail with you to puniſh Poſterity, for the Errors of this preſent Age; let particular Men ſuffer for their particular Errors, but let God and his Church have their right; And though I pretend not to propheſy, yet I beg Poſterity to take notice of what is already become viſible in many Families; That Church-land added to an ancient Inheritance, hath proved like a Moth fretting a Garment, and ſecretly conſumed both: *Or like the Eagle that ſtole a Coal from the Altar, and thereby ſet her Neſt on fire, which conſumed both her young Eagles, and her ſelf that ſtole it. And, though I ſhall forbear to ſpeak reproachfully of your Father: yet, I beg you to take notice, that a part of the Churches Rights, added to the vaſt Treaſure left him by his Father,*

hath

hath been conceived to bring an unavoidable Consumption upon both, notwithstanding all his diligence to preserve it.

And consider, that after the violation of those Laws, to which he had sworn in Magna Charta, *God did so far deny him his Restraining Grace, that he fell into greater sins then I am willing to mention.* Madam, Religion is the Foundation and Cement of Humane Societies: *And, when they that serve at Gods Altar shall be exposed to Poverty? then Religion it self will be exposed to scorn, and become contemptible; as you may already observe in too many poor Vicaridges in this Nation. And therefore, as you are by a late Act or Acts entrusted with a great Power to preserve or waste the Churches Lands; yet, dispose of them for Jesus sake as the Donors intended: Let neither falshood nor flattery beguile you to do otherwise, and put a stop (I beseech you) to the approaching ruines of Gods Church, as you expect comfort at the last great day;* For Kings must be judged. *Pardon this affectionate plainness, my most dear Soveraign, and let me beg to be still continued in your Favor; and the Lord still continne you in his.*

The Queens patient hearing this affectionate Speech; and Her future care to preserve the Churches Rights, which till then had been neglected, may appear a fair Testimony, that he made Hers and the Churches good, the cheifest of his cares, and that She also thought so. And of this, there were such daily Testimonies given, as begot betwixt them so mutual a joy and confidence, that they seemed born to believe and do good to each other: She not doubting his Piety to be more then all his opposers, which were many, and those powerful too; nor his Prudence equal to the cheifest of Her Council, who were then as remarkable for active Wisdom, as those dangerous times did require, or this Nation did ever enjoy. And in this condition he continued Twenty years; in which time he saw some flowings, but many more ebbings of Her Favor towards all men that opposed him, especially the Earl of *Leicester:* So that God seemed still to keep him in Her Favor, that he might preserve the remaining Church Lands and Immunities from Sacrilegious Alienations. And this good man deserved all the honor and power with which She trusted him; for he was a pious man, and naturally of Noble and Grateful Principles: He eased Her of all Her Church cares by his wise menage of them; he gave Her faithful and prudent Counsels in all the extremities and dangers of Her Temporal Affairs, which were very many; he lived to be the cheif comfort of Her life in Her declining age; to be then most frequently with Her, and Her assistant at Her private Devotions; to be the greatest comfort of Her Soul upon Her Death-bed; to be present at the expiration of Her last breath; and to behold the closing of those eyes that had long looked upon him with reverence and affection. And let this also be added, That he was the chief Mourner at Her sad Funeral; nor let this be forgotten, that within a few hours after Her death, he was the happy Proclaimer that King *James* (Her Peaceful Successor) was Heir to the Crown.

Let me beg of my Reader, that he allow me to say a little, and but a little more of this good Bishop, and I shall then presently lead him back to Mr. *Hooker*; and, because I would hasten, I will mention but one part of the Bishops Charity and Humility; but this of both. He built a large Alms-house near to his own Palace at *Croydon* in *Surrey*, and endowed it with maintenance for a Master and Twenty eight poor Men and Women; which he visited so often, that he knew their names and dispositions; and was so truly humble, that he called them Brothers and Sisters: And whensoever the Queen descended to that lowliness to dine with him at his Palace in *Lambeth*, (which was very often) he would usually the next day shew the like lowliness to his poor Brothers and Sisters at *Croydon*, and dine with them at his Hospital; at which time, you may believe there was joy at the Table.

And at this place he built also a fair Free-School, with a good accommodation and maintenance for the Master and Scholars. Which gave just occasion for *Boyse Sisi*, then Ambassador for the *French* King, and Resident here, at the Bishops death, to say, *The Bishop had published many Learned Books, but a Free-School to train up Youth, and an Hospital to lodge and maintain aged and poor People; were the best evidences of Christian Learning that a Bishop could leave to Posterity.* This good Bishop lived to see King *James* settled in Peace, and then fell sick at *Lambeth*; of which, the King having notice, went to visit him, and found him in his Bed in a declining condition,

condition, and very weak; and after some short discourse, the King assured him, *He had a great affection for him, and high value for his Prudence and Vertues, which were so useful for the Church, that he would earnestly beg his life of God.* To which he replied, *Pro Ecclesiâ Dei, Pro Ecclesiâ Dei:* Which were the last words he ever spake; therein testifying, That as in his Life, so at his Death, his chiefest care was of Gods Church.

This *John Whitgift* was made Archbishop in the Year One thousand five hundred eighty and three. In which busie place, he continued Twenty years and some moneths, and in which time, you may believe he had many Tryals of his Courage and Patience; but his Motto was, *Vincit, qui patitur:* And he made it good. Many of his many Tryals were occasioned by the then powerful Earl of *Leicester,* who did still (but secretly) raise and cherish a Faction of Non-conformists to oppose him; especially one *Thomas Cartwright,* a Man of noted Learning; sometime Contemporary with the Bishop in *Cambridge,* and of the same Colledge, of which the Bishop had been Master: In which place there began some Emulations, (the particulars I forbear) and at last open and high oppositions betwixt them; and, in which you may believe Mr. *Cartwright* was most faulty, if his Expulsion out of the University can incline you to it.

And in this discontent, after the Earls death (which was One thousand five hundred eighty and eight) Mr. *Cartwright* appeared a cheif Cherisher of a Party that were for the *Geneva* Church-Government; and to effect it, he ran himself into many dangers, both of Liberty and Life; appearing at last to justifie himself and his Party in many Remonstrances, which he caused to be Printed; and to which, the Bishop made a first Answer, and *Cartwright* Replied upon him; and then the Bishop having rejoyned to his Reply, Mr. *Cartwright* either was, or was perswaded to be satisfied; for, he wrote no more, but left the Reader to be judge which had maintained their Cause with most Charity and Reason.

After some silence, Mr. *Cartwright* received from the Bishop many Personal Favors, and retired himself to a more Private Living, which was at *Warwick,* where he was made Master of an Hospital, and lived quietly, and grew rich; and, where the Bishop gave him a Licence to Preach, upon promise not to meddle with Controversies, but incline his hearers to Piety and Moderation: And this promise he kept during his life, which ended One thousand six hundred and two; the Bishop surviving him but one year, each ending his days in perfect charity with the other.

And now after this long digression made for the information of my Reader concerning what follows, I bring him back to venerable Mr. *Hooker,* where we left him in the *Temple,* and where we shall finde him as deeply engaged in a Controversie with *Walter Travers,* a Friend and Favorite of Mr. *Cartwrights,* as the Bishop had ever been with Mr. *Cartwright* himself; and of which, I shall proceed to give this following account.

And first this; That though the Pens of Mr. *Cartwright* and the Bishop were now at rest, yet there was sprung up a new Generation of restless Men, that by Company and Clamors became possest of a Faith which they ought to have kept to themselves, but could not: Men that were become positive in asserting, *That a Papist cannot be saved:* Insomuch, that about this time, at the Execution of the Queen of *Scots,* the Bishop that Preached Her Funeral Sermon (which was Dr. *Howland,* then Bishop of *Peterborough*) was reviled for not being positive for Her Damnation. And beside this boldness of their becoming Gods, so far as to set limits to his Mercies; there was not onely *Martin Mar-Prelate,* but other venemous Books daily Printed and dispersed: Books that were so absurd and scurrilous, that the Graver Divines disdained them an Answer. And yet these were grown into high esteem with the common people, till *Tom Nash* appeared against them all, who was a man of a sharp wit, and the master of a scoffing Satyrical merry Pen, which he imployed to discover the absurdities of those blinde malicious sensless Pamphlets, and Sermons as sensless as they. *Nash* his Answers being like his Books, which bore these Titles, *An Almond for Parrot. A Fig for my God-son. Come crack me this Nut,* and the like: So that his merry Wit made such a discovery of their absurdities, as (which is strange) he put a greater stop to these malicious Pamphlets, then a much wiser-man had been able.

And

And now the Reader is to take notice, That at the Death of Father *Alvy*, who was Maſter of the *Temple*, this *Walter Travers* was Lecturer there for the Evening Sermons, which he Preached with great approbation, eſpecially of the younger Gentlemen of that Society; and for the moſt part approved by Mr. *Hooker* himſelf, in the midſt of their oppoſitions. For he continued Lecturer a part of his time; Mr. *Travers* being indeed a Man of competent Learning, of a winning Behavior, and of a blameleſs Life. But he had taken Orders by the Presbytery in *Antwerp*, and if in any thing he was tranſported, it was in an extream deſire to ſet up that Government in this Nation: For the promoting of which, he had a correſpondence with *Theodore Beza* at *Geneva*, and others in *Scotland*; and was one of the cheifeſt aſſiſtants to Mr. *Cartwright* in that deſign.

Mr. *Travers* had alſo a particular hope to ſet up this Government in the *Temple*, and to that end, uſed his endeavors to be Maſter of it; and his being diſappointed by Mr. *Hookers* admittance, proved ſome occaſion of oppoſition betwixt them in their Sermons. Many of which were concerning the Doctrine, Diſcipline, and Ceremonies of this Church; inſomuch, that as St. *Paul* withſtood St. *Peter* to his face, ſo did they. For as one hath pleaſantly expreſt it, *The Forenoon Sermon ſpake* Canterbury; *and the Afternoons*, Geneva.

In theſe Sermons there was little of Bitterneſs, but each party brought all the Reaſons he was able, to prove his Adverſaries Opinion erroneous. And thus it continued a long time, till the oppoſitions became ſo high, and the conſequences ſo dangerous, eſpecially in that place, That the prudent Archbiſhop put a ſtop to Mr. *Travers* his Preaching, by a poſitive Prohibition; againſt which Mr. *Travers* appealed and petitioned Her Majeſty and Her Privy Council to have it recalled, where he met with many aſſiſting powerful Friends; but they were not able to prevail with or againſt the Archbiſhop, whom the Queen had intruſted with all Church Power; and he had received ſo fair a Teſtimony of Mr. *Hookers* Principles and of his Learning and Moderation, that he withſtood all Sollicitations. But the denying this Petition of Mr. *Travers* was unpleaſant to divers of his party, and the reaſonableneſs of it became at laſt to be ſo magnified by them and many others, as never to be anſwered: So that intending the Biſhops and Mr. *Hookers* diſgrace, they procured it to be privately Printed and ſcattered abroad; and then Mr. *Hooker* was forced to appear as publickly, and Print an Anſwer to it, which he did, and dedicated it to the Archbiſhop; and it proved ſo full an Anſwer, to have in it ſo much of clear Reaſon, and writ with ſo much Meekneſs and Majeſty of ſtyle, that the Biſhop began to wonder at the Man, to rejoyce that he had appeared in his Cauſe, and diſdained not earneſtly to beg his Friendſhip; even a familiar Friendſhip with a Man of ſo much quiet Learnning and Humility.

To enumerate the many particular Points, in which Mr. *Hooker* and Mr. *Travers* diſſented (all or moſt of which I have ſeen written) would prove at leaſt tedious; and therefore I ſhall impoſe upon my Reaſon no more then two, which ſhall immediately follow; and by which, he may judge of the reſt.

Mr. *Travers* excepted againſt Mr. *Hooker*, for that in one of his Sermons he declared, *That the aſſurance of what we believe by the Word of God, is not to us ſo certain as that which we perceive by Senſe.* And Mr. *Hooker* confeſſeth he ſaid ſo, and endeavors to juſtifie it by the Reaſons following.

Firſt, I taught, That the things which God promiſes in his Word, are ſurer to us then what we touch, handle, or ſee: But are we ſo ſure and certain of them? If we be, Why doth God ſo often prove his Promiſes to us as he doth, by Arguments drawn from our ſenſible experience? For we muſt be ſurer of the proof, then of the things proved; otherwiſe it is no proof. *For example, How is it that many men looking on the Moon at the ſame time, every one knoweth it to be the Moon as certainly as the other doth? But many believing one and the ſame Promiſe, have not all one and the ſame fulneſs of perſwaſion. For how falleth it out, that men being aſſured of any thing by Senſe, can be no ſurer of it then they are; when as the ſtrongeſt in Faith that liveth upon the Earth, hath always need to labor, ſtrive, and pray, that his aſſurance concerning Heavenly and Spiritual things, may grow, increaſe, and be augmented?*

The

The Sermon that gave him the cauſe of this his Juſtification, makes the caſe more plain, by declaring, *That there is beſides this certainty of Evidence, a certainty of Adherence.* In which, having moſt excellently demonſtrated what the *Certainty of Adherence* is, he makes this comfortable uſe of it: *Comfortable* (he ſays) *as to weak Believers, who ſuppoſe themſelves to be faithleſs, not to believe, when notwithſtanding they have their Adherence; the Holy Spirit hath his private operations, and worketh ſecretly in them, and effectually too, though they want the inward Teſtimony of it.*

Tell this to a Man that hath a minde too much dejected by a ſad ſenſe of his ſin; to one that by a too ſevere judging of himſelf, concludes that he wants Faith, becauſe he wants the comfortable Aſſurance of it; and his Anſwer will be, *Do not perſwade me againſt my knowledge, againſt what I finde and feel in my ſelf: I do not, I know I do not believe.* (Mr. *Hookers* own words follow) *Well then, to favor ſuch men a little in their weakneſs, let that be granted which they do imagine; be it, that they adhere not to Gods promiſes, but are faithleſs, and without belief: But are they not grieved for their unbelief? They confeſs they are; Do they not wiſh it might, and alſo ſtrive that it may be otherways? We know they do. Whence cometh this, but from a ſecret love and liking, that they have of thoſe things believed? For,* no man can love thoſe things which in his own opinion are not; *And, if they think thoſe things to be, which they ſhew they love, when they deſire to believe them; then muſt it be, that by deſiring to believe, they prove themſelves true Believers: For,* without Faith no man thinketh that things believed are: *Which Argument all the Subtilties of Infernal Powers will never be able to diſſolve.* This is an Abridgment of part of the Reaſons he gives for his Juſtification of this his opinion, for which he was excepted againſt by Mr. *Travers.*

Mr. *Hooker* was alſo accuſed by Mr. *Travers,* for that he in one of his Sermons had declared, *That he doubted not but that God was merciful to ſave many of our Forefathers living heretofore in Popiſh Superſtition, for as much as they ſinned ignorantly:* And Mr. *Hooker* in his Anſwer profeſſeth it to be his judgment, and declares his Reaſons for this charitable opinion to be as followeth.

But firſt he ſtates the Queſtion about *Juſtification* and *Works,* and how the *Foundation of Faith is overthrown;* and then he proceeds to diſcover that way which *Natural Men* and ſome others have miſtaken to be the way by which they hope to attain true and everlaſting Happineſs: And having diſcovered the miſtaken, he proceeds to direct to that true way, by which, and no other, Everlaſting Life and Bleſſedneſs is attainable. And, theſe two ways he demonſtrates thus, (they be his own words that follow) *That, the way of Nature; This, the way of Grace; the end of that way, Salvation merited, preſuppoſing the Righteouſneſs of Mens works: Their Righteouſneſs, a natural ability to do them; that ability, the goodneſs of God which created them in ſuch perfection. But the end of this way, Salvation beſtowed upon men as a gift: Preſuppoſing not their Righteouſneſs, but the forgiveneſs of their Unrighteouſneſs, Juſtification; their Juſtification, not their natural ability to do good, but their hearty ſorrow for not doing, and unfeigned belief in him, for whoſe ſake not doers are accepted,* which is their *Vocation; their Vocation, the Election of God, taking them out of the number of loſt Children; their Election, a Mediator in whom to be elect: This Mediation inexplicable Mercy; this Mercy, ſuppoſing their miſery for whom he vouchſafed to die, and make himſelf a Mediator.*

And he alſo declareth, *There is no meritorious cauſe for our Juſtification, but Chriſt; no effectual, but his Mercy;* and ſays alſo, *We deny the Grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, we abuſe, diſannul, and annihilate the benefit of his Paſſion, if by a proud imagination we believe we can merit everlaſting life, or can be worthy of it.* This Belief (he declareth) is to deſtroy the very Eſſence of our Juſtification, and he makes all opinions that border upon this, to be very dangerous. *Yet nevertheleſs,* (and for this he was accuſed) *conſidering how many vertuous and juſt Men, how many Saints and Martyrs have had their dangerous opinions, amongſt which this was one, That they hoped to make God ſome part of amends, by voluntary puniſhments which they laid upon themſelves;* Becauſe by this, or the like erroneous opinions which do by conſequent overthrow the Merits of Chriſt, ſhall Man be ſo bold as to write on their Graves, *Such men are damned, there is for them no Salvation?* St. *Auſtin* ſays, *Errare poſſum, Hæreticus eſſe nolo.* And except we put a difference betwixt them that erre ignorantly,

and them that obſtinately perſiſt in it, how is it poſſible that any Man ſhould hope to be ſaved? Give me a Pope or a Cardinal, whom great afflictions have made to know himſelf, whoſe heart God hath touched with true ſorrow for all his ſins, and filled with a love of Chriſt and his Goſpel; whoſe Eyes are willingly open to ſee the Truth, and his Mouth ready to renounce all Error, this one opinion of Merit excepted, which he thinketh God will require at his hands; and becauſe he wanteth, trembleth, and is diſcouraged, and yet can ſay, *Lord, cleanſe me from all my ſecret ſins!* Shall I think becauſe of this, or a like Error, ſuch men touch not ſo much as the Hem of Chriſts Garment? If they do, wherefore ſhould I doubt, but that Vertue may proceed from Chriſt to ſave them? No, I will not be afraid to ſay to ſuch a one, *You erre in your opinion, but be of good comfort, you have to do with a Merciful God, who will make the beſt of that little which you hold well, and not with a captious Sophiſter, who gathereth the worſt out of every thing in which you are miſtaken.*

But it will be ſaid, *The admittance of Merit in any degree, overthroweth the Foundation, excludeth from the hope of Mercy, from all poſſibility of Salvation.* (And now Mr. *Hookers* own words follow.)

What though they hold the truth ſincerely in all other parts of Chriſtian Faith? Although they have in ſome meaſure all the Vertues and Graces of the Spirit? Although they have all other Tokens of Gods Children in them? Although they be far from having any proud opinion, that they ſhall be ſaved by the worthineſs of their Deeds? Although the onely thing that troubleth and moleſteth them, be a little too much dejection, ſomewhat too great a fire ariſing from an erronious conceit, That God will require a worthineſs in them, which they are grieved to finde wanting in themſelves? Although they be not obſtinate in this Opinion? Although they be willing, and would be glad to forſake it, if any one Reaſon were brought ſufficient to diſprove it? Although the onely cauſe why they do not forſake it ere they die, be their ignorance of that means by which it might be diſproved? Although the cauſe why the ignorance in this point is not removed, be the want of knowledge in ſuch as ſhould be able, and are not to remove it? Let me die (ſays Mr. *Hooker*) *if it be ever proved, That ſimply an Error doth exclude a Pope or Cardinal in ſuch a caſe utterly from hope of life.* Surely I muſt confeſs, That if it be an Error to think that God may be merciful to ſave men, even when they err; my greateſt comfort is, my error: Were it not for the love I bear to this Error, I would never wiſh to ſpeak or to live.

I was willing to take notice of theſe two points, as ſuppoſing them to be very material; and that as they are thus contracted, they may prove uſeful to my Reader; as alſo for that the Anſwers be Arguments of Mr. *Hookers* great and clear Reaſon, and equal Charity. Other Exceptions were alſo made againſt him, as, *That he prayed before, and not after his Sermons; that in his Prayers he named Biſhops; that he kneeled, both when he prayed, and he when he received the Sacrament; and* (ſays Mr. *Hooker* in his Defence) *other Exceptions ſo like theſe, as but to name, I ſhould have thought a greater fault then to commit them.*

And 'tis not unworthy the noting, that in the menage of ſo great a Controverſie, a ſharper reproof then this, and one like it, did never fall from the happy Pen of this humble Man. That like it, was upon a like occaſion of Exceptions, to which his Anſwer was, *Your next Argument conſiſts of Railing and of Reaſons; to your Railing I ſay nothing, to your Reaſons I ſay what follows.* And I am glad of this fair occaſion, to teſtifie the Dove-like temper of this meek, this matchleſs Man; and doubtleſs, if Almighty God had bleſt the Diſſenters from the Ceremonies and Diſcipline of this Church, with a like meaſure of Wiſdom and Humility, inſtead of their pertinacious Zeal, then Obedience and Truth had kiſſed each other; then Peace and Piety had flouriſhed in our Nation, and this Church and State had been bleſt like *Jeruſalem, that is at unity with it ſelf*; but that can never be expected, till God ſhall bleſs the common people with a belief, *That Schiſm is a ſin, and that there may be offences taken which are not given; and that Laws are not made for private men to diſpute, but to obey.*

And this alſo may be worthy of noting, That theſe Exceptions of Mr. *Travers* againſt Mr. *Hooker*, were the cauſe of his tranſcribing ſeveral of his Sermons, which we now ſee Printed with his Books; of his Anſwer to Mr. *Travers* his Supplication;

and

and of his moſt learned and uſeful Diſcourſe of *Juſtification*, of *Faith*, and *Works*; and by their Tranſcription, they fell into the hands of others, that have preſerved them from being loſt, as too many of his other matchleſs Writings have been; and from theſe I have gathered many obſervations in this Diſcourſe of his Life.

After the publication of his Anſwer to the Petition of Mr. *Travers*, Mr. *Hooker* grew daily into greater repute with the moſt Learned and Wiſe of the Nation; but it had a contrary effect in very many of the *Temple* that were zealous for Mr. *Travers*, and for his Church Diſcipline; inſomuch, that though Mr. *Travers* left the place, yet the Seeds of Diſcontent could not be rooted out of that Society, by the great Reaſon, and as great Meekneſs of this humble Man: For though the Cheif Benchers gave him much Reverence and Incouragement, yet he there met with many neglects and oppoſitions by thoſe of Mr. *Travers* judgment; inſomuch, that it turned to his extream grief: And that he might unbeguile and win them, he deſigned to write a deliberate ſober Treatiſe of the Churches power to make Cannons for the uſe of Ceremonies, and by Law to impoſe an obedience to them, as upon Her Children; and this he propoſed to do in *Eight Books of the Laws of Eccleſiaſtical Polity*; intending therein to ſhew ſuch Arguments, as ſhould force an aſſent from all Men, if Reaſon, delivered in ſweet Language, and void of any provocation, were able to do it: And that he might prevent all prejudice, he wrote before it a large *Preface* or *Epiſtle* to the Diſſenting Brethren, wherein there were ſuch Bowels of *Love*, and ſuch a Commixture of that *Love* with *Reaſon*, as was never exceeded but in Holy Writ; and particularly, by that of St. *Paul* to his dear Brother and Fellow-Laborer *Philemon*: Then which, none ever was more like this Epiſtle of Mr. *Hookers*. So that his dear Friend and Companion in his Studies, Doctor *Spencer*, might after his Death juſtly ſay, *What admirable height of Learning, and depth of Judgment, dwelt in the lowly minde of this truly humble Man, great in all wiſe mens eyes except his own: With what gravity and majeſty of Speech his Tongue and Pen uttered Heavenly Myſteries; whoſe eyes in the Humility of his Heart, were always caſt down to the ground: How all things that proceeded from him, were breathed as from the Spirit of Love; as, if he, like the Bird of the Holy Ghoſt, the Dove, had wanted Gall: Let thoſe that knew him not in his Perſon, judge by theſe living Images of his Soul, his Writings.*

The Foundation of theſe Books was laid in the *Temple*; but he found it no fit place to finiſh what he had there deſigned; and therefore ſolicited the Archbiſhop for a remove, to whom he ſpake to this purpoſe; *My Lord, When I loſt the freedom of my Cell, which was my Colledge; yet, I found ſome degree of it in my quiet Countrey Parſonage: But I am weary of the noiſe and oppoſitions of this place; and indeed, God and Nature did not intend me for Contentions, but for Study and Quietneſs. And, My Lord, my particular Conteſts here with Mr.* Travers, *have prov'd the more unpleaſant to me, becauſe I believe him to be a good Man; and that belief hath occaſioned me to examine mine own Conſcience concerning his opinions; and, to ſatisfie that, I have conſulted the holy Scripture, and other Laws, both Humane and Divine, Whether the the Conſcience of him, and others of his Judgment, ought to be ſo far complied with us, as to alter our Frame of Church-Government, our manner of Gods worſhip, our praiſing and praying to him, and, our eſtabliſht Ceremonies, as often as their tender Conſciences ſhall require us. And, in this Examination, I have not onely ſatisfied my ſelf; but have begun a Treatiſe, in which I intend the ſatisfaction of others; by a demonſtration of the reaſonableneſs of our Laws of* Eccleſiaſtical Polity; *and therein laid a hopeful foundation for the Churches Peace; and, ſo as not to provoke your Adverſarie Mr.* Cartwright, *nor Mr.* Travers, *whom I take to be mine (but not my enemy) God knows this to be my meaning. To which end, I have ſearched many Books, and ſpent many thoughtful hours; and I hope not in vain; for I write to reaſonable men. But, My Lord, I ſhall never be able to finiſh what I have begun, unleſs I be remov'd into ſome quiet Countrey Parſonage, where I may ſee Gods Bleſſings Spring out of my Mother Earth, and eat mine own Bread in peace and privaty. A place where I may without diſturbance, Meditate my approaching Mortality, and that great account, which all fleſh muſt at the laſt great day, give to the God of all Spirits.*

this is my design; and, as these are the desires of my heart, so they shall by Gods assistance be the constant indevors of the uncertain remainder of my life. And therefore if your Grace can think me and my poor labors, worthy such a favour? Let me beg it, that I may perfect what I have begun: which is a blessing I cannot hope for in this place.

About the time of this request to the Bishop, the Parsonage or Rectory of *Boscom*, in the Dioceſs of *Sarum*, and six miles from that City, became void. The Bishop of *Sarum* is Patron of it, but in the vacancy of that See (which was three years betwixt the death of Bishop *Peirce*, and Bishop *Caldwells* admission into it) the disposal of that and all Benefices belonging to it, during the time of this said vacancy, came to be disposed of by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and he presented *Richard Hooker* to it in the year 1591. And *Richard Hooker* was also in this said year Instituted, (*July* 17.) to be a minor Prebend of *Salisbury*, the Corps to it being *nether-Havin*, about ten miles from that City; which Prebend was of no great value, but intended chiefly to make him capable of a better preferment in that Church. In this *Boscum* he continued till he had finished four of his eight proposed Books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity, and these were enter'd into the Register Book in Stationers-Hall the 9th of *March* 1592. but not printed till the year 1594. and then with the beforementioned large and affectionate Preface, which he directs *to them that seek (as they term it) the Reformation of the laws and orders Ecclesiastical in the Church of England*; of which Books I shall yet say nothing more, but that he continued his laborious diligence to finish the remaining four during his life (of all which more properly hereafter) but at *Boscum* he finisht and publisht but only the first four, being then in the 39 year of his Age.

He left *Boscum* in the year 1595. by a surrender of it into the hands of Bishop *Caldwell*, and he presented *Benjamin Russel*, who was Instituted into it, 23 of *June*, in the same year.

The Parsonage of *Bishops Borne* in *Kent*, three miles from *Canterbury*, is in that Archbishops gift, but in the latter end of the year 1594. Doctor *William Redman* the Rector of it was made *Bishop of Norwich*, by which means the power of presenting to it was *pro ea vice* in the Queen; and she presented *Richard Hooker*, whom she loved well, to this good living of *Borne* the 7 of *July* 1595. in which Living he continued till his Death, without any addition of Dignity or Profit.

And now having brought our *Richard Hooker* from his Birth-place, to this where he found a Grave, I shall only give some account of his Books, and of his behaviour in this Parsonage of *Borne*, and then give a rest both to my self and my Reader.

His first four Books and large Epistle have been declared to be printed at his being at *Boscum*, *Anno* 1594. Next I am to tell that at the end of these four Books there is printed this Advertisement to the Reader; *I have for some causes thought it at this time more fit to let go these first four Books by themselves, than to stay both them and the rest, till the whole might together be published. Such generalities of the cause in question as are here handled, it will be perhaps not amiss to consider apart, by way of Introduction unto the Books that are to follow concerning particulars; in the mean time the Reader is requested to mend the Printers errors, as noted underneath.*

And I am next to declare that his fifth Book (which is larger than his first four) was first also printed by it self *Anno* 1597. and dedicated to his Patron (for till then he chose none) the Archbishop. These Books were read with an admiration of their excellency in This, and their just fame spread it self into forain Nations. And I have been told more than forty years past, that Cardinal *Alen*, or learned Doctor *Stapleton* (both English men, and in *Italy* when Mr. *Hookers* four Books were first printed) meeting with this general fame of them, were desirous to read an Author, that both the Reformed and the Learned of their own Church did so much magnifie, and therefore caused them to be sent for; and, after reading them, boasted to the Pope (which then was *Clement* the eighth) *that though he had lately said he never met with an English Book whose Writer deserved the name of an Author*; yet there now appear'd a wonder to them, and it would be so to his Holiness, if it were in Latin; for *a poor obscure English Priest had writ four such Books of Laws, and Church-Polity, and in a Style that expresst so Grave and such Humble Majesty with clear demon-*

demonstration of Reason, that in all their readings they had not met with any that exceeded him; and this begot in the Pope an earnest desire that Doctor *Stapleton* should bring the said four Books, and looking on the English, read a part of them to him in Latin, which Doctor *Stapleton* did, to the end of the first Book; at the conclusion of which, the Pope spake to this purpose; *There is no Learning that this man hath not searcht into, nothing too hard for his understanding: This man indeed deserves the name of an Author; his Books will get Reverence by Age, for there is in them such seeds of Eternity, that if the rest be like this, they shall last till the last Fire shall consume all Learning.*

Nor was this high, the only testimony and commendations given to his Books; for at the first coming of King *James* into this Kingdom, he inquired of the Archbishop *Whitgift* for his friend Mr. *Hooker* that writ the Books of Church Polity; to which the answer was, that he dyed a year before Queen *Elizabeth*, who received the sad news of his Death with very much Sorrow; to which the King replyed, *and I receive it with no less, that I shall want the desired happiness of seeing and discoursing with that Man, from whose Books I have received such satisfaction: Indeed my Lord, I have received more satisfaction in reading a Leaf, or Paragraph in Mr. Hooker*, though it were but about the *fashion* of *Churches*, or *Church Musick*, or the like, but especially *of the Sacraments, then I have had in the reading particular large Treatises written but of one of those subjects by others, though very Learned Men*; and, I observe *there is in* Mr. Hooker *no affected Language; but a grave comprehensive, cleer manifestation of Reason; and that back't with the Authority of the* Scripture, *the* Fathers and Schoolmen, *and with all* Law *both* Sacred and Civil. *And, though many others write well, yet in the next Age they will be forgotten; but doubtless there is in every page of* Mr. Hookers Book, *the Picture of a Divine Soul, such Pictures of* Truth *and* Reason, *and drawn in so sacred colours, that they shall never fade, but give an immortal memory to the Author.* And it is so truly true, that the King thought what he spake; that, as the most Learned of the Nation have and still do mention Mr. *Hooker* with Reverence: so he also, did never mention him but with the Epithite of *Learned*, or *Judicious*, or *Reverend*, or *Venerable* Mr. *Hooker*.

Nor did his Son our late King *Charles* the first, ever mention him but with the same Reverence, enjoyning his Son our now gracious King, to be studious in M. *Hookers* Books. And our learned Antiquary Mr. *Cambden* * mentioning the Death, the Modesty, and other Vertues of Mr. *Hooker*, and magnifying his Books, wisht, *that for the honour of this, and benefit of other Nations, they were turn'd into the Universal Language.* Which work though undertaken by many, yet they have been weary and forsaken it; but the Reader may now expect it, having been long since begun, and lately finisht, by the happy pen of Doctor *Earl*, now Lord Bishop of *Salisbury*, of whom I may justly say (and let it not offend him, because it is such a truth as ought not to be conceal'd from Posterity, or those that now live and yet know him not) that since Mr. *Hooker* died, none have liv'd whom God hath blest with more innocent Wisdom; more sanctified Learning, or a more pious, peaceable, primitive Temper: so that this excellent person seems to be only like himself and our venerable *Richard Hooker*; and only fit to make the learned of all Nations happy in knowing what hath been too long confin'd to the language of our little Island.

* In his Annals of *Eliz.* 1599.

There might be many more and just occasions taken to speak of his Books, which none ever did or can commend too much; but I decline them, and hasten to an account of his Christian behaviour and Death at *Borne*; in which place he continued his customary rules of Mortification and Self-Denyal; was much in Fasting, frequent in Meditation and Prayers, injoying those blessed Returns, which only Men of strict lives feel and know; and of which Men of loose and Godless lives cannot be made sensible; for spiritual things are spiritually discerned.

At his entrance into this place, his Friendship was much sought for by Doctor *Hadrian Saravia*, then one of the Prebends of *Canterbury*, a German by birth, and sometimes a Pastor both in *Flanders* and *Holland*, where he had studied and well considered the controverted points concerning Episcopacy and Sacriledge, and

in *England* had a juſt occaſion to declare his Judgement concerning both, unto his Brethren Miniſters of the Low Countryes, which was excepted againſt by *Theodor Beza* and others; againſt whoſe exceptions he rejoyned, and thereby became the happy Author of many Learned Tracts, writ in Latin, eſpecially of three; one of the *Degrees of Miniſters*, and *of the Biſhops Superiority above the Presbytery*; a ſecond againſt *Sacriledge*; and a third of *Chriſtian Obedience to Princes*; the laſt being occaſioned by *Gretzerus* the Jeſuit. And it is obſervable, that when in a time of Church tumults, *Beza* gave his reaſons to the Chancellor of *Scotland*, for the abrogation of Epiſcopacy in that Nation, partly by Letters, and more fully in a Treatiſe of a three-fold Epiſcopacy (which he calls *Divine, Humane*, and *Satanical*) this Doctor *Saravia* had by the help of Biſhop *Whitgift* made ſuch an early diſcovery of their intentions, that he had almoſt as ſoon anſwered that Treatiſe as it became publique; and therein diſcovered how *Beza*'s opinion did contradict that of *Calvins*, and his adherents; leaving them to interfere with themſelves in point of Epiſcopacy; but of theſe Tracts it will not concern me to ſay more, than that they were moſt of them dedicated to his and the Church of *Englands* watchful Patron *John Whitgift* the Archbiſhop; and printed about the year in which Mr. *Hooker* alſo appeared firſt to the world in the Publication of his four Books of Eccleſiaſtical Polity.

This friendſhip being ſought for by this Learned Doctor, you may believe was not denied by Mr. *Hooker*, who was by fortune ſo like him as to be engaged againſt Mr. *Travers*, Mr. *Cartwright*, and others of their Judgment in a controverſie too like Doctor *Saravia*'s; So that in this year of 1595. and in this place of *Borne*, theſe two excellent perſons began a Holy Friendſhip, increaſing dayly to ſo high and mutual affections, that their two wills ſeemed to be but one and the ſame; and deſigns both for the glory of God, and peace of the Church; ſtill aſſiſting and improving each others vertues, and the deſired comforts of a peaceable Piety; which I have willingly mentioned, becauſe it gives a foundation to ſome things that follow.

This Parſonage of *Borne*, is from *Canterbury* three miles, and near to the common Road that leads from that City to *Dover*; in which Parſonage Mr. *Hooker* had not been twelve moneths, but his Books, and the Innocency and Sanctity of his Life became ſo remarkable, that many turn'd out of the road, and others (Scholars eſpecially) went purpoſely to ſee the Man, whoſe Life and Learning were ſo much admired; and alas, as our Saviour ſaid of St. *John Baptiſt*, *what went they out to ſee! a Man Cloathed in Purple and fine Linen?* no indeed; but an *obſcure harmleſs Man*; *a Man in poor Clothes, his Loynes uſually girt in a courſe Gown or Canonical Coat*; *of a mean Stature, and ſtooping, and yet more lowly in the thoughts of his Soul*; *his body worn out, not with Age, but Study and Holy Mortifications*; *his face full of Heat-Pimples, begot by his unactivity and ſedentary life.* And to this true Character of his Perſon, let me add this of his Diſpoſition and behaviour; God and Nature bleſt him with ſo bleſſed a baſhfulneſs, that as in his younger days, his Pupils might eaſily look him out of countenance; ſo neither then, nor in his Age, *did he ever willingly look any Man in the face: and was of ſo mild and humble a Nature, that his poor Pariſh Clark and he did never talk but with both their Hats on, or both off at the ſame time*; and to this may be added, that though he was not purblind; yet, he was ſhort or weak-ſighted; and where he fixt his eyes at the beginning of his Sermon, there they continued till it was ended; and the Reader has a Liberty to believe that his Modeſty and Dim ſight were ſome of the reaſons why he truſted *Miſtris Churchman* to chooſe a Wife for him.

This Pariſh Clark lived till the third or fourth year of the late long Parliament; betwixt which time and Mr. *Hookers* Death, there had come many to ſee the place of his Burial, and the Monument dedicated to his memory by Sir *William Cooper*, (who ſtill lives) and the poor Clark had many rewards for ſhewing Mr. *Hookers* Grave-place, and his ſaid Monument, and did always hear Mr. *Hooker* mentioned with Commendations and Reverence; to all which he added his own knowledge and obſervations of his Humility and Holineſs: in all which Diſcourſes, the

poor

poor man was ſtill more confirm'd in his opinion of Mr. *Hookers* Vertues and Learning; but it ſo fell out, that about the ſaid third or fourth year of the long Parliament, the preſent Parſon of *Borne* was Sequeſtred (you may gueſs why) and a *Genevian* Miniſter put into his good living. This, and other like Sequeſtrations, made the Clerk expreſs himſelf in a wonder, and ſay, *They had Sequeſtred ſo many good Men, that he doubted if his good Maſter Mr.* Hooker *had lived till now, they would have Sequeſtred him too.*

It was not long before this intruding Miniſter had made a party in and about the ſaid Pariſh, that were deſirous to receive the Sacrament as in *Geneva*; to which end, the day was appointed for a Select Company, and Forms and Stools ſet about the Altar or Communion Table for them to ſit and eat and drink; but when they went about this work, there was a want of ſome Joynd-ſtools, which the Miniſter ſent the Clerk to fetch, and then to fetch Cuſhions. When the Clerk ſaw them begin to ſit down, he began to wonder; but the Miniſter bade him *ceaſe wondering, and lock the Church door:* To whom he replied, *Pray take you the Keys and lock me out, I will never come more into this Church; for all men will ſay my Maſter* Hooker *was a good Man, and a good Scholar, and I am ſure it was not uſed to be thus in his days:* And report ſays, The old man went preſently home, and died; I do not ſay died immediately, but within a few days after.

But let us leave this grateful Clerk in his quiet Grave, and return to Mr. *Hooker* himſelf, continuing our obſervations of his Chriſtian behavior in this place, where he gave a holy Valediction to all the pleaſures and allurements of Earth; poſſeſſing his Soul in a vertuous quietneſs, which he maintained by conſtant Study, Prayers, and Meditations: His uſe was to Preach once every Sunday, and he or his Curate to Catechize after the Second Leſſon in the Evening Prayer: His Sermons were neither long nor earneſt, but uttered with a grave Zeal, and an humble Voice: His Eyes always fixt on one place, to prevent his imagination from wandring; inſomuch, that he ſeem'd to Study as he ſpake; the deſign of his Sermons (as indeed of all his Diſcourſes) was to ſhew Reaſons for what he ſpake: And with theſe Reaſons ſuch a kinde of Rhetorick, as did rather convince and perſwade, then frighten men into Piety. Studying not ſo much for matter (which he never wanted) as for apt illuſtrations to inform and teach his unlearned hearers by familiar examples, and then make them better by convincing Applications; never laboring by hard words, and then by needleſs diſtinctions and ſubdiſtinctions to amuſe his hearers, and get glory to himſelf: But glory onely to God. Which intention he would often ſay, was as diſcernable in a Preacher, *as an Artificial from a Natural Beauty.*

He never failed the Sunday before every *Ember* week, to give notice of it to his Pariſhioners, perſwading them both to faſt, and then to double their Devotions for a Learned and Pious Clergy, but eſpecially for the laſt; ſaying often, *That the life of a pious Clergy-man was viſible Rhetorick, and ſo convincing, That the moſt godleſs men (though they would not deny themſelves the enjoyment of their preſent Luſts) did yet ſecretly wiſh themſelves like thoſe of the ſtricteſt lives.* And to what he perſwaded others, he added his own example of Faſting and Prayer; and did uſually every *Ember* week, take from the Pariſh Clerk the Key of the Church door; into which place he retired every day, and lockt himſelf up for many hours; and did the like moſt Fridays, and other days of Faſting.

He would by no means omit the cuſtomary time of Proceſſion, perſwading all, both rich and poor, if they deſired the preſervation of Love, and their Pariſh Rights and Liberties, to accompany him in his Perambulation, and moſt did ſo: In which Perambulation, he would uſually expreſs more pleaſant diſcourſe then at other times, and would then always drop ſome loving and facetious obſervations to be remembred againſt the next year, eſpecially by the boys and young people; ſtill inclining them, and all his preſent Pariſhioners, to meekneſs and mutual kindneſſes and love; becauſe *Love thinks not evil, but covers a multitude of infirmities.*

He was diligent to enquire who of his Pariſh were ſick, or any way diſtreſſed, and would often viſit them unſent for; ſuppoſing, that the fitteſt time to diſcover thoſe Errors, to which health and proſperity had blinded them: And having by pious Reaſons and Prayers, molded them into holy Reſolutions for the time to come, he would

would incline them to Confeſſion, and bewailing their ſins, with purpoſe to forſake them, and then to receive the Communion, both as a ſtrengthning of thoſe holy Reſolutions; and as a Seal betwixt God and them of his mercies to their Souls, in caſe that preſent ſickneſs did put a period to their lives.

And as he was thus watchful and charitable to the ſick, ſo he was as diligent to prevent Law-ſutes, ſtill urging his Pariſhioners and Neighbors, to bear with each others infirmities, and live in love, becauſe (as St. *John* ſays) *He that lives in love, lives in God, for God is Love.* And to maintain this holy Fire of Love, conſtantly burning on the Altar, of a pure Heart, his advice was to watch and pray, and always keep themſelves fit to receive the Communion, and then to receive it often; for it was both a confirming, and a ſtrengthning of their Graces. This was his advice; and at his entrance or departure out of any houſe, he would uſually ſpeak to the whole Family, and bleſs them by name; inſomuch, that as he ſeem'd in his youth to be taught of God, ſo he ſeem'd in this place to teach his Precepts, as *Enoch* did by walking with him, in all Holineſs and Humility; making each day a ſtep towards a bleſſed Eternity. And though in this weak and declining age of the World, ſuch examples are become barren, and almoſt incredible; yet let his memory be bleſt with this true Recordation, becauſe, he that praiſes *Richard Hooker*, praiſes God, who hath given ſuch gifts to men; and let this humble and affectionate Relation of him, become ſuch a pattern as may invite Poſterity to imitate his Vertues.

This was his conſtant behavior at *Borne*; thus as *Enoch*, ſo he walked with God; thus did he tread in the footſteps of Primitive Piety; and yet, as that great example of meekneſs and purity, even our Bleſſed *Jeſus* was not free from falſe accuſations, no more was this Diſciple of his. This moſt humble, moſt innocent holy Man; his was a ſlander parallel to that of chaſte *Suſannaes* by the wicked Elders; or that againſt St. *Athanaſius*, as it is Recorded in his life (for that holy Man had Heretical enemies) and which this age calls *Trepanning*. The particulars need not a repetition, and that it was falſe, needs no other Teſtimony then the publick puniſhment of his accuſers, and their open confeſſion of his innocency: 'Twas ſaid, that the accuſation was contrived by a Diſſenting Brother, one that indur'd not Church Ceremonies, hating him for his Books ſake, which he was not able to Anſwer; and his name hath been told me: But I have not ſo much confidence in the Relation, as to make my Pen fix a ſcandal on him to Poſterity; I ſhall rather leave it doubtful till the great day of Revelation. But this is certain, that he lay under the great charge, and the anxiety of this accuſation, and kept it ſecret to himſelf for many moneths: And, being a helpleſs man, had lain longer under this heavy burthen, but that the Protector of the innocent gave ſuch an accidental occaſion as forced him to make it known to his two dear Friends, *Edwin Sandys* and *George Cranmer*, who were ſo ſenſible of their Tutors ſufferings, that they gave themſelves no reſt, till by their diſquiſitions and diligence they had found out the Fraud, and brought him the welcome news, that his accuſers did confeſs they had wrong'd him, and begg'd his pardon: To which the good mans reply was to this purpoſe, *The Lord forgive them*; and, *The Lord bleſs you for this comfortable news. Now I have a juſt occaſion to ſay with* Solomon, Friends are born for the days of Adverſity, *and ſuch you have prov'd to me: And to my God I ſay, as did the Mother of St.* John Baptiſt, Thus hath the Lord dealt with me, in the day wherein he looked upon me, to take away my reproach among men. *And, O my God, neither my life, nor my reputation, are ſafe in mine own keeping, but in thine, who didſt take care of me, when I yet hanged upon my Mothers Breſt. Bleſſed are they that put their truſt in thee, O Lord; for, when falſe witneſſes were riſen up againſt me; when ſhame was ready to cover my face; when I was bowed down with an horrible dread, and went mourning all the day long; when my nights were reſtleſs, and my ſleeps broken with a fear worſe then death; when my Soul thirſted for a deliverance, as the Hart panteth after the Rivers of Waters: Then, thou Lord, didſt hear my complaints, pitty my condition, and art new become my Deliverer; and as long as I live I will hold up my hands in this manner, and magnifie thy Mercies, who didſt not give me over as a prey to mine enemies. O bleſſed are they that put their truſt in thee; and no proſperity ſhall make me forget thoſe days of ſorrow, or to perform thoſe vows that I have made to thee in the days of my fears and affliction; for with ſuch ſacrifices, thou, O God, art well pleaſed; and I will pay them.*

Thus

Thus did the joy and gratitude of this good Mans heart break forth; and 'tis obſervable, that as the invitation to this ſlander was his meek behavior and Dove-like ſimplicity, for which he was remarkable; ſo his Chriſtian Charity ought to be imitated: For, though the Spirit of Revenge is ſo pleaſing to mankinde, that it is never conquered but by a Supernatural Grace, being indeed ſo deeply rooted in Humane Nature, that to prevent the exceſſes of it (for men would not know Moderation) Almighty God allows not any degree of it to any man, but ſays, *Vengeance is mine.* And, though this be ſaid by God himſelf, yet this revenge is ſo pleaſing, that man is hardly perſwaded to ſubmit the menage of it to the Time, and Juſtice, and Wiſdom of his Creator, but would haſten to be his own executioner of it. And yet nevertheleſs, if any man ever did wholly decline, and leave this pleaſing Paſſion to the time and meaſure of God alone, it was this *Richard Hooker* of whom I write: For when his ſlanderers were to ſuffer, he labored to procure their Pardon; and, when that was denied him, his Reply was, *That however he would faſt and pray, that God would give them Repentance and Patience to undergo their Puniſhment.* And his Prayers were ſo far returned into his own boſom, that the firſt was granted, if we may believe a Penitent Behavior, and an open Confeſſion. And 'tis obſervable, that after this time he would often ſay to Dr. *Saravia, O with what quietneſs, did I enjoy my Soul after I was free from the fears of my ſlander! And how much more after a conflict and victory over my deſires of Revenge!*

In the Year One thouſand ſix hundred, and of his Age Forty ſix, he fell into a long and ſharp ſickneſs, occaſioned by a Cold taken in his Paſſage betwixt *London* and *Graveſend*, from the malignity of which, he was never recovered; for, till his death he was not free from thoughtful days, and reſtleſs nights; but a ſubmiſſion to his Will that makes the ſick mans bed eaſie, by giving reſt to his Soul, made his very languiſhment comfortable: And yet all this time he was ſolicitous in his Study, and ſaid often to Dr. *Saravia*, (who ſaw him daily, and was the cheif comfort of his life) *That he did not beg a long life of God for any other reaſon, but to live to finiſh his three remaining Books of* POLITY; *and then, Lord, let thy Servant depart in peace,* which was his uſual expreſſion. And God heard his Prayers, though he denied the Church the benefit of them as compleated by himſelf; and 'tis thought he haſtned his own death, by haſtning to give life to his Books. But this is certain, that the nearer he was to his death, the more he grew in *Humility*, in *holy Thoughts* and *Reſolutions.*

About a moneth before his death, this good man, that never knew, or at leaſt, never conſider'd the pleaſures of the Palate, became firſt to loſe his Appetite, then to have an averſneſs to all Food; inſomuch, that he ſeem'd to live ſome intermitted weeks by the ſmell of meat onely; and yet ſtill ſtudied and writ. And now his Guardian Angel ſeem'd to foretel him, that his years were paſt away as a ſhadow, bidding him prepare to follow the Generation of his Fathers, for the day of his diſſolution drew near; for which his vigorous Soul appear'd to thirſt.

In this time of his ſickneſs, and not many days before his death, his Houſe was robb'd; of which, he having notice, his Queſtion was, *Are my Books and Written Papers ſafe?* And being anſwered, *That they were.* His Reply was, *Then it matters not, for no other loſs can trouble me.*

About one day before his death, Dr. *Saravia*, who knew the very ſecrets of his Soul (for they were ſuppoſed to be Confeſſors to each other) came to him, and after a Conference of the Benefit, the Neceſſity, and Safety of the Churches Abſolution, it was reſolved the Doctor ſhould give him both that and the Sacrament the day following. To which end the Doctor came, and after a ſhort retirement and privacy, they return'd to the company; and then the Doctor gave him and ſome of thoſe friends that were with him, the Bleſſed Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Jeſus. Which being performed, the Doctor thought he ſaw a reverend gaity and joy in his face; but it laſted not long; for his bodily infirmities did return ſuddenly, and became more viſible, inſomuch, that the Doctor apprehended Death ready to ſeiſe him: Yet, after ſome amendment, left him at night, with a promiſe to return early the day following, which he did, and then found him better in appearance, deep in contemplation, and not inclinable to diſcourſe; which gave the Doctor occa-

ſion to require his preſent thoughts: To which he replied, *That he was meditating the number and nature of Angels, and their bleſſed Obedience and Order, without which, Peace could not be in Heaven; and oh that it might be ſo on Earth.* After which words, he ſaid, *I have lived to ſee this World is made up of perturbations, and I have been long preparing to leave it, and gathering comfort for the dreadful hour of making my account with God, which I now apprehend to be near: And though I have by his Grace lov'd him in my youth, and fear'd him in mine age, and labor'd to have a Conſcience void of offence to him, and to all men; yet, if thou, O Lord, be extream to mark what I have done amiß, who can abide it? And therefore, where I have failed, Lord ſhew mercy to me; for I plead not my Righteouſneſs, but the forgiveneſs of my unrighteouſneſs, for his Merits who died to purchaſe a pardon for penitent ſinners. And ſince I ow thee a death, Lord let it not be terrible, and then take thine own time, I ſubmit to it: Let not mine, O Lord, but let thy Will be done.* With which expreſſion he fell into a dangerous ſlumber, dangerous as to his recovery; yet recover he did, but it was to ſpeak onely theſe few words, *Good Doctor, God hath heard my daily Petitions; for I am at peace with all men, and he is at peace with me; and from which bleſſed aſſurance I feel that inward joy, which this World can neither give nor take from me.* More he would have ſpoken, but his ſpirits failed him; and, after a ſhort conflict betwixt Nature and Death, a quiet ſigh put a period to his laſt breath, and ſo he fell aſleep.

And here I draw his Curtain, till with the moſt glorious Company of the Patriarks and Apoſtles; the moſt noble Army of Martyrs and Confeſſors, this moſt Learned, moſt Humble, holy Man, ſhall alſo awake to receive an Eternal Tranquillity, and with it a greater degree of Glory then common Chriſtians ſhall be made partakers of; In the mean time, *Bleſs, O Lord, Lord bleſs his Brethren, the Clergy of this Nation with ardent deſires, and effectual endeavors to attain, if not to his great Learning, yet to his remarkable meekneſs, his godly ſimplicity, and his Chriſtian moderation: For theſe are praiſe-worthy; theſe bring peace at the laſt: And let the Labors of his life, his moſt excellent Writings be bleſt with what he deſigned when he undertook them: Which was Glory to thee, O God on high, Peace in thy Church, and good will to mankinde.*

Amen, Amen.

AN

AN

APPENDIX

To the LIFE of

Mr. Richard Hooker.

AND now having by a long and Laborious ſearch ſatisfied my ſelf, and I hope my Reader by imparting to him the true Relation of Mr. *Hookers* Life : I am deſirous alſo to acquaint him with ſome Obſervations that relate to it ; and, which could not properly fall to be ſpoken till after his Death, of which my Reader may expect a brief and true account in the following Appendix.

And firſt it is not to be doubted but that he died in the forty-ſeventh, if not in the forty-ſixth year of his Age ; which I mention, becauſe many have believed him to be more aged ; but I have ſo examined it, as to be confident, I miſtake not ; and for the year of his death, Mr. *Cambden*, who in his Annals of Queen *Elizabeth* 1599. mentions him with a high commendation of his Life and Learning, declares him to die in the year 1599. and yet in that Inſcription of his Monument ſet up at the charge of Sir *William Cooper* in *Berne Church*, where Mr. *Hooker* was buried, his Death is ſaid to be in *Anno* 1603. but doubtleſs both miſtaken ; for I have it atteſted under the hand of *William Somner* the Archbiſhops Regiſter for the Province of *Canterbury*, that *Richard Hookers* Will bears date *October* the 26. in *Anno* 1600. and that it was prov'd the third of *December* following. And this atteſted alſo that at his Death he left four Daughters, *Alice*, *Cicily*, *Jane*, and *Margaret*, that he gave to each of them a hundred pound, that he left *Jone* his Wife his ſole Executrix, and that by his Inventory his Eſtate (a great part of it being in Books) came to 1092*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* which was much more than he thought himſelf worth ; and, which was not got by his Care, much leſs by the good Huſwifery of his Wife, but ſaved by his truſty Servant *Thomas Lane*, that was wiſer than his Maſter in getting Money for him, and more frugal than his Miſtreſs in keeping it ; of which Will I ſhall ſay no more, but that his dear Friend *Thomas*, the Father of *George Cranmer*, of whom I have ſpoken, and ſhall have occaſion to ſay more, was one of the Witneſſes to it.

One of his elder Daughters was married to one *Chalinor*, ſometime a Schoolmaſter in *Chicheſter*, & both dead long ſince. *Margaret* his youngeſt Daughter was married unto *Ezekiel Chark*, Batchelor in Divinity, and Rector of S. *Nicholas* in *Harbledown* near *Canterbury*, who died about 16 years paſt, and had a Son *Ezekiel*, now living, and in Sacred Orders, being at this time Rector of *Waldron* in *Suſſex* ; ſhe left alſo a Daughter, with both whom I have ſpoken not many months paſt, and find her to be a widow in a condition that wants not, but far from abounding ; and theſe two atteſted unto me, that *Richard Hooker* their Grandfather had a Siſter, by name *Elizabeth*

Harvey, that liv'd to the Age of 121. years, and died in the moneth of *September*, 1663.

For his other two Daughters I can learn little certainty, but have heard they both died before they were Marriageable; and for his Wife, she was so unlike *Jephthaes* Daughter, that she staid not a comely time to bewail her Widdow-hood; nor liv'd long enough to repent her second Marriage, for which doubtless she would have found cause, if there had been but four months betwixt Mr. *Hookers* and her death. But she is dead, and let her other infirmities be buried with her.

Thus much briefly for his Age, the year of his Death, his Estate, his Wife, and his Children. I am next to speak of his Books, concerning which I shall have a necessity of being longer, or shall neither do right to my self or my Reader, which is chiefly intended in this Appendix.

I have declared in his Life, that he proposed eight Books, and that his first four were Printed *Anno* 1594. and his fifth Book first printed, and alone, *Anno* 1597. and that he liv'd to finish the remaining three of the proposed eight; but, whether we have the last three as finisht by himself, is a just and Material Question; concerning which I do declare, That I have been told almost forty years past, by one that very well knew Mr. *Hooker*, and the affaires of his Family, that about a moneth after the death of Mr. *Hooker*, Bishop *Whitgift*, then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, sent one of his Chaplains to enquire of Mrs. *Hooker*, for the three remaining Books of Polity, writ by her Husband; of which, she would not, or could not give any account; and I have been told that about three moneths after the Bishop procured her to be sent for to *London*, and then by his procurement she was to be examined, by some of her Majesties Council, concerning the disposal of those Books: but by way of preparation for the next days examination, the Bishop invited her to *Lambeth*, and, after some friendly questions, she confessed to him, *that one Mr.* Charke *and another Minister that dwelt near* Canterbury, *came to her, and desired that they might go into her Husbands Study, and look upon some of his Writings; and that there they two burnt and tore many of them, assuring her that they were writings not fit to be seen, and that she knew nothing more concerning them.* Her lodging was then in *Kingstreet* in *Westminster*, where she was found next morning dead in her Bed, and her new Husband suspected and questioned for it; but was declared innocent of her Death.

And I declare also, that Doctor *John Spencer* (mentioned in the Life of Mr. *Hooker*) who was of Mr. *Hookers* Colledge, and of his time there, and betwixt whom there was so friendly a friendship, that they continually advised together in all their Studies, and particularly in what concern'd these Books of Polity: this Doctor *Spencer*, the three perfect Books being lost, had delivered into his hands (I think by Bishop *Whitgift*) the imperfect Books, or first rough draughts of them, to be made as perfect as they might be, by him, who both knew Mr. *Hookers* hand-writing, and was best acquainted with his intentions. And a fair Testimony of this may appear by an Epistle first and usually printed before Mr. *Hookers* five Books (but omitted, I know not why, in the last impression of the eight Printed together in *Anno* 1662. in which the Publishers seem to impose the three doubtful, as the undoubted Books of Mr. *Hooker*) with these two Letters *J. S.* at the end of the said Epistle, which was meant for this *John Spencer*; in which Epistle the Reader may find these very words, which may give some Authority to what I have here written.

And though Mr. Hooker *hastened his own Death by hastening to give Life to his Books, yet he held out with his eyes to behold these* Benjamins, *these Sons of his right Hand, though to him they prov'd* Benonies, *Sons of pain and sorrow: But, some evil disposed minds, whether of Malice, or Covetousness, or wicked blind Zeal, it is uncertain, as soon as they were born, and their Fathers dead, smother'd them, and, by conveying the perfect Copies, left unto us nothing but the old imperfect mangled draughts dismembred into pieces; no favour, no grace, not the shadow of themselves remaining in them; had the Father lived to behold them thus defaced, he might rightly have named them* Benonies, *the Sons of Sorrow; but being the learned will not suffer them to die and be buried, it is intended the world shall see them as they are: the*

learned

learned will find in them some shadows and resemblances of their Fathers face. God grant, that as they were with their Brethren dedicated to the Church for messengers of Peace; so, in the strength of that little breath of Life that remaineth in them, they may prosper in their work, and that by satisfying the Doubts of such as are willing to learn, they may help to give an end to the calamities of these our Civil Wars.

F. S.

And next the Reader may note, that this Epistle of Doctor *Spencers* was writ, and first Printed within four years after the death of Mr. *Hooker*, in which time, all diligent search had been made for the perfect Copies; and then granted not recoverable, and therefore indeavoured to be compleated out of Mr. *Hookers* rough draughts, as is expresst by the said Doctor *Spencer*, since whose death it is now fifty years.

And I do profess by the Faith of a Christian, that Doctor *Spencers* Wife (who was my Aunt, and Sister to *George Cranmer* of whom I have spoken) told me forty years since, in these, or in words to this purpose, *that her Husband had made up or finisht Mr.* Hookers *last three Books; and that upon her Husbands Death-bed, or in his last sickness, he gave them into her hand, with a charge they should not be seen by any Man, but be by her delivered into the hands of the then Archbishop of* Canterbury, *which was Doctor* Abbot, *or unto Doctor* King, *Bishop of* London; *and that she did as he injoyn'd her.*

I do conceive, that from Doctor *Spencers* and no other Copy, there have been divers Transcripts, and wereto be found in several places, as namely in Sir *Thomas Bodlies* Library, in that of Doctor *Andrews* late Bishop of *Winton*, in the late Lord *Conwayes*, in the Archbishop of *Canterburies*, and in the Bishop of *Armaghs*, and in many others, and most of these pretended to be the Authors own hand, but much disagreeing, being indeed altered and diminisht as Men have thought fittest to make Mr. *Hookers* Judgment suit with their Fancies; or give authority to their corrupt designs; and for proof of a part of this, take these following testimonies.

Doctor *Barnard*, sometime Chaplain to Doctor *Usher* late Lord Archbishop of *Armagh*, hath declar'd in a late Book called *Clavi Trabales*, Printed by *Richard Hodgkinson*, *Anno* 1661. that in his search and examination of the said Bishops Manuscripts, he there found the three written Books, which were the supposed sixth, seventh, and eighth of Mr. *Hookers* Books of Ecclesiastical Polity; and, that in the said three Books (now printed as Mr. *Hookers*) there are so many Omissions that they amount to many Paragraphs; and, which cause many incoherencies; the Omissions are by him set down at large in the said Printed Book, to which I refer the Reader for the whole; but think fit in this place to insert this following short part of them.

First, as there could be in Natural Bodies no Motion of any thing, unless there were some first which moved all things, and continued Unmoveable; even so in Politick Societies, there must be some unpunishable, or else no Man shall suffer punishment; for, sith punishments proceed always from Superiors to whom the administration of Justice belongeth, which administration must have necessarily a Fountain that deriveth it to all others, and receiveth not from any, (because otherwise the course of Justice should go infinitely in a Circle, every Superiour having his Superiour without end, which cannot be;) therefore, a well spring, it followeth, there is, a Supreme head of Justice whereunto all are subject, but it self in subjection to none. Which kinde of Preheminency if some ought to have in a Kingdom, who but the King shall have it? Kings therefore, or no man can have lawfull power to Judge.

If Private men offend, there is the Magistrate over them which Judgeth; if Magistrates, they have their Prince; if Princes, there is Heaven a Tribunal, before which they shall appear: on Earth they are not accomptable to any. Here says the Doctor, it breaks off abruptly.

And I have these words also attested under the hand of Mr. *Fabian Phillips* a man of note for his useful Books. *I will make Oath if I shall be required, that Doctor* Sanderson *the late Bishop of* Lincoln *did a little before his Death affirm to me he had seen a Manuscript,*

nuſcript, affirmed to him to be the hand-writing of Mr. Richard Hooker, *in which there was no mention made of the King or Supreme Governors being accomptable to the People; this I will make Oath that that good Man atteſted to me.*

Fabian Phillips.

So that there appears to be both Omiſſions and Additions in the ſaid laſt three printed Books; and this may probably be one Reaſon why Doctor *Sanderſon*, the ſaid Learned Biſhop (whoſe writings are ſo highly and juſtly valued) gave a ſtrict charge near the time of his Death, or in his laſt Will, *that nothing of his that was not already Printed, ſhould be Printed after his Death.*

It is well known how high a value our Learned King *James* put upon the Books writ by Mr. *Hooker*, as alſo that our late King *Charls* (the Martyr for the Church) valued them the ſecond of all Books, teſtified by his commending them to the reading of his Son *Charls* that now is our Gratious King; and you may ſuppoſe that this *Charls* the Firſt was not a ſtranger to the pretended three Books, becauſe in a diſcourſe with the Lord *Say*, when the ſaid Lord required the King to grant the truth of his Argument, becauſe it was the Judgement of Mr. *Hooker*, (quoting him in one of the three written Books,) the King replyed, *they were not allowed to be Mr,* Hookers *Books*; but, however *he would allow them to be Mr.* Hookers, *and conſent to what his Lordſhip propoſed to prove out of thoſe doubtful Books if he would but conſent to the Judgment of Mr.* Hooker *in the other five that were the undoubted Books of Mr.* Hooker.

In this Relation concerning theſe three doubtful Books of Mr. *Hookers*, my purpoſe was to enquire, then ſet down what I obſerv'd and know, which I have done, not as an engaged Perſon, but indifferently, and now leave my Reader to give Sentence, for their Legitimation, as to himſelf, but ſo, as to leave others the ſame Liberty of believing, or disbelieving them to be Mr. *Hookers*; and 'tis obſervable, that as Mr. *Hooker* advis'd with Doctor *Spencer*, in the deſign and manage of theſe Books, ſo alſo, and chiefly with his dear Pupil *George Cranmer* (whoſe Siſter was the Wife of Doctor *Spencer*) of which this following Letter may be a Teſtimony; and doth alſo give authority to ſome things mentioned both in this Appendix, and in the Life of Mr. *Hooker*; and, is therefore added.

George

GEORGE CRANMERS
LETTER
UNTO
Mr. RICHARD HOOKER.

February 1598.

WHat Posterity is likely to judge of these matters concerning Church Discipline, we may the better conjecture, if we call to mind what our own Age, within few years, upon better Experience, hath already judged concerning the same. It may be remembred, that at first the greatest part of the Learned in the Land were either eagerly affected, or favourably inclined that way. The Books then written for the most part savoured of the Disciplinary Stile: it sounded everywhere in Pulpits, and in common phrase of mens speech: the contrary part began to fear they had taken a wrong course; many which impugned the Discipline, yet so impugned it, not as not being the better form of Government, but as not being so convenient for our State, in regard of dangerous Innovations thereby like to grow; * one man alone there was, to speak of, (whom let no suspition of flattery deprive of his deserved Commendation,) who in the defiance of the one part, and courage of the other, stood in the gap, and gave others respite to prepare themselves to the defence, which by the sudden eagerness and violence of their Adversaries had otherwise been prevented; wherein God hath made good unto him his own Impress, *Vincit qui patitur*; for what contumelious indignities he hath at their hands sustained, the world is witness, and what reward of Honour above his Adversaries God hath bestowed upon him, themselves (though nothing glad thereof) must needs confess. Now of late years the heat of men towards the Discipline is greatly decayed, their Judgements begin to sway on the other side: the Learned have weighed it, and found it light; wise men conceive some fear, lest it prove not only not the best kind of Government, but the very bane and destruction of all Government. The cause of this Change in Mens Opinions may be drawn from the general nature of Error, disguised and cloathed with the name of Truth; which is mightily and violently to possess men at first, but afterwards, the weakness thereof being by time discovered, to lose that reputation, which before it had gained; as by the outside of an House the passers by are oftentimes deceived, till they see the conveniencie of the Rooms within: so by the very name of Discipline and Reformation, Men were drawn at first to cast a fancy towards it, but now they have not contented themselves only to pass by and behold afar off the fore-front of this reformed house; they have entred in, even at the special request of Master-workmen and chief Builders thereof; they have perused the Roomes, the Lights, the Conveniencies, they find them not answerable to that report which was made of them, nor to that opinion which upon report they had conceived: So as now the Discipline which at first triumphed over all, being unmasked, beginneth to droop and hang down her head.

* *John Whitgift*, the Archbishop.

This cause of change in opinion concerning the Discipline, is proper to the Learned, or to such as by them have been instructed; another cause there is more open,

open, and more apparent to the view of all, namely, the course of Practice, which the Reformers have had with us from the beginning; the first degree was only some small difference about Cap and Surplice, but not such as either bred division in the Church; or tended to the ruine of the Government established. This was peaceable; the next degree more stirring. *Admonitions* were directed to the Parliament in peremptory sort against our whole Form of Regiment; in defence of them, Volumes were published in English, and in Latin; yet this was no more than writing, Devices were set on foot to erect the Practice of the Discipline without Authority: yet herein some regard of Modesty, some moderation was used; Behold, at length it brake forth into open outrage, first in writing by *Martin*, in whose kind of dealing these things may be observed; first that whereas *T. C.* and others his great Masters had alwayes before set out the Discipline as a Queen, and as the Daughter of God; He contrariwise, to make her more acceptable to the people, brought her forth as a Vice upon the Stage. 2. This conceit of his was grounded (as may be supposed) upon this rare Polity, that seeing the Discipline was by writing refuted, in Parliament rejected, in secret corners hunted out and decried, it was imagined that by open rayling (which to the vulgar is commonly most plausible) the State Ecclesiastical might have been drawn into such contempt and hatred, as the overthrow thereof should have been most grateful to all Men, and in manner desired of the common people. 3. It may be noted (and this I know my self to be true) how some of them, although they could not for shame approve so lewd an Action, yet were content to lay hold on it to the advancement of their cause, acknowledging therein the secret judgements of God against the Bishops, and hoping that some good might be wrought thereby for his Church, as indeed there was, though not according to their construction. For 4. Contrary to their expectation, that railing Spirit did not only not further, but extremely disgrace and prejudice their Cause, when it was once perceived from how low degrees of contradiction, at first, to what outrage of Contumely and Slander they were at length proceeded; and were also likely further to proceed.

* *Hacket* and *Coppinger.*

A further degree of outrage was in Fact; Certain * Prophets did arise, who deeming it not possible that God should suffer that to be undone, which they did so fiercely desire to have done, Namely, that his holy Saints, the favourers and Fathers of the Discipline, should be enlarged, and delivered from persecution; and seeing no means of deliverance Ordinary, were fain to perswade themselves that God must needs raise some extraordinary means; and being perswaded of none so well as of themselves, they forthwith must needs be the instruments of this great work. Hereupon they framed unto themselves an assured hope that upon their Preaching out of a Pease Cart, all the multitude would have presently joyned unto them, and in amazement of mind have asked them, *Viri fratres, quid agimus?* whereunto it is likely they would have returned an answer far unlike to that of St. Peter, *Such and such are Men unworthy to govern, pluck them down; Such and such are the Dear Children of God, let them be advanced.* Of two of these Men, it is meet to speak with all Commiseration, yet so that others by their example may receive instruction, and withall some light may appear, what stirring affections the Discipline is like to inspire, if it light upon apt and prepared minds.

Now if any Man doubt of what Society they were, or if the Reformers disclaim them, pretending that by them they were condemned, let these points be considered. 1. *Whose associates were they before they entered into this frantick Passion; whose Sermons did they frequent? whom did they admire?* 2. *Even when they were entering into it, whose advice did they require?* and when they were in, *whose approbation? whom advertised they of their purpose? whose assistance by Prayers did they request?* But we deal injuriously with them to lay this to their charge; for they reproved and condemned it. How? did they disclose it to the Magistrate, that it might be suppressed? or were they not rather content to stand aloof off, and see the end of it, and loth to quench the Spirit? No doubt these mad practitioners were of their society with whom before, and in the practice of their madness they had most affinity. Hereof, read Doctor *Bancrofts* Book.

A third inducement may be to dislike of the Discipline, if we consider not only how

how far the Reformers themselves have proceeded, but what others upon their Foundations have built. Here come the *Brownists* in the first rank, their lineal descendants, who have seised upon a number of strange opinions; whereof, although their Ancestors, the Reformers, were never actually possessed, yet by right and interest from them derived, the *Brownists* and *Barrowists* have taken possession of them: For if the Positions of the Reformers be true, I cannot see how the main and general Conclusions of *Brownism* should be false; for upon these two points, as I conceive, they stand.

1. *That because we have no Church, they are to sever themselves from us.*
2. *That without Civil Authority, they are to erect a Church of their own.*

And if the former of these be true, the latter, I suppose, will follow: For if above all things, Men be to regard their Salvation; and if out of the Church, there be no Salvation; it followeth, That if we have no Church, we have no means of Salvation: And therefore Separation from us, in that respect, is both lawful and necessary. As also, That men so separated from the false and counterfeit Church, are to associate themselves unto some Church; not to ours; to the Popish much less; therefore to one of their own making. Now the ground of all these Inferences being this, [*That in our Church, there is no means of Salvation*] is out of the Reformers Principles most clearly to be proved. For whersoever any Matter of Faith unto Salvation necessary is denied, there can be no means of Salvation: But in the Church of *England*, the Discipline by them accounted a Matter of Faith, and necessary to Salvation, is not onely denied, but impugned, and the Professors thereof oppressed, *Ergo.*

Again, (but this Reason perhaps is weak) Every true Church of Christ acknowledgeth the whole Gospel of Christ: The Discipline, in their opinion, is a part of the Gospel, and yet by our Church resisted. *Ergo.*

Again, The Discipline is essentially united to the Church: By which term *Essentially*, they must mean either an essential part, or an essential property. Both which ways it must needs be, That where that Essential Discipline is not, neither is there any Church. If therefore between them, and the *Brownists*, there should be appointed a Solemn Disputation, whereof with us they have been oftentimes so earnest challengers: It doth not yet appear what other answer they could possibly frame to these and the like Arguments, wherewith they might be pressed, but fairly to deny the Conclusion (for all the Premisses are their own) or rather ingenuously to reverse their own Principles before laid, whereon so foul absurdities have been so firmly built.

What further proofs you can bring out of their high words, magnifying the Discipline, I leave to your better remembrance: But above all points, I am desirous this one should be strongly inforced against them, because it wringeth them most of all, and is of all others (for ought I see) the most unanswerable; you may notwithstanding say, That you would be heartily glad these their Positions might so be salved, as the *Brownists* might not appear to have issued out of their Loyns; but until that be done, they must give us leave to think *that they have cast the Seed whereout these Tares are grown.*

Another sort of Men there are, which have been content to run on with the Reformers for a time, and to make them poor instruments of their own designs. These are a sort of Godless Politicks, who perceiving the Plot of Discipline to consist of these two parts, The overthrow of Episcopal, and erection of Presbyterial Authority; and that this latter can take no place till the former be remov'd, are content to joyn with them in the Destructive part of Discipline, bearing them in hand, that in the other also, they shall finde them as ready. But when time shall come, it may be they would be as loth to be yoaked with that kinde of Regiment, as now they are willing to be released from this. These Mens ends in all their actions, is Distraction; their pretence and colour, Reformation. Those things which under this colour they have effected to their own good, are, 1. By maintaining a contrary Faction, they have kept the Clergy always in aw; and thereby made them more pliable and willing to buy their Peace. 2. By maintaining an opinion of Equality among Ministers, they have made way to their own purposes for devouring Cathedral Churches, and Bishops

Livings. 3. By exclaiming againſt abuſes in the Church, they have carried their own corrupt dealings in the Civil State more covertly; for ſuch is the nature of the multitude, they are not able to apprehend many things at once, ſo as being poſſeſſed with a diſlike or liking of any one thing, many other, in the mean time, may eſcape them, without being perceived. 4. They have ſought to diſgrace the Clergy, in entertaining a conceit in mens minds, and confirming it by continual practice, that Men of Learning, and ſpecially of the Clergy, which are imployed in the chiefeſt kinde of Learning, are not to be admitted, or ſparingly admitted to Matters of State; contrary to the practice of all well-governed Commonwealths, and of our own, till theſe late years.

A third ſort of Men there are, though not deſcended from the Reformers, yet in part raiſed and greatly ſtrengthned by them, namely, the curſed crew of *Atheiſts*. This alſo is one of thoſe Points which I am deſirous you ſhould handle moſt effectually, and ſtrain your ſelf therein to all points of motion and affection, as in that of the *Browniſts*, to all ſtrength and ſinews of Reaſon. This is a ſort moſt damnable, and yet by the general ſuſpition of the World at this day moſt common. The cauſes of it, which are in the parties themſelves, although you handle in the beginning of the Fift Book, yet here again they may be touched; but the occaſions of help and furtherance, which by the Reformers have been yielded unto them, are, as I conceive, two, *Senſeleſs Preaching*, and *diſgracing of the Miniſtry*: For how ſhould not men dare to impugn that, which neither by force of Reaſon, nor by Authority of Perſons is maintained? But in the parties themſelves, theſe two cauſes, I conceive of *Atheiſm*, 1. More abundance of Wit then Judgment, and of Witty then Judicious Learning, whereby *they are more inclined to contradict any thing, then willing to be informed of the truth.* They are not therefore Men of ſound Learning for the moſt part, but Smatterers; neither is their kinde of Diſpute ſo much by force of Argument, as by Scoffing: Which humor of Scoffing, and turning Matters moſt ſerious into merriment, is now become ſo common, as we are not to marvel what the Prophet means by the *Seat of Scorners*, nor what the Apoſtles by foretelling of *Scorners to come*; our own Age hath verified their ſpeech unto us; which alſo may be an Argument againſt theſe Scoffers and Atheiſts themſelves, ſeeing it hath been ſo many Ages ago foretold, That ſuch Men the latter days of the World ſhould afford, which could not be done by any other Spirit, ſave that whereunto *things future and preſent are alike.* And even for the main queſtion of the Reſurrection, whereat they ſtick ſo mightily, was it not plainly foretold, that men ſhould in the latter times ſay, *Where is the promiſe of his coming?* Againſt the Creation, the Ark, and divers other Points, exceptions are ſaid to be taken; the ground whereof is ſuperfluity of Wit, without ground of Learning and Judgment.

A ſecond cauſe of *Atheiſm*, is *Senſuality*, which maketh men deſirous to remove all ſtops and impediments of their wicked life; amongſt which, becauſe Religion is the chiefeſt, ſo as neither in this life without ſhame they can perſiſt therein, nor (if that be true) without Torment in the life to come; they whet their Wits to annihilate the Joys of Heaven, wherein they ſee (if any ſuch be) they can have no part; and likewiſe the pains of Hell, wherein their portion muſt needs be very great. They labor therefore, not that they may not deſerve thoſe pains, but that deſerving them, there may be no ſuch pains to ſeize upon them: But what conceit can be imagined more baſe, then that man ſhould ſtrive to perſwade himſelf, even againſt the ſecret inſtinct (no doubt) of his own Minde, that his Soul is as the Soul of a Beaſt, Mortal and corruptible with the Body? Againſt which barbarous Opinion, their own *Atheiſm* is a very ſtrong Argument; *For were not the Soul a Nature ſeparable from the Body, how could it enter into diſcourſe of things meerly Spiritual, and nothing at all pertaining to the Body? Surely, the Soul were not able to conceive any thing of Heaven, no not ſo much as to diſpute againſt Heaven, and againſt God, if there were not in it ſomewhat Heavenly, and derived from God.*

The laſt which have received ſtrength and encouragement from the Reformers, are *Papiſts*; againſt whom, although they are moſt bitter enemies, yet unwittingly they have given them great advantage. For what can any enemy rather deſire, then the breach and diſſention of thoſe which are Confederates againſt him? Wherein they are to remember, That if our Communion with *Papiſts* in ſome few Ceremonies do

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ſo much ſtrengthen them, as is pretended, How much more doth this Diviſion and Rent among our ſelves, eſpecially ſeeing it is maintained to be, not in light Matters onely, but even in Matter of Faith and Salvation? Which over-reaching Speech of theirs, becauſe it is ſo open to advantage for the *Barrowiſt* and the *Papiſt*, we are to wiſh and hope for, that they will acknowledge it to have been ſpoken rather in heat of affection, then with ſoundneſs of judgment; and that through their exceeding love to that Creature of Diſcipline which themſelves have bred, nouriſhed, and maintained, their mouth in commendation of her, did ſoon overflow.

From hence you may proceed (but the means of connexion I leave to your ſelf) to another Diſcourſe, which I think very meet to be handled, either here or elſwhere at large; the parts whereof may be theſe.

1. That in this cauſe between them and us, Men are to ſever the proper and eſſential Points in Controverſie, from thoſe which are accidental. The moſt eſſential and proper are theſe two; Overthrow of *Epiſcopal, Erection* of *Presbyterial Authority*. But in theſe two Points whoſoever joyneth with them, is accounted of their number; whoſoever in all other Points agreeth with them, yet thinketh the *Authority of Biſhops* not unlawful, and of *Elders* not neceſſary, may juſtly be ſevered from their retinue. Thoſe things therefore which either in the Perſons, or in the Laws and Orders themſelves are faulty, may be complained on, acknowledged, and amended; yet they no whit the nearer their main purpoſe: For what if all Errors by them ſuppoſed in our *Liturgy* were amended, even according to their own hearts deſire; if *Non-Reſidence, Pluralities*, and the like, were utterly taken away; are their *Lay-Elders* therefore preſently authoriſed, or their *Soveraign Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction* eſtabliſhed?

But even in their complaining againſt the outward and accidental Matters in Church-Government, they are many ways faulty. 1. In their end which they propoſe to themſelves. For in declaiming againſt abuſes, their meaning is not to have them redreſſed, but by diſgracing the preſent State to make way for their own Diſcipline. As therefore in *Venice*, if any Senator ſhould diſcourſe againſt the Power of their Senate, as being either too Soveraign or too weak in Government, with purpoſe to draw their Authority to a Moderation, it might well be ſuffered; but not ſo, if it ſhould appear he ſpake with purpoſe to induce another State by depraving the preſent: So in all Cauſes belonging either to Ghurch or Commonwealth, we are to have regard, what minde the Complaining part doth bear, whether of Amendment or Innovation, and accordingly, either to ſuffer or ſuppreſs it. Their Objection therefore is frivolous, *Why may not Men ſpeak againſt Abuſes?* Yes; but with deſire to cure the Part affected, not to deſtroy the Whole. 2. A ſecond fault is in their manner of Complaining, not onely becauſe it is for the moſt part in bitter and reproachful terms, but alſo it is to the common people, *Who are Judges incompetent and inſufficient, both to determine any thing amiſs; and for want of skill and authority, to amend it.* Which alſo diſcovereth their intent and purpoſe to be rather deſtructive then corrective. 3. Thirdly, Thoſe very Exceptions which they take, are frivolous and impertinent. Some things indeed they accuſe as impious, which if they may appear to be ſuch, God forbid they ſhould be maintained.

Againſt the reſt it is onely alledged, That they are idle Ceremonies without uſe, and that better and more profitable might be deviſed; wherein they are doubly deceiv'd: For neither is it a ſufficient Plea to ſay, This muſt give place, becauſe a better may be deviſed; becauſe in our judgments of better and worſe, we oftentimes conceive amiſs, when we compare thoſe things which are in device, with thoſe which are in practice: *For the Imperfections of the one are hid, till by time and tryal they be diſcovered*; the others are already manifeſt and open to all. But laſt of all, (which is a Point in my Opinion of great regard, and which I am deſirous to have enlarg'd) they do not ſee that for the moſt part when they ſtrike at the *State Eccleſiaſtical*, they ſecretly wound the *Civil State*: For Perſonal Faults, *What can be ſaid againſt the Church, which may not alſo agree to the Commonwealth?* In both Stateſmen have always been, and will be always, Men, ſometimes blinded with Error, moſt commonly perverted by Paſſions: Many unworthy have been and are advanced in both, many worthy not regarded. And as for abuſes which they pretend to be in the Laws themſelves, when they inveigh againſt *Non-Reſidence*, do they take it a matter lawful or

expedient

expedient in the *Civil State*, for a Man to have a great and gainful Office in the *North*, himself continually remaining in the *South*? *He that hath an Office, let him attend his office.* When they condemn *Plurality* of *Livings Spiritual* to the Pit of Hell; what think they of *Infinite* of *Temporal Promotions*? By the *Great Philosopher*, *Pol. lib. 2. cap. 9.* it is forbidden as a thing most dangerous to Commonwealths, that by the same Man many great Offices should be exercised. When they deride our Ceremonies as vain and frivolous, were it hard to apply their Exceptions, even to those Civil Ceremonies which at the *Coronation*, in *Parliament*, and all *Courts of Justice* are used? Were it hard to argue, even against *Circumcision*, the *Ordinance of God*, as being a cruel Ceremony? Against the *Passover*, as being ridiculous, should be girt, a staff in their hand, to eat a *Lamb*?

To conclude: You may exhort the *Clergy*, (or, what if you direct your Conclusion not to the *Clergy* in general, but onely to the Learned in or of both *Universities*?) You may exhort them to a due consideration of all things, and to a right esteem and valuing of each thing in that degree wherein it ought to stand: *For it oftentimes falleth out, that what Men have either devised themselves, or greatly delighted in; the price and the excellency thereof, they do admire above desert.* The chiefest labor of a *Christian* should be to know; of a *Minister*, to *Preach Christ crucified*: In regard whereof, not onely worldly things, but things otherwise precious, even the *Discipline* it self, is vile and base. Whereas now, by the heat of Contention, and violence of Affection, the Zeal of Men towards the one, hath greatly decayed their love to the other. Hereunto therefore they are to be exhorted, to *Preach Christ crucified*, the *Mortification of the Flesh*, the *Renewing of the Spirit*; not those things which in time of Strife seem precious, but (Passions being allayed) are vain and childish.

GEO. CRANMER.

This *Epitaph* was long since presented to the World in Memory of Mr. *Hooker*, by Sir *William Cooper*; who also built him a fair Monument in *Borne-Church*, and acknowledges him to have been his *Spiritual Father*.

Though nothing can be spoke worthy his Fame,
Or the Remembrance of that precious Name,
Judicious Hooker; though this cost be spent
On him, that hath a Lasting Monument
In his own Books; yet, ought we to express,
If not his Worth, yet our Respectfulness.
Church-Ceremonies he maintain'd: Then why
Without all Ceremony should he die?
Was it because his Life and Death should be
Both equal Patterns of Humility?
Or, that perhaps this onely glorious one
Was above all, to ask, Why had he none?
Yet he that lay so long obscurely low,
Doth now preferr'd to greater Honors go.
Ambitious men, learn hence to be more Wise;
Humility is the true way to rise:
And God in me this Lesson did inspire,
To bid this humble Man, Friend sit up higher.

W. C.

TO THE

Moſt Reverend Father

in GOD, my very good Lord, the Lord Archbiſhop of CANTERBURY his Grace, *Primate* and *Metropolitan* of all *ENGLAND*.

MOſt Reverend in Chriſt, the long continued, and more then ordinary favor, which hitherto your Grace hath been pleaſed to ſhew towards me, may juſtly claim at my hands ſome thankful acknowledgment thereof. In which conſideration, as alſo for that I embrace willingly the ancient received courſe, and conveniency of that Diſcipline, which teacheth inferior Degrees and Orders in the Church of God, to ſubmit their Writings to the ſame Authority, from which their allowable dealings whatſoever, in ſuch affairs, muſt receive approbation, I nothing fear but that your accuſtomed clemency will take in good worth, the offer of theſe my ſimple and mean Labors, beſtowed for the neceſſary juſtification of Laws heretofore made queſtionable, becauſe, as I take it, they were not perfectly underſtood: For ſurely, I cannot finde any great cauſe of juſt complaint, that good Laws have ſo much been wanting unto us, as we to them. To ſeek Reformation of evil Laws, is a commendable endeavor; but for us the more neceſſary, is a ſpeedy redreſs of our ſelves. We have on all ſides loſt much of our firſt fervency towards God; and therefore concerning our own degenerated ways, we have reaſon to exhort with St. *Gregory*, Ὅπερ ἦμεν ἀνώμεθα, *Let us return again unto that which we ſometime were*; but touching the exchange of

The cauſe of Writing this General Diſcourſe.

Greg. Naz.

Laws in Practice, with Laws in Device, which, they say, are better for the State of the Church, if they might take place, the farther we examine them, the greater cause we finde to conclude μένωμεν ὅπερ ἐσμέν, *although we continue the same we are, the harm is not great.* These fervent Reprehenders of things established by Publick Authority, are always confident and bold spirited men. But their confidence for the most part riseth from too much credit given to their own wits, for which cause they are seldom free from Error. The Errors which we seek to reform in this kinde of men, are such as both received at your own hands their first wound, and from that time to this present, have been proceeded in with that Moderation, which useth by Patience to suppress boldness, and to make them conquer that suffer. Wherein considering the nature and kinde of these Controversies, the dangerous sequels whereunto they were likely to grow, and how many ways we have been thereby taught Wisdom, I may boldly aver concerning the first, that as the weightiest conflicts the Church hath had, were those which touched the Head, the Person of our Saviour Christ; and the next of importance, those questions which are at this day between us and the Church of *Rome*, about the Actions of the Body of the Church of God; so these which have lastly sprung up from Complements, Rites, and Ceremonies of Church Actions, are in truth, for the greatest part, such silly things, that very easiness doth make them hard to be disputed of in serious manner. Which also may seem to be the cause, why divers of the Reverend Prelacy, and other most judicious men, have especially bestowed their pains about the Matter of Jurisdiction. Notwithstanding, led by your Graces example, my self have thought it convenient to wade through the whole Cause, following that method which searcheth the Truth by the causes of Truth. Now if any marvel, how a thing in it self so weak, could import any great danger, they must consider not so much how small the spark is that flieth up, as how apt things about it, are to take fire. Bodies Politick being subject as much as

Natural, to dissolution, by divers means; there are undoubtedly more estates overthrown through diseases, bred within themselves, then through violence from abroad; because our manner is always to cast a doubtful and a more suspicious eye towards that, over which we know we have least power: And therefore, the fear of External dangers, causeth forces at home to be the more united. It is to all sorts a kinde of Bridle, it maketh vertuous Mindes watchful, it holdeth contrary Dispositions in suspence, and it setteth those Wits on work in better things, which could be else imployed in worse; whereas on the other side, domestical Evils, for that we think we can master them at all times, are often permitted to run on forward, till it be too late to recal them. In the mean while, the Commonwealth is not onely through unsoundness so far impaired, as those evils chance to prevail; but farther also, through opposition arising between the unsound parts and the sound, where each endeavoreth to draw evermore contrary ways, till destruction in the end, bring the whole to ruine.

To reckon up how many Causes there are, by force whereof Divisions may grow in a Commonwealth, is not here necessary. Such as rise from variety in Matter of Religion, are not onely the fartheſt spred, because in Religion all men presume themselves interessed alike, but they are also for the most part, hotlier prosecuted and pursued then other strifes; for as much as coldness, which in other Contentions, may be thought to proceed from Moderation, is not in these so favorably construed. The part which in this present quarrel, striveth against the Current and Stream of Laws, was a long while nothing feared, the wisest contented not to call to minde how Errors have their effect, many times not proportioned to that little appearance of Reason, whereupon they would seem built, but rather to the vehement affection or fancy which is cast towards them, and proceedeth from other Causes. For there are divers Motives drawing men to favor mightily those Opinions, wherein their Perswasions are but weakly setled; and if the Passions

of the Minde be strong, they easily sophisticate the Understanding, they make it apt to believe upon very slender warrant, and to imagine infallible Truth, where scarce any probable shew appeareth.

Thus were those poor seduced Creatures, *Hacquet* and his other two adherents, whom I can neither speak nor think of, but with much commisseration and pity. Thus were they trained by fair ways first, accompting their own extraordinary love to his Discipline; a token of Gods more then ordinary love towards them. From hence they grew to a strong conceit, that God which had moved them to love his Discipline, more then the common sort of men did, might have a purpose by their means to bring a wonderful work to pass, beyond all mens expectation; for the advancement of the Throne of Discipline by some Tragical Execution, with the particularities, whereof it was not safe for their Friends to be made acquainted; of whom, they did therefore but covertly demand, what they thought of extraordinary Motions of the Spirit in these days; and withal request to be commended unto God by their Prayers, whatsoever should be undertaken by Men of God, in meer Zeal to his Glory, and the good of his distressed Church. With this unusual and strange course they went on forward, till God, in whose heaviest worldly Judgments, I nothing doubt, but that there may lie hidden Mercy, gave them over to their own Inventions, and left them made, in the end, an example for Headstrong and Inconsiderate Zeal, no less fearful then *Achitophel*, for Proud and Irreligious Wisdom. If a spark of Error have thus far prevailed, falling even where the Wood was green, and fartheſt off, to all mens thinking, from any inclination unto furious Attempts, must not the peril thereof, be greater in men whose mindes are of themselves as dry fewel, apt beforehand unto Tumults, Seditions, and Broyls? But by this we see in a Cause of Religion, to how desperate adventures, men will strain themselves for relief of their own part, having Law and Authority against them.

Further-

Furthermore, Let not any man think, that in such Divisions, either part can free it self from inconveniencies, sustained not onely through a kinde of Truce; which Vertue on both sides, doth make with Vice, during War, between Truth and Error; but also, in that there are hereby so fit occasions ministred for men to purchase to themselves welwillers by the colour, under which they oftentimes prosecute quarrels of Envy or Inveterate Malice, and especially, because Contentions were as yet never able to prevent two Evils: The one a mutual exchange of unseemly and unjust disgraces, offered by men, whose Tongues and Passions are out of rule; the other, a common hazard of both, to be made a prey by such as study how to work upon all Occurrents, with most advantage in private. I deny not therefore, but that our Antagonists in these Controversies, may peradventure have met with some, not unlike to *Ithacius*, who mightily bending himself by all means against the Heresie of *Priscillian*, (the hatred of which one Evil, was all the Vertue he had) became so wise in the end, That every man, careful of Vertuous Conversations, studious of Scripture, and given unto any abstinence in Diet, was set down in his Kalender of suspected Priscillianists, for whom it should be expedient to approve their soundness of Faith, by a more licencious and loose behavior. Such Proctors and Patrons the Truth might spare: Yet is not their grossness so intolerable, as on the contrary side, the scurrilous and more then Satyrical immodesty of Martinism; the first published Schedules whereof, being brought to the hands of a grave and a very Honorable Knight, with signification given, that the Book would refresh his spirits, he took it, saw what the Title was, read over an unsavory sentence or two, and delivered back the Libel with this Answer. *I am sorry you are of the minde to be solaced with these sports, and sorrier you have herein thought mine affection to be like your own.* But as these sores on all hands lie open, so the deepest wounds of the Church of God, have been more softly and closely given. It being perceived, that the Plot of Discipline,

Sulp. Sever. Epist. Hist. Eccles.

pline did not onely bend it ſelf to reform Ceremonies, but ſeek farther to erect a popular authority of Elders, and to take away Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, together with all other Ornaments and means, whereby any difference or inequality is upheld in the Eccleſiaſtical Order; towards this deſtructive part, they have found many helping hands, divers although peradventure not willing to be yoked with Elderſhips, yet contented (for what intent God doth know) to uphold oppoſition againſt Biſhops, not without greater hurt to the courſe of their whole proceedings in the buſineſs of God and Her Majeſties ſervice, then otherwiſe much more weighty Adverſaries had been able by their own power to have brought to paſs. Men are naturally better contented to have their commendable actions ſuppreſt, then the contrary much divulged. And becauſe the Wits of the multitude are ſuch, that many things they cannot lay hold on at once, but being poſſeſt with ſome notable either diſlike or liking of any one thing whatſoever, ſundry other in the mean time may eſcape them unperceived: Therefore if men deſirous to have their Vertues noted, do in this reſpect grieve at the fame of others, whoſe glory obſcureth and darkneth theirs, it cannot be choſen, but that when the ears of the people are thus continually beaten with exclamations againſt abuſes in the Church; theſe tunes come always moſt acceptable to them, whoſe odious and corrupt dealings in ſecular affairs, both paſs by that mean the more covertly; and whatſoever happen, do alſo the leaſt feel that ſcourge of vulgar imputation, which notwithſtanding they moſt deſerve. All this conſidered, as behoveth, the ſequel of duty on our part, is onely that which our Lord and Saviour requireth, harmleſs Diſcretion, the wiſdom of Serpents tempered with the innocent meekneſs of Doves: For this World will teach them wiſdom, that have capacity to apprehend it. Our wiſdom in this caſe muſt be ſuch, as doth not propoſe to it ſelf τὸ ἴδιον our own particular, the partial and immoderate deſire whereof, poyſoneth whereſoever it taketh place: But the ſcope and mark which we are to aim

at,

at, is τὸ κοινὸν the publick and common good of all; for the easier procurement whereof, our diligence must search out all helps and furtherances of direction, which Scriptures, Counsels, Fathers, Histories, the Laws and Practices of all Churches, the mutual Conference of all Mens Collections and Observations may afford: Our industry must even anatomize every Particle of that Body, which we are to uphold sound; and because, be it never so true which we teach the World to believe, yet if once their affections begin to be alienated, a small thing perswadeth them to change their opinions, it behoveth, that we vigilantly note and prevent by all means those evils, whereby the hearts of men are lost; which evils for the most part being personal, do arm in such sort the Adversaries of God and his Church against us, that if through our too much neglect and security the same should run on, soon might we feel our estate brought to those lamentable terms, whereof this hard and heavy sentence was by one of the Ancients uttered upon like occasions. *Dolens dico, gemens denuncio, sacerdotium quod apud nos intus cecidit, foris diu stare non poterit.* But the gracious providence of Almighty God hath, I trust, put these Thorns of Contradiction in our sides, lest that should steal upon the Church in a slumber, which now, I doubt not, but through his assistance, may be turned away from us, bending thereunto our selves with constancy, constancy in labor to do all men good, constancy in Prayer unto God for all men; Her especially, whose sacred power matched with incomparable goodness of Nature, hath hitherto been Gods most happy Instrument, by him miraculously kept for works of so miraculous preservation and safety unto others; that as, *By the Sword of God and Gedeon*, was sometime the cry of the people of *Israel*, so it might deservedly be at this day the joyful Song of innumerable multitudes, yea, the Emblem of some Estates and Dominions in the world, and (which must be eternally confest even with tears of thankfulness) the true Inscription, Stile, or Title of all Churches as yet standing within this Realm, *By the goodness of Almighty God,* Judg. 7. 20.

Leg. Carol. Mag. fol. 421.

and

and his servant Elizabeth, *we are.* That God, who is able to make Mortality immortal, give her such future continuance as may be no less glorious unto all Posterity, then the days of Her Regiment past have been happy unto our selves; and for his most dear Anointeds sake, grant them all prosperity, whose Labors, Cares, and Counsels, unfeignedly are referred to Her endless welfare, through his unspeakable mercy, unto whom we all owe everlasting praise. In which desire I will here rest, humbly beseeching your Grace, to pardon my great boldness, and God to multiply his Blessings upon them that fear his Name.

Your Graces in all duty,

RICHARD HOOKER.

A

PREFACE

To them that seek (as they term it)

The Reformation of *Laws* and *Orders Ecclesiastical*,

IN THE

Church of England.

THough for no other cause, yet for this, That Posterity may know we have not loosly through silence, permitted things to pass away as in a Dream, there shall be for Mens information extant thus much concerning the present state of the Church of God, established amongst us, and their careful endeavor which would have upheld the same. At your hands, beloved in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, (for in him the love which we bear unto all that would but seem to be born of him, it is not the Sea of your Gall and Bitterness that shall ever drown) I have no great cause to look for other, then the self-same portion and lot, which your manner hath been hitherto to lay on them that concur not in Opinion and Sentence with you. But our hope is, that the God of Peace shall (notwithstanding mans nature, too impatient of contumelious malediction) enable us quietly, and even gladly to suffer all things for that work sake, which we covet to perform. The wonderful zeal and fervor wherewith ye have withstood the received Orders of this Church, was the first thing which caused me to enter into consideration, Whether (as all your published Books and Writings peremptorily maintain) every Christian man fearing God, stand bound to joyn with you for the futherance of that which ye term The Lords Discipline. Wherein I must plainly confess unto you, that before I examined your sundry Declarations in that behalf, it could not settle in my head to think, but that undoubtedly such numbers of otherwise right well-affected and most religiously enclined minds, had some marvellous reasonable enducements which led them with so great earnestness that way. But when once, as near as my slender ability would serve, I had with travel and care performed that part of the Apostles advice and counsel in such cases, whereby he willeth to try all things, and was come at the length so far, that there remained only the other clause to be satisfied, wherein he concludeth, that what good is, must be held: There was in my poor understanding no remedy, but to set down this as my final resolute perswasion. Surely, the present Form of Church Government, which the Laws of this Land have established, is such, as no Law of God, nor Reason of Man hath hitherto been alledged of force, sufficient to prove they do ill, who to the uttermost of their power, withstand the alteration thereof. *Contrariwise*, The other, which instead of it, we are required to accept, is onely by Error and misconceipt, named the Ordinance of Jesus Christ, no one Proof as yet brought forth, whereby it may clearly appear to be so in very deed. *The Explication of which two things, I have here thought good to offer into your own hands; Heartily beseeching you,*

The Cause and occasion of handling these things; and what might be wished in them, for whose sakes so much pains is taken.

even by the Meekneſs of Jeſus Chriſt, whom I truſt ye love, That, as ye tender the Peace and Quietneſs of this Church, if there be in you that gracious Humility which hath ever been the Crown and Glory of a Chriſtianly diſpoſed minde: If your own ſouls, hearts, and conſciences, (the ſound integrity whereof can but hardly ſtand with the refuſal of Truth in perſonal reſpects) be, as I doubt not, but they are things moſt dear and precious unto you:

Jam. 2. 1. Let not the Faith which ye have in our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, be blemiſhed with partialities, *regard not who it is which ſpeaketh, but weigh onely what is ſpoken. Think not that ye read the words of one who bendeth himſelf as an Adverſary againſt the Truth, which ye have already embraced, but the words of one, who deſireth even to embrace together with you the ſelf ſame Truth, if it be the Truth; and for that cauſe (for no other, God he knoweth) hath undertaken the burthenſom labor of this painful kinde of Conference. For the plainer acceſs whereunto, let it be lawful for me to rip up the very bottom, how, and by whom your Diſcipline was planted, at ſuch time as this age we live in, began to make firſt tryal thereof.*

The firſt Eſtabliſhment of new Diſcipline by Mr. *Calvins* induſtry, in the Church of *Geneva*; and the beginning of ſtrife about it amongſt our ſelves.

2. *A Founder it had, whom, for mine own part, I think incomparably the wiſeſt man that ever the French Church did injoy, ſince the hour it injoyed him. His bringing up was in the ſtudy of the Civil Law. Divine knowledge he gathered not by hearing or reading ſo much, as by teaching others. For though thouſands were debters to him, as touching knowledge in that kinde, yet he to none but onely to God, the Author of that moſt bleſſed Fountain* The Book of Life, *and of the admirable dexterity of Wit, together with the helps of other learning which were his Guides; till being occaſioned to leave* France, *he fell at the length upon* Geneva. *Which City, the Biſhop and Clergy thereof, had a little before (as ſome affirm) forſaken, being of likelihood frighted with the peoples ſudden attempt for aboliſhment of Popiſh Religion; the event of which enterprize, they thought it not ſafe for themſelves to wait for in that place. At the coming of* Calvin *thither, the form of their Civil Regiment was popular, as it continueth at this day: Neither King, nor Duke, nor Nobleman of any authority or power over them, but Officers choſen by the people out of themſelves, to order all things with publick conſent. For Spiritual Government, they had no Laws at all agreed upon, but did what the Paſtors of their Souls, by perſwaſion, could win them unto.* Calvin *being admitted one of their Preachers and a Divinity-Reader amongſt them, conſidered how dangerous it was, that the whole eſtate of that Church ſhould hang ſtill on ſo ſlender a thred, as the liking of an ignorant multitude is, if it have power to change whatſoever it ſelf liſteth. Wherefore taking unto him two of the other Miniſters, for more countenance of the action (albeit the reſt were all againſt it) they moved, and in the end perſwaded, with much ado, the people to binde themſelves by ſolemn Oath, firſt, Never to admit the Papacy amongſt them again; and ſecondly, To live in obedience unto ſuch Orders concerning the Exerciſe of their Religion, and the Form of their Eccleſiaſtical Government, as thoſe their true and faithful Miniſters of Gods Word had agreeably to Scripture ſet down for that end and purpoſe. When theſe things began to be put in ure, the people alſo (what cauſes moving them thereunto, themſelves beſt know) began to repent them of that they had done, and irefully to champ upon the Bit they had taken into their Mouths, the rather, for that they grew by means of this Innovation into diſlike with ſome Churches near about them, the benefit of whoſe good friendſhip, their State could not well lack. It was the manner of thoſe times, (whether through mens deſire, to enjoy alone the glory of their own enterpriſes, or elſe, becauſe the quickneſs of their occaſions required preſent diſpatch;) ſo it was, that every particular Church did that within it ſelf, which ſome few of their own thought good, by whom the reſt were all directed. Such number of Churches then being, though free within themſelves, yet ſmall common Conference before-hand might have eaſed them of much after trouble. But a great inconvenience it bred, That every later endeavored to be certain degrees more removed from Conformity with the Church of* Rome, *then the reſt before had been; whereupon grew marvellous great diſſimilitudes, and by reaſon thereof, jealouſies, heart-burnings, jars, and diſcords amongſt them. Which notwithſtanding might have eaſily been prevented, if the Orders which each Church did think fit and convenient for it ſelf, had not ſo peremptorily been eſtabliſhed under that high commanding Form, which rendred them unto the people, as things everlaſtingly required by the Law of that Lord of Lords, againſt whoſe Statutes there is no exception to be taken. For by this mean it came to paſs, that one Church could not but accuſe and condemn another of diſobedience to the Will of Chriſt, in thoſe things where manifeſt difference was between them;*

them; whereas the self-same Orders allowed, but yet established in more wary and suspence manner, as being to stand in force till God should give the opportunity of some General Conference, what might be best for every of them afterwards to do: This, I say, had both prevented all occasion of just dislike which others might take, and reserved a greater liberty unto the Authors themselves, of entring into farther Consultation afterwards. Which though never so necessary, they could not easily now admit, without some fear of derogation from their credit: And therefore that which once they had done, they became for ever after resolute to maintain. Calvin *therefore, and the other two his Associates, stifly refusing to administer the Holy Communion to such as would not quietly, without contradiction and murmur, submit themselves unto the Orders which their Solemn Oath had bound them to obey, were in that quarrel, banished the Town. A few years after (such was the levity of that people) the places of one or two of their Ministers being fal'n void, they were not before so willing to be rid of their Learned Pastor, as now importunate to obtain him again from them who had given him entertainment; and which were loth to part with him, had not unresistable earnestness been used. One of the Town-Ministers that saw in what manner the people were bent for the Revocation of* Calvin, *gave him notice of their affection in this sort.* The Senate of Two hundred being assembled, they all crave *Calvin*. The next day a General Convocation, they cry in like sort again all: We will have *Calvin*, that good and Learned Man, Christs Minister. This, *saith he*, when I understood, I could not chuse but praise God; nor was I able to judge otherwise, then that this was the Lords doing, and that it was marvellous in our eyes; *and that* the Stone which the Builders refused, was now made the Head of the Corner. *The other two whom they had thrown out (together with* Calvin) *they were content should enjoy their exile. Many causes might lead them to be more desirous of him. First, His yielding unto them in one thing, might happily put them in hope, that time would breed the like easiness of condescending further unto them: For in his absence he had perswaded them, with whom he was able to prevail; that albeit, himself did better like of Common Bread to be used in the* Eucharist, *yet the other they rather should accept, then cause any trouble in the Church about it. Again, they saw that the name of* Calvin *waxed every day greater abroad, and that together with his fame, their infamy was spred, who had so rashly and childishly ejected him. Besides, it was not unlikely, but that his credit in the World, might many ways stand the poor Town in great stead: As the truth is, their Ministers Foreign estimation hitherto hath been the best stake in their Hedge. But whatsoever secret respects were likely to move them, for contenting of their mindes,* Calvin *returned (as it had been another* Tully) *to his old Home. He ripely considered how gross a thing it were for men of his quality, wise and grave men, to live with such a multitude, and to be Tenants at will under them; as their Ministers, both himself and others had been. For the remedy of which inconvenience, he gave them plainly to understand, That if he did become their Teacher again, they must be content to admit a compleat Form of Discipline, which both they and also their Pastors, should now be solemnly sworn to observe for ever after: Of which Discipline, the Main and Principal parts were these. A standing Ecclesiastical Court to be established: Perpetual Judges in that Court to be their Ministers; others of the people annually chosen (twice so many in number as they) to be Judges together with them in the same Court. These two sorts, to have the care of all Mens manners, power of determining of all kinde of Ecclesiastical Causes, and authority to Convent, to Controll, to Punish, as far as with Excommunication, whomsoever they should think worthy, none either small or great excepted. This device, I see not, how the wisest at that time living, could have bettered, if we duly consider what the present State of* Geneva *did then require: For their Bishop and his Clergy being (as it is said) departed from them by Moon-light; or howsoever, being departed, to chuse in his room any other Bishop, had been a thing altogether impossible: And for their Ministers to seek, that themselves alone might have coercive power over the whole Church, would perhaps have been hardly construed at that time. But when so frank an offer was made, that for every one Minister, there should be two of the people to sit and give voice in the Ecclesiastical Consistory, what inconvenience could they easily finde which themselves might not be able always to remedy? Howbeit (as ever more the simpler sort are, even when they see no apparent cause, jealous, notwithstanding, over the secret intents and purposes of wiser men) this Proposition of his did somewhat trouble them. Of the Ministers themselves which had staid behinde in the City when* Calvin *was gone, some, upon knowledge of the peoples earnest intent to recal him to his place again, had beforehand written their Letters of Submission,*

Epist. Cal. 24.

Luk. 20. 17.

and assured him of their alleagiance for ever after, if it should like him to hearken unto that Publick Suit: But yet misdoubting what might happen, if this Discipline did go forward, they objected against it, the example of other Reformed Churches, living quietly and orderly without it. Some of the chiefest place and countenance amongst the Laity, professed with greater stomach their judgments, that such a Discipline was little better then Popish Tyranny, disguised and tendered unto them under a new Form. This sort, it may be, had some fear that the filling up of the Seats in the Consistory with so great a number of Laymen, was but to please the mindes of the people, to the end, they might think their own sway somewhat; but when things came to tryal of practice, their Pastors learning, would be at all times of force to over-perswade simple men, who knowing the time of their own Presidentship to be but short, would always stand in fear of their Ministers perpetual authority. And among the Ministers themselves, one being so far in estimation above the rest, the voices of the rest were likely to be given for the most part respectively with a kinde of secret dependency and aw: So that in shew, a marvellous indifferently composed Senate, Ecclesiastical was to govern; but in effect one onely man should, as the Spirit and Soul of the residue, do all in all. But what did these vain surmises boot? Brought they were now to so strait an issue, that of two things, they must chuse one: Namely, Whether they would to their endless disgrace, with ridiculous lightness dismiss him, whose restitution they had in so impotent manner desired, or else condescend unto that demand, wherein he was resolute, either to have it, or to leave them. They thought it better to be somewhat hardly yoked at home, then for ever abroad discredited. Wherefore, in the end, those Orders were on all sides assented unto, with no less alacrity of minde, then

An. Dom. 1541. *Cities unable to hold out longer, are wont to shew when they take conditions, such as liketh him to offer them, which hath them in the narrow streights of advantage. Not many years were overpassed, before these twice-sworn men adventured to give their last and hottest assault to the Fortress of the same Discipline, childishly granting by common consent of their whole Senate, and that under their Town-Seal, a Relaxation to one* Bertelier, *whom the Eldership had Excommunicated: Further also decreeing, with strange absurdity, that to the same Senate, it should belong to give final judgment in Matter of Excommunication, and to absolve whom it pleased them; clean contrary to their own former Deeds and Oaths. The report of which Decree, being forthwith brought unto* Calvin; Before *(saith he)* this Decree take place, either my Blood or Banishment shall sign it. *Again, two days before the Communion should be celebrated, this speech was publickly to like effect.* Kill me, if ever this hand do reach forth the things that are holy, to them whom the Church hath judged despisers. *Whereupon, for fear of tumult, the forenamed* Bertelier *was by his friends advised for that time, not to use the liberty granted him by the Senate, nor to present himself in the Church, till they saw somewhat further what would ensue. After the Communion quietly ministred, and some likelihood of peaceable ending of these troubles, without any more ado; that very day in the afternoon, besides all mens expectation, concluding his ordinary Sermon, he telleth them, That because he neither had learned nor taught to strive with such as are in Authority;* therefore *(saith he)* the case so standing, as now it doth, let me use these words of the Apostle unto you. I commend you unto God, and the Word of his Grace; *and so bad them heartily* Adieu. *It sometimes cometh to pass, that the readiest way which a wise man hath to conquer, is to flie. This voluntary and unexpected mention of sudden departure, caused presently the Senate (for according to their wonted manner; they still continued onely constant in unconstancy) to gather themselves together, and for a time to suspend their own Decree, leaving things to proceed as before, till they had heard the judgment of Four Helvetian Cities, concerning the matter which was in strife. This to have done at the first, before they gave assent unto any order, had shewed some wit and discretion in them; but now to do it, was as much as to say in effect, That they would play their parts on a stage.* Calvin *therefore dispatcheth with all expedition his Letters unto some Principal Pastor in every of those Cities, craving earnestly at their hands, to respect this Cause as a thing whereupon the whole State of Religion and Piety in that Church did so much depend: That God and all good men, were now inevitably certain to be trampled under foot, unless those Four Cities by their good means, might be brought to give sentence with the Ministers of* Geneva, *when the Cause should be brought before them; yea, so to give it, that two things it might effectually contain: The one an Absolute Approbation of the Discipline of* Geneva, *as consonant unto the Word of God, without any cautions, qualifications, ifs, or ands; the other, an earnest Admonition not to innovate or change the same. His vehement request herein, as touching both*

points,

points, was ſatisfied. For albeit, the ſaid Helvetian Churches did never as yet obſerve that Diſcipline, nevertheleſs the Senate of Geneva *having required their judgment concerning theſe three Queſtions:* First, After what manner, by Gods Commandment, according to the Scripture, and unſpotted Religion, Excommunication is to be exerciſed: Secondly, Whether it may not be exerciſed ſome other way, then by the Conſiſtory? Thirdly, What the uſe of their Churches was to do in this caſe? *Anſwer was returned from the ſaid Churches,* That they had heard already of thoſe Conſiſtorial Laws, and did acknowledge them to be godly Ordinances, *drawing towards* the preſcript of the Word of God; for which cauſe that they did not think it good for the Church of *Geneva,* by innovation to change the ſame, but rather to keep them as they were. *Which anſwer, although not anſwering unto the former demands, but reſpecting what Mr.* Calvin *had judged requiſite for them to anſwer, was notwithſtanding accepted without any further Reply; in as much as they plainly ſaw, that when ſtomach doth ſtrive with wit, the match is not equal; and ſo the heat of their former contentions began to ſlake. The preſent inhabitants of* Geneva, *I hope, will not take it in evil part, that the faultineſs of their people heretofore, is by us ſo far forth laid open, as their own Learned Guides and Paſtors have thought neceſſary to diſcover it unto the World. For out of their Books and Writings it is, that I have collected this whole Narration, to the end, it might thereby appear in what ſort amongſt them, that Diſcipline was planted, for which ſo much contention is raiſed amongſt our ſelves. The Reaſons which moved* Calvin *herein to be ſo earneſt, was, as* Beza *himſelf teſtifieth:* For that he ſaw how needful theſe Bridles were to be put in the Jaws of that City. *That which by Wiſdom he ſaw to be requiſite for that people, was by as great wiſdom compaſſed: But wiſe men are men, and the truth is truth. That which* Calvin *did for eſtabliſhment of his Diſcipline, ſeemeth more commendable then that which he taught for the countenancing of it eſtabliſhed. Nature worketh in us all, a love to our own Counſels; The contradiction of others is a fan to inflame that love. Our love ſet on fire to maintain that which once we have done, ſharpneth the wit to diſpute, to argue, and by all means to reaſon for it. Wherfore a marvel it were, if a man of ſo great capacity, having ſuch incitements to make him deſirous of all kinde of furtherances unto his cauſe, could eſpie in the whole Scripture of God, nothing which might breed at the leaſt a probable opinion of likelihood, that Divine Authority it ſelf was the ſame way ſomewhat inclinable. And all which the wit even of* Calvin *was able from thence to draw, by ſifting the very utmoſt ſentence and ſyllable; is no more then, that certain ſpeeches there are, which to him did ſeem to intimate; that all Chriſtian Churches ought to have their Elderſhips endued with power of Excommunication; and that a part of thoſe Elderſhips every where, ſhould be choſen out from amongſt the Laity, after that Form which himſelf had framed* Geneva *unto. But what Argument are ye able to ſhew, whereby it was ever proved by* Calvin, *that any one ſentence of Scripture doth neceſſarily inforce theſe things, or the reſt wherein your opinion concurreth with his againſt the Orders of your own Church? We ſhould be injurious unto Vertue it ſelf, if we did derogate from them whom their induſtry hath made great. Two things of principal moment there are, which have deſervedly procured him honor throughout the World: The one his exceeding pains in compoſing the Inſtitution of Chriſtian Religion; the other, his no leſs induſtrious travels for Expoſition of holy Scripture, according unto the ſame Inſtitutions. In which two things, whoſoever they were that after him beſtowed their labor, he gained the advantage of prejudice againſt them, if they gainſaid; and of glory above them, if they conſented. His Writings, publiſhed after the queſtion about that Diſcipline was once begun, omit not any the leaſt occaſion of extolling the uſe, and ſingular neceſſity thereof. Of what account the Maſter of Sentences was in the Church of* Rome, *the ſame and more amongſt the Preachers of Reformed Churches,* Calvin *had purchaſed: So that the perfecteſt Divines were judged they, which were skilfulleſt in* Calvins *Writings. His Books almoſt the very Canon to judge both Doctrine and Diſcipline by:* French *Churches, both under others abroad, and at home in their own Countrey, all caſt according unto that mold which* Calvin *had made. The Church of* Scotland *in erecting the Fabrick of their Reformation, took the ſelf-ſame pattern; till at length the Diſcipline which was at the firſt ſo weak, that without the ſtaff of their approbation, who were not ſubject unto it themſelves, it had not brought others under ſubjection, began now to challenge Univerſal Obedience, and to enter into open conflict with thoſe very Churches, which in deſperate extremity had been relievers of it. To one of thoſe Churches which lived in moſt peaceable ſort, and abounded as well with men for their learning in other Profeſſions ſingular, as alſo with Divines, whoſe equals were not elſwhere to be found, a Church ordered by* Gualters

Epiſt. 166.

Quòd eam Urbem videret omnino his frœnis indigere.

Diſcipline,

Discipline, and not by that which Geneva *adoreth. Unto this Church of* Heidelburgh, *there cometh one who craving leave to dispute publickly, defendeth with open disdain of their Government*; *that to* a Minister, with his Eldership, power is given by the Law of God to Excommunicate whomsoever, yea, even Kings and Princes themselves. *Here were the seeds sown of that controversie which sprang up between* Beza *and* Erastus, *about the Matter of Excommunication, Whether there ought to be in all Churches an Eldership, having power to Excommunicate, and a part of that Eldership to be of necessity certain, chosen out from amongst the Laity for that purpose. In which Disputation they have, as to me it seemeth, divided very equally the Truth between them:* Beza *most truly maintaining the necessity of Excommunication*; Erastus *as truly, the non-necessity of Lay-Elders to be Ministers thereof. Amongst our selves, there was in King* Edwards *days some question moved, by reason of a few mens scrupulosity, touching certain things. And beyond Seas, of them which fled in the days of Queen* Mary; *some contenting themselves abroad, with the use of their own Service Book, at home authorized before their departure out of the Realm*; *others liking better the Common Prayer Book of the Church of* Geneva *translated: Those smaller Contentions before begun, were by this mean somewhat increased. Under the happy Reign of Her Majesty, which now is, the greatest matter a while contended for, was the wearing of the Cap and Surpless, till there came Admonitions directed unto the High Court of Parliament, by men who concealing their names, thought it glory enough to discover their mindes and affections, which now were universally bent even against all the Orders and Laws, wherein this Church is found unconformable to the Platform of* Geneva. *Concerning the Defender of which Admonitions, all that I mean to say, is but this.* There will come a time, when three words uttered with Charity and Meekness, shall receive a far more blessed Reward, then three thousand Volumns written with disdainful sharpness of Wit. *But the manner of Mens Writings must not alienate our hearts from the Truth, if it appear they have the Truth*; *as the Followers of the same Defender do think he hath*; *and in that perswasion they follow him, no otherwise then himself doth* Calvin, Beza, *and others*; *with the like perswasion that they in this cause had the Truth. We being as fully perswaded otherwise, it resteth, that some kinde of tryal be used to finde out which part is in error.*

By what means so many of the people are trained into the liking of that Discipline.

3. *The first mean whereby Nature teacheth men to judge good from evil, as well in Laws, as in other things, is the force of their own discretion: Hereunto therefore St.* Paul *referreth oftentimes his own speech, to be considered of by them that heard him.* I speak as to them which have understanding, Judge ye what I say. *Again afterward,* Judge in your selves, is it comly that a woman pray uncovered? *The exercise of this kinde of judgment, our Saviour requireth in the Jews. In them of* Berea *the Scripture commendeth it. Finally, Whatsoever we do, if our own secret judgment consent not unto it as fit and good to be done, the doing of it to us is sin, although the thing it self be allowable. St.* Pauls *rule therefore generally is,* Let every man in his own minde be fully perswaded of that thing which he either alloweth or doth. *Some things are so familiar and plain, that Truth from Falshood, and Good from Evil, is most easily discerned in them, even by men of no deep capacity. And of that nature, for the most part, are things absolutely unto all Mens salvation necessary, either to be held or denied, either to be done or avoided. For which cause St.* Augustine *acknowledgeth, that they are not onely set down, but also plainly set down in Scripture: So that he which heareth or readeth, may without any great difficulty understand. Other things also there are belonging (though in a lower degree of importance) unto the offices of Christian men. Which because they are more obscure, more intricate and hard to be judged of, therefore God hath appointed some to spend their whole time principally in the study of things Divine, to the end, that in these more doubtful cases, their understanding might be a light to direct others.*

1 Cor. 10. 13. & 11. 13. Luk. 12 56, 57. Acts 17. 11. Rom. 14. 5.

Galen. de opt. docen. gen.

If the understanding power or faculty of the Soul, be *(saith the Grand Physitian)* like unto bodily sight, not of equal sharpness in all: What can be more convenient then that, even as the dark-sighted man is directed by the clear about things visible; so likewise in matters of deeper discourse, the wise in heart do shew the simple where his way lieth? *In our doubtful Cases of Law, what man is there, who seeth not how requisite it is, that Professors of skill in that Faculty, be our Directors? so it is in all other kindes of knowledge. And even in this kinde likewise, the Lord hath himself appointed,* That the Priests lips should preserve knowledge, and that other men should seek the truth at his mouth, because he is the Messenger of the Lord of Hosts. Gregory Nazianzen, *offended at the peoples too great presumption in controlling the judgment of them, to whom in such cases they should have rather*

Mal. 2. 7.

submitted

ſubmitted their own, ſeeketh by earneſt entreaty to ſtay them within their bounds. Preſume not ye that are Sheep, to make your ſelves Guides of them that ſhould guide you; neither ſeek ye to overſlip the fold which they about you have pitched. It ſufficeth for your part, if ye can well frame your ſelves to be ordered. Take not upon you to judge your ſelves, nor to make them ſubject to your Laws, who ſhould be a Law to you; for God is not a God of Sedition and Confuſion, but of Order and of Peace. *But ye will ſay, that if the Guides of the people be blinde, the common ſort of men muſt not cloſe up their own eyes, and be led by the conduct of ſuch: If the Prieſt be partial in the Law, the flock muſt not therefore depart from the ways of ſincere Truth, and in ſimplicity yield to be followers of him for his place ſake and office over them. Which thing, though in it ſelf moſt true, is in your defence notwithſtanding weak; becauſe the matter wherein ye think that ye ſee and imagine that your ways are ſincere, is of far deeper conſideration then any one amongſt Five hundred of you conceiveth. Let the vulgar ſort among you know, that there is not the leaſt branch of the Cauſe, wherein they are ſo reſolute, but to the tryal of it, a great deal more appertaineth, then their conceit doth reach unto. I write not this in diſgrace of the ſimpleſt that way given, but I would gladly they knew the nature of that cauſe wherein they think themſelves throughly inſtructed, and are not; by means whereof they daily run themſelves, without feeling their own hazzard, upon the dint of the Apoſtles ſentence againſt evil ſpeakers, as touching things wherein they are ignorant. If it be granted a thing unlawful for private men, not called unto Publick Conſultation, to diſpute which is the beſt State of Civil Policy (with a deſire of bringing in ſome other kinde, then that under which they already live, for of ſuch Diſputes, I take it, his meaning was.) If it be a thing confeſt, that of ſuch Queſtions they cannot determine without raſhneſs, in as much as a great part of them conſiſteth in ſpecial Circumſtances, and for one kinde as many Reaſons may be brought as for another: Is there any reaſon in the World, why they ſhould better judge what kinde of Regiment Eccleſiaſtical is the fitteſt? For in the Civil State more inſight, and in thoſe affairs more experience, a great deal, muſt needs be granted them, then in this they can poſsibly have. When they which write in defence of your Diſcipline, and commend it unto the Higheſt, not in the leaſt cunning manner, are forced notwithſtanding to acknowledge,* That with whom the Truth is, they know not; *they are not certain, what certainty or knowledge can the multitude have thereof. Weigh what doth move the common ſort ſo much to favor this Innovation, and it ſhall ſoon appear unto you, that the force of particular Reaſons, which for your ſeveral Opinions are alleaged, is a thing whereof the multitude never did, nor could ſo conſider as to be therewith wholly carried; but certain general Inducements are uſed to make ſaleable your Cauſe in groſs: And when once men have caſt a fancy towards it, any ſlight Declaration of Specialties will ſerve to lead forward mens inclineable and prepared mindes. The method of winning the peoples affection unto a general liking of the Cauſe (for ſo ye term it) hath been this. Firſt, in the hearing of the multitude, the faults eſpecially of higher Callings are ripped up with marvellous exceeding ſeverity and ſharpneſs of Reproof; which being oftentimes done, begetteth a great good opinion of Integrity, zeal and Holineſs, to ſuch conſtant reprovers of ſin, as by likelihood would never be ſo much offended at that which is evil, unleſs themſelves were ſingularly good. The next thing hereunto is, to impute all Faults and Corruptions, wherewith the World aboundeth, unto the kinde of Eccleſiaſtical Government eſtabliſhed. Wherein, as before by reproving Faults, they purchaſed unto themſelves, with the multitude, a name to be vertuous; ſo by finding out this kinde of Cauſe, they obtain to be judged wiſe above others, whereas in truth unto the Form even of Jewiſh Government, which the Lord himſelf (they all confeſs) did eſtabliſh, with like ſhew of Reaſon they might impute thoſe Faults which the Prophets condemn in the Governors of that Commonwealth; as to the Engliſh kinde of Regiment Eccleſiaſtical (whereof alſo God himſelf, though in another ſort, is Author,) the ſtains and blemiſhes found in our State; which ſpringing from the Root of Humane Frailty and Corruption, not onely are, but have been always more or leſs, yea, and (for any thing we know to the contrary) will be till the Worlds end complained of, what Form of Government ſoever take place. Having gotten thus much ſway in the hearts of men, a third ſtep is to propoſe their own Form of Church Government, as the onely ſoveraign remedy of all Evils; and to adorn it with all the glorious Titles that may be. And the Nature, as of men that have ſick bodies, ſo likewiſe of the people in the crazedneſs of their Mindes, poſſeſt with diſlike and diſcontentment at things preſent, is to imagine, that any thing (the vertue where-*

Greg. Nazian. Orat. qua ſe excuſat.

Matth. 10. 14.

Mal. 2. 9.

Jude v. 10. 2 Pet. 2. 12.

Calvin. Inſtit. lib. 4. cap. 20. ſect. 8.

The Author of the Petition directed to Her Majeſty, pag. 3.

of

of they hear commended) would help them; but that most, which they least have tryed. The fourth degree of Inducements, is by fashioning the very notions and conceits of mens mindes in such sort, that when they read the Scripture, they may think that every thing soundeth towards the advancement of that Discipline, and to the utter disgrace of the contrary. Pythagoras, by bringing up his Schollars in speculative knowledge of numbers, made their conceipts therein so strong, that when they came to the contemplation of things natural, they imagined that in every particular thing, they even beheld, as it were, with their eyes, how the Elements of Number gave Essence and Being to the Works of Nature: A thing in reason impossible, which notwithstanding through their misfashioned preconceit, appeared unto them no less certain, then if Nature had written it in the very Foreheads of all the Creatures of God. When they of the Family of Love have it once in their heads, that Christ doth not signifie any one Person, but a Quality whereof many are partakers; that to be raised, is nothing else but to be regenerated, or endued with the said quality; and that when Separation of them, which have it from them, which have it not, is here made, this is judgment: How plainly do they imagine, that the Scripture every where speaketh in the favor of that Sect? And assuredly, the very cause which maketh the simple and ignorant to think, they even see how the Word of God runneth currantly on your side, is, That their mindes are forestalled, and their conceits perverted beforehand, by being taught, that an Elder doth signifie a Layman, admitted onely to the Office of Rule or Government in the Church; a Doctor, one which may onely Teach, and neither Preach nor Administer the Sacraments; a Deacon, one which hath charge of the Alms-box, and of nothing else: That the Scepter, the Rod, the Throne and Kingdom of Christ, are a Form of Regiment, onely by Pastors, Elders, Doctors, and Deacons; that by Mystical Resemblance, Mount Sion and Jerusalem are the Churches which admit; Samaria and Babylon, the Churches which oppugne the said Form of Regiment. And in like sort, they are taught to apply all things spoken of repairing the Walls and decayed parts of the City and Temple of God, by Esdras, Nehemias, and the rest: As if purposely the Holy Ghost had therein meant to fore-signifie, what the Authors of Admonitions to the Parliament, of Supplications to the Council, of Petitions to Her Majesty, and of such other-like Writs, should either do or suffer in behalf of this their Cause. From hence they proceed to an higher point, which is the perswading of men credulous and over-capable of such pleasing Errors, That it is the special illumination of the Holy Ghost, whereby they discern those things in the Word, which others reading, yet discern them not. Dearly Beloved,
1 Joh. 4. 1. saith St. John, Give not credit unto every spirit. There are but two ways whereby the Spirit leadeth men into all Truth; the one extraordinary, the other common; the one belonging but unto some few, the other extending it self unto all that are of God; the one, that which we call by a special divine excellency; Revelation; the other, Reason. If the Spirit by such Revelation, have discovered unto them the secrets of that Discipline out of Scripture, they must profess themselves to be all (even Men, Women, and Children,) Prophets: Or if Reason be the hand which the Spirit hath led them by; for as much as Perswasions grounded upon Reason, are either weaker or stronger, according to the force of those Reasons, whereupon the same are grounded, they must every of them, from the greatest to the least, be able for every several Article, to shew some special Reason, as strong as their Perswasion therein is earnest: Otherwise how can it be, but that some other sinews there are, from which that overplus of strength in Perswasion doth arise? Most sure it is, That when Mens Affections do frame their Opinions, they are in defence of Error more earnest a great deal, then (for the most part) sound Believers in the maintenance of Truth, apprehended according to the nature of that evidence which Scripture yieldeth: Which being in some things plain, as in the Principles of Christian Doctrine; in some things, as in these Matters of Discipline, more dark and doubtful, frameth correspondently that inward assent which Gods most gracious Spirit worketh by it, as by his Effectual Instrument. It is not therefore the fervent earnestness of their perswasion, but the soundness of those Reasons, whereupon the same is built, which must declare their Opinions in these things, to have been wrought by the Holy Ghost, and not
2 Thes. 2. 11. by the Fraud of that evil spirit which is even in his illusions strong. After that the fancy of the common sort hath once thorowly apprehended the Spirit to be Author of their Perswasions, concerning Discipline, then is instilled into their hearts; that the same Spirit, leading men into this opinion, doth thereby seal them to be Gods Children; and that as the state of the times now standeth, the most special token to know them that are Gods own from others, is an earnest affection that way. This hath bred high terms of Separation between such, and

the

the rest of the World; whereby the one sort are named The Brethren, the Godly, and so forth; the other, Worldlings, Time-servers, Pleasers of Men, not of God, with such like. From hence, they are easily drawn on to think it exceeding necessary; for fear of quenching that good Spirit, to use all means whereby the same may be both strengthned in themselves, and made manifest unto others. This maketh them diligent hearers of such as are known that way to incline; this maketh them eager to take and seek all occasions of secret Conference with such; this maketh them glad to use such as Counsellors and Directors in all their dealings, which are of weight, as Contracts, Testaments, and the like; this maketh them, through an unweariable desire of receiving instruction from the Masters of that Company, to cast off the care of those very affairs which do most concern their estate, and to think that then they are like unto Mary, *commendable for making choice of the better part. Finally, This is it which maketh them willing to charge, yea, oftentimes even to over-charge themselves, for such Mens sustenance and relief, least their zeal to the Cause should any way be unwitnessed. For what is it, which poor beguiled souls, will not do through so powerful incitements? In which respect it is also noted, that most labor hath been bestowed to win, and retain towards this Cause, them whose judgments are commonly weakest by reason of their sex. And although not Women* loaden with sins, *as the Apostle St.* Paul *speaketh, but (as we verily esteem of them for the most part) Women propense and inclinable to holiness, be otherwise edified in good things, rather then carried away as captives into any kinde of sin and evil, by such as enter into their houses with purpose to plant there a zeal, and a love towards this kinde of Discipline; yet some occasion is hereby ministred for Men, to think, that if the Cause which is thus furthered, did gain by the soundness of proof, whereupon it doth build it self, it would not most busily endeavor to prevail, where least ability of judgment is: And therefore that this so eminent industry in making Proselytes, more of that sex then of the other, groweth for that they are deemed apter to serve as instruments and helps in the Cause. Apter they are through the eagerness of their affection, that maketh them which way soever they take, diligent in drawing their Husbands, Children, Servants, Friends and Allies, the same way: Apter through that natural inclination unto pity, which breedeth in them a greater readiness then in men, to be bountiful towards their Preachers, who suffer want: Apter through sundry opportunities, which they especially have, to procure encouragements for their Brethren. Finally, Apter through a singular delight which they take, in giving very large and particular intelligence, how all near about them stand affected, as concerning the same Cause. But be they Women, or be they Men, if once they have tasted of that Cup, let any man of contrary opinion, open his mouth to perswade them, they close up their ears, his Reasons they weigh not, all is answered with rehearsal of the words of* John, We are of God; he that knoweth God, heareth us. *As for the rest, Ye are of the World; for this Worlds pomp and vanity it is that ye speak, and the World whose ye are, heareth you. Which cloke sitteth no less fit on the back of their Cause, then of the Anabaptists; when the Dignity, Authority and Honor of Gods Magistrates is upheld against them. Shew these eagerly-affected men their inability to judge of such matters; their answer is,* God hath chosen the simple. *Convince them of Folly, and that so plainly, that very children upbraid them with it; they have their bucklers of like defence.* Christs own Apostle was accounted mad: The best men evermore by the sentence of the World, have been judged to be out of their right mindes. *When instruction doth them no good, let them feel but the least degree of most mercifully tempered Severity, they fasten on the head of the Lords Vicegerents here on Earth, whatsoever they any where finde uttered against the cruelty of Blood-thirsty men; and to themselves they draw all the Sentences which Scripture hath in the favor of Innocency persecuted for the Truth; yea, they are of their due and deserved sufferings; no less proud then those ancient disturbers, to whom St.* Augustine *writeth, saying.* Martyrs, rightly so named, are they not which suffer for their disorder, and for the ungodly breach they have made of Christian Unity; but which, for Righteousness sake are persecuted: For *Agar* also suffered persecution at the hands of *Sara*; wherein, she which did impose, was holy, and she unrighteous which did bear the burthen. In like sort, with the Theeves was the Lord himself crucified; but they who were matcht in the pain which they suffered, were in the cause of their sufferings dis-joyned. If that must needs be the true Church which doth endure persecution, and not that which persecuteth, let them ask of the Apostle, what Church *Sara* did represent, when she held her Maid in affliction: For even our Mother which is free, the Heavenly *Jerusalem*; that is to say, The true Church of God, was, as he doth affirm,

2 Tim. 3. 6.

1 Joh. 4. 6.

1 Cor. 1. 27.

Acts 26. 24. Sap. 5. 4. We Fools thought his life madness. *Marc. Tris. ad Asculap.* Οἱ ἐν γνώσει ὄντες ὅτε τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρέσκουσι, ὅτε οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτοῖς μεμήνεναι δοκοῦσι, καὶ γέλωτα ὀφλισκάνουσι. Vide *Lactant.* de Justit. lib. 5. cap. 16. *August.* Epist. 50.

prefigured in that very Woman, by whom the Bond-maid was so sharply handled. Although, if all things be throughly skanned, she did in truth more persecute *Sara* by proud resistance, then *Sara* her, by severity of punishment. *These are the paths wherein ye have walked, that are of the ordinary sort of men; these are the very steps ye have trodden, and the manifest degrees whereby ye are of your Guides and Directors trained up in that School: A custom of inuring your ears with reproof of faults, especially in your Governors; and use to attribute those faults to the kinde of Spiritual Regiment, under which ye live; boldness in warranting the force of their Discipline, for the cure of all such evils; a slight of framing your conceits, to imagine, that Scripture every where favoreth that Discipline; perswasion that the cause, why ye finde it in Scripture, is the illumination of the Spirit; that the same Spirit is a Seal unto you of your nearness unto God; that ye are by all means to nourish and witness it in your selves, and to strengthen on every side your mindes against whatsoever might be of force to withdraw you from it.*

What hath caused so many of the Learneder sort, to approve the same Discipline.

4. *Wherefore to come unto you, whose judgment is a Lanthorn of Direction for all the rest, you that frame thus the peoples hearts, not altogether (as I willingly perswade my self) of a politick intent or purpose, but your selves being first over-borne with the weight of greater mens judgments; on your shoulders is laid the burthen of upholding the cause by Argument. For which purpose, Sentences out of the Word of God, ye alledge divers; but so, that when the same are discust, thus it always in a manner falleth out, That what things by vertue thereof ye urge upon us, as altogether necessary, are found to be thence collected onely by poor and marvellous slight conjectures. I need not give instance in any one sentence so alledged, for that I think the instance in any alledged, otherwise a thing not easie to be given. A very strange thing, sure it were, that such a Discipline as ye speak of, should be taught by Christ and his Apostles in the Word of God, and no Church ever have found it out, nor received it till this present time: Contrariwise, the Government against which ye bend your selves, be observed every where throughout all generations and ages of the Christian World, no Church ever perceiving the Word of God to be against it. We require you to finde out but one Church upon the face of the whole Earth, that hath been ordered by your Discipline, or hath not been ordered by ours, that is to say, By Episcopal Regiment, sithence the time that the Blessed Apostles were here conversant. Many things out of Antiquity ye bring, as if the purest times of the Church had observed the self-same Orders which you require; and as though your desire were, that the Churches of old should be patterns for us to follow, and even Glasses, wherein we might see the practice of that, which by you is gathered out of Scripture. But the truth is, ye mean nothing less. All this is done for fashion sake onely; for ye complain of it as of an injury, that men should be willed to seek for examples and patterns of Government in any of those times that have been before. Ye plainly hold, that from the very Apostles times till this present age wherein your selves imagine ye have found out a right pattern of sound Discipline, there never was any time safe to be followed; which thing ye thus endeavor to prove. Out of* Egesippus, *ye say, that* Eusebius *writeth, How although as long as the Apostles lived, the Church did remain a pure Virgin; yet after the death of the Apostles, and after they were once gone, whom God vouchsafed to make Hearers of the Divine Wisdom with their own ears, the placing of wicked Errors began to come into the Church.* Clement *also in a certain place, to confirm, That there was corruption of Doctrine immediately after the Apostles times, alledgeth the Proverb,* That there are few Sons like their Fathers. Socrates *saith of the Church of* Rome *and* Alexandria, *the most famous Churches in the Apostles times, that about the year* 430. *the* Roman *and* Alexandrian *Bishops leaving the Sacred Function, were degenerate to a Secular Rule or Dominion. Hereupon ye conclude, that it is not safe to fetch our Government from any other then the Apostles times. Wherein by the way it may be noted, that in proposing the Apostles times as a pattern for the Church to follow, though the desire of you all be one, the drift and purpose of you all is not one. The chiefest thing which Lay-Reformers yawn for, is, that the Clergy may through Conformity in State and Condition, be Apostolical, poor as the Apostles of Christ were poor. In which one circumstance, if they imagine so great perfection, they must think that Church which hath such store of Mendicant Fryers, a Church in that respect most happy. Were it for the glory of God, and the good of his Church indeed, that the Clergy should be left even as bare as the Apostles, when they had neither staff nor scrip; that God, which should lay upon them the condition of his Apostles, would I hope, endue them with the self-same affection which was in that holy Apostle, whose words concerning his own right-vertuous contentment of heart,* As well how to want, as how to abound,

T. C. lib. 1. p. 97.

Euseb. 3. l. 32.

Lib. Strom. Somewhat after the beginning.

Lib. 7. cap. 11.

Phil. 4. 12.

are

are a most fit Episcopal empreſe. The Church of Christ is a Body Mystical. A Body cannot ſtand, unleſs the parts thereof be proportionable: Let it therefore be required on both parts, at the hands of the Clergy, to be in meanneſs of ſtate like the Apoſtles; at the hands of the Laity, to be as they were who lived under the Apoſtles. And in this Reformation there will be, though little Wiſdom, yet ſome Indifferency: But your Reformation, which are of the Clergy (if yet it diſpleaſe you not, that I ſhould ſay ye are of the Clergy) ſeemeth to aim at a broader mark. Ye think, that he which will perfectly reform, muſt bring the Form of Church-Diſcipline unto the State which then it was at. A thing neither poſſible, nor certain, nor abſolutely convenient. Concerning the firſt, what was uſed in the Apoſtles times, the Scripture fully declareth not; ſo that making their times the Rule and Canon of Church Polity, ye make a Rule, which being not poſſible to be fully known, is as impoſſible to be kept. Again, Sith the later, even of the Apoſtles own times, had that which in the former, was not thought upon; in this general propoſing of the Apoſtles times, there is no certainty which ſhould be followed, eſpecially ſeeing that ye give us great cauſe to doubt how far ye allow thoſe times. For albeit, the lover of Antichriſtian building were not, ye ſay, as then ſet up, yet the Foundations thereof were ſecretly, and under the ground, laid in the Apoſtles times: So that all other times, ye plainly reject; and the Apoſtles own times, ye approve with marvellous great ſuſpition, leaving it intricate and doubtful, wherein we are to keep our ſelves unto the pattern of their times. Thirdly, Whereas it is the error of the common multitude, to conſider onely what hath been of old, and if the ſame were well, to ſee whether ſtill it continue; if not, to condemn that preſently, which is, and never to ſearch upon what ground or conſideration the Change might grow. Such rudeneſs cannot be in you ſo well born with, whom Learning and Judgment hath enabled much more ſoundly to diſcern how far the times of the Church, and the Orders thereof, may alter without offence. True it is, the ancienter [a], the better Ceremonies of Religion, are: Howbeit, not abſolutely true, and without exception; but true, onely ſo far forth as thoſe different ages do agree in the ſtate of thoſe things, for which, at the firſt thoſe Rites, Orders, and Ceremonies, were inſtituted. In the Apoſtles times, that was harmleſs, which being now revived, would be ſcandalous; as their [b] Oſcula Sancta. Thoſe [c] Feaſts of Charity, which being inſtituted by the Apoſtles, were retained in the Church long after, are not now thought any where needful. What man is there of underſtanding, unto whom it is not manifeſt, how the way of providing for the Clergy by Tithes, the device of Alms-houſes for the Poor, the ſorting out of the people into their ſeveral Pariſhes; together with ſundry other things which the Apoſtles times could not have, (being now eſtabliſhed) are much more convenient and fit for the Church of Chriſt, then if the ſame ſhould be taken away for Conformities ſake, with the antieneſt and firſt times? The Orders therefore which were obſerved in the Apoſtles times, are not to be urged as a Rule univerſally, either ſufficient or neceſſary. If they be, nevertheleſs on your part, it ſtill remaineth to be better proved, That the Form of Diſcipline, which ye intitle Apoſtolical, *was in the Apoſtles time exerciſed: For of this very thing ye fail, even touching that which ye make moſt account of, as being Matter of Subſtance in Diſcipline, I mean, the Power of your Lay-Elders, and the difference of your Doctors from the Paſtors in all Churches. So that in ſum, we may be bold to conclude, That beſides theſe laſt times, which for inſolency, pride, and egregious contempt of all good order, are the worſt; there are none wherein ye can truly affirm, that the compleat Form of your Diſcipline, or the Subſtance thereof was practiſed. The evidence therefore of Antiquity failing you, ye flie to the judgments of ſuch Learned men, as ſeem by their Writings, to be of opinion, that all Chriſtian Churches ſhould receive your Diſcipline, and abandon ours. Wherein, as ye heap up the names of a number of men, not unworthy to be had in honor; ſo there are a number, whom when ye mention, although it ſerve ye to purpoſe, with the ignorant and vulgar ſort, who meaſure by tale, and not by weight; yet ſurely, they who know what quality and value the men are of, will think ye draw very near the dregs. But were they all of as great account as the beſt and chiefeſt amongſt them, with us notwithſtanding, neither are they, neither ought they to be of ſuch reckoning, that their opinion or conjecture, ſhould cauſe the Laws of the Church of* England *to give place; much leſs when they neither do all agree in that opinion, and of them which are at agreement, the moſt part through a courteous enducement, have followed one man as their Guide; finally, that one therein not unlikely to have ſwerved. If any chance to ſay,*

[a] Antiquitas ceremoniis atque ſanis tantum ſanctitatis tribuere conſuevit, quantum adſtruxerit vetuſtatis. *Arn* p. 746.

[b] Rom. 16. 16. 2 Cor. 13 12. 1 Theſ. 5 25. 1 Pet. 5 14. *In their meeting to ſerve God, their manner was, in the end to ſalute one another with a kiſs; uſing theſe words, Peace be with you. For which cauſe,* Tertullian *doth call it,* Signaculum Orationis, *The Seal of Prayer,* lib. de Orat.

[c] Epiſt. Jud. verſ. 12. *Concerning which Feaſts Saint* Chryſoſtom *ſaith,* Statis diebus menſas faciebant communes, & peractaſynaxi poſt Sacramentorum Communionem inibant convivium, divitibus quidem cibos afferentibus, pauperibus autem & qui nihil habebant etiam vocatis, *in* 1 Cor. 11. Hom. 27. *Of the ſame Feaſts in like ſort,* Tertullian. Cœna noſtra de nomine rationem ſui oſtendit. Vocatur enim ἀγάπη, id quod eſt penes Græcos dilectio. Quanticunque ſumptibus conſtet, lucrum eſt pietatis nomine facere ſumptum. Apol. cap. 39.

it is probable that in the Apostles times there were Lay-Elders, or not to mislike the continuance of them in the Church; or to affirm, that Bishops at the first were a name, but not a power distinct from Presbyters; or to speak any thing in praise of those Churches which are without Episcopal Regiment; or to reprove the fault of such as abuse that Calling. All these ye Register for Men, perswaded as you are, that every Christian Church standeth bound by the Law of God to put down Bishops, and in their rooms to erect an Eldership so authorized as you would have it for the Government of each Parish. Deceived greatly they are therefore, who think that all they whose names are cited amongst the Favorers of this Cause, are on any such verdict agreed. Yet touching some material points of your Discipline, a kinde of agreement we grant there is amongst many Divines of Reformed Churches abroad. For first, To do as the Church of Geneva *did, the Learned in some other Churches must needs be the more willing, who having used in like manner, not the slow and tedious help of proceeding by publick Authority; but the peoples more quick endeavor for alteration, in such an exigent I see not well, how they could have staid to deliberate about any other Regiment, then that which already was devised to their hands; that which in like case had been taken, that which was easiest to be established without delay, that which was likeliest to content the people by reason of some kinde of sway which it giveth them. When therefore the example of one Church, was thus at the first almost through a kinde of constraint or necessity followed by many, their concurrence in perswasion about some material points belonging to the same polity is not strange. For we are not to marvel greatly, if they which have all done the same thing, do easily embrace the same opinion as concerning their own doings: Besides, mark I beseech you, that which* Galen *in matter of Philosophy noteth; for the like falleth out, even in Questions of higher knowledge. It fareth many times with mens opinions, as with rumors and reports. That which a credible person telleth, is easily thought probable by such as are well perswaded of him: But if two, or three, or four, agree all in the same tale, they judge it then to be out of Controversie, and so are many times overtaken for want of due consideration, either some common cause leading them all into error, or one mans oversight, deceiving many through their too much credulity and easiness of belief. Though ten persons be brought to give testimony in any cause, yet if the knowledge they have of the thing whereunto they come as witnesses, appear to have grown from some one amongst them, and to have spred it self from hand to hand, they all are in force but as one testimony; nor is it otherwise here, where the Daughter Churches do speak their Mothers Dialect; here, where so many sing one Song, by reason that he is the Guide of the Quire, concerning whose deserved authority, amongst even the gravest Divines, we have already spoken at large. Will ye ask what should move those many Learned, to be followers of one Mans judgment; no necessity of Argument forcing them thereunto? Your demand is answered by your selves. Loth ye are to think that they whom ye judge to have attained, as sound knowledge in all points of Doctrine, as any since the Apostles time, should mistake in Discipline. Such is naturally our affection, that whom in great things we mightily admire; in them, we are not perswaded willingly that any thing should be amiss. The reason whereof is, for that as dead Flies putrifie the ointment of the Apothecary, so a little Folly him that is in estimation for wisdom. This in every profession, hath too much authorized the judgment of a few: This with* Germans *hath caused* Luther, *and with many other Churches,* Calvin, *to prevail in all things. Yet are we not able to define, whether the Wisdom of that God (who setteth before us in holy Scripture, so many admirable patterns of Vertue, and no one of them, without somewhat noted, wherein they were culpable; to the end, that to him alone it might always be acknowledged,* Thou onely art holy, thou onely art just) *might not permit those worthy Vessels of his Glory, to be in some things blemished with the stain of humane frailty; even for this cause, lest we should esteem of any man above that which behoveth.*

Galen. Clas. 2. lib. De cujusque anim. peccat. notitia atque medela.

Petition to the Q. Mary, pag. 14.

Eccles. 10. 1.

5. *Notwithstanding, as though ye were able to say a great deal more then hitherto your Books have revealed to the World, earnest Challengers ye are of tryal by some publick Disputation; wherein, if the thing ye crave, be no more then onely leave to dispute openly about those Matters that are in question, the Schools in Universities (for any thing I know) are open unto you: They have their yearly Acts and Commencements, besides other Disputations, both ordinary and upon occasion, wherein the several parts of our own Ecclesiastical Discipline are often times offered unto that kinde of Examination; the learnedst of you have been of late years, noted seldom or never absent from thence, at the time of those great Assemblies; and the favor of proposing there in convenient sort whatsoever ye can object (which thing, my self*

Their calling for Tryal by Disputation.

have

have known them to grant of Scholastical courtesie unto Strangers) neither hath (as I think) nor ever will (I presume) be denied you. If your Suit be to have some great extraordinary confluence, in expectation whereof, the Laws that already are, should sleep and have no power over you; till in the hearing of thousands, ye all did acknowledge your error, and renounce the further prosecution of your cause: Haply, they whose authority is required unto the satisfying of your demand, do think it both dangerous to admit such concourse of divided mindes, and unmeet that Laws, which being once solemnly established, are to exact obedience of all men, and to constrain thereunto, should so far stoop, as to hold themselves in suspence from taking any effect upon you, till some disputer can perswade you to be obedient. A Law is the Deed of the whole Body Politick, whereof if ye judge your selves to be any part, then is the Law even your Deed also. And were it reason, in things of this quality, to give men audience, pleading for the overthrow of that which their own very deed hath ratified? Laws that have been approved, may be (no man doubteth) again repealed, and to that end also disputed against, by the Authors thereof themselves: But this is when the whole doth deliberate what Laws each part shall observe, and not when a part refuseth the Laws which the whole hath orderly agreed upon. Notwithstanding, for as much as the cause we maintain, is (God be thanked) such as needeth not to shun any tryal, might it please them on whose approbation the matter dependeth, to condescend so far unto you in this behalf, I wish heartily that proof were made even by solemn conference in orderly and quiet sort; whether you would your selves be satisfied, or else could by satisfying others, draw them to your party. Provided alway, first, In as much as ye go about to destroy a thing which is in force, and to draw in that which hath not as yet been received; to impose on us that which we think not our selves bound unto, and to overthrow those things whereof we are possessed; that therefore ye are not to claim in any conference, other then the Plaintiffs or Opponents part, which must consist altogether in proof and confirmation of two things: The one, that our Orders by you condemned, we ought to abolish; the other, that yours, we are bound to accept in the stead thereof. Secondly, Because the Questions in Controversie between us, are many, if once we descend unto particulars: That for the easier and more orderly proceeding therein, the most general be first discussed, nor any Question left off, nor in each Question the prosecution of any one Argument given over, and another taken in hand, till the issue whereunto, by Replies and Answers, both parts are come, be collected, read, and acknowledged, as well on the one side as on the other, to be the plain conclusion which they are grown unto. Thirdly, For avoiding of the manifold inconveniences whereunto ordinary and extemporal Disputes are subject, as also because, if ye should singly dispute one by one, as every mans own wit did best serve, it might be conceived by the rest, that haply some other would have done more; the chiefest of you do all agree in this action, that whom ye shall then chuse your speaker, by him that which is publickly brought into Disputation, be acknowledged by all your consents, not to be his allegation, but yours; such as ye all are agreed upon, and have required him to deliver in all your names: The true Copy whereof being taken by a Notary, that a reasonable time be allowed for return of Answer unto you in the like form. Fourthly, Whereas a number of Conferences have been had in other causes with the less effectual success, by reason of partial and untrue reports, published afterwards unto the World: That to prevent this evil, there be at the first a Solemn Declaration, made on both parts of their Agreement, to have that very Book and no other, set abroad; wherein their present authorized Notaries do write those things fully and onely; which being written, and there read, are by their own open testimony, acknowledged to be their own. Other circumstances hereunto belonging, whether for the choice of time, place, and language, or for prevention of impertinent and needless speech, or to any end and purpose else, they may be thought on when occasion serveth. In this sort, to broach my private conceit for the ordering of a publick action, I should be loth, (albeit, I do it not otherwise then under correction of them, whose gravity and wisdom ought in such cases to over-rule) but that so venturous boldness, I see is a thing now general, and am thereby of good hope, that where all men are licenced to offend, no man will shew himself a sharp Accuser.

No end of Contention, without submission of both parts, unto some Definitive Sentence.

6. What success God may give unto any such kinde of Conference or Disputation, we cannot tell: But of this we are right sure, that Nature, Scripture, and Experience it self, have all taught the World to seek for the ending of Contentions, by submitting it self unto some judicial and definitive Sentence, whereunto neither part that contendeth may under any pretence or colour refuse to stand: This must needs be effectual and strong; as for other means without this, they seldom prevail. I would therefore know, whether for the ending of these irk-

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ſome ſtrifes, wherein you and your Followers do ſtand thus formally divided againſt the authorized Guides of this Church, and the reſt of the people ſubject unto their Charge; whether, I ſay, ye be content to refer your Cauſe to any other higher judgment then your own, or elſe intend to perſiſt, and proceed as ye have begun, till your ſelves can be perſwaded to condemn your ſelves? If your Determination be this, we can be but ſorry that ye ſhould de-

Rom. 3. 17. *ſerve to be reckoned with ſuch, of whom God himſelf pronounceth,* The way of Peace they have not known. *Ways of peaceable Concluſion, there are but theſe two certain; the one a ſentence of Judicial Deciſion given by authority thereto appointed within our ſelves; the other, the like kinde of ſentence given by a more Univerſal authority. The former of which two ways, God himſelf in the Law preſcribeth, and his Spirit it was which directed the very firſt Chriſtian Churches in the World to uſe the latter. The Ordinance of God in the Law,*

Deut. 17. 8. *was this.* If there ariſe a matter too hard for thee in judgment, between blood and blood, between plea, &c. then ſhalt thou ariſe, and go up unto the place which the Lord thy God ſhall chuſe; and thou ſhalt come unto the Prieſts of the Levites, and unto the Judge that ſhall be in thoſe days, and ask, and they ſhall ſhew thee the ſentence of Judgment; and thou ſhalt do according to that thing which they of that place which the Lord hath choſen, ſhew thee; and thou ſhalt obſerve to do according to all that they inform thee: According to the Law which they ſhall teach thee, and according to the judgment which they ſhall tell thee, ſhalt thou do; thou ſhalt not decline from the thing which they ſhall ſhew thee, to the right hand, nor to the left. And that man that will do preſumptuouſly, not hearkning unto the Prieſt (that ſtandeth before the Lord thy God to miniſter there) or unto the Judge, that man ſhall die, and thou ſhalt take

Acts 15. away evil from *Iſrael. When there grew in the Church of Chriſt, a queſtion,* Whether the Gentiles believing might be ſaved, although they were not circumciſed after the manner of *Moſes*, nor did obſerve the reſt of thoſe Legal Rites and Ceremonies whereunto the Jews were bound. *After great Diſſention and Diſputation about it, their concluſion in the end was, to have it determined by ſentence at* Jeruſalem; *which was accordingly done in a Council there aſſembled for the ſame purpoſe. Are ye able to alledge any juſt and ſufficient cauſe, wherefore abſolutely ye ſhould not condeſcend in this Controverſie, to have your judgments over-ruled by ſome ſuch Definitive Sentence; Whether it fall out to be given with, or againſt you, that ſo theſe tedious contentions may ceaſe? Ye will perhaps make anſwer, That being perſwaded already, as touching the truth of your Cauſe, ye are not to hearken unto any ſentence, no not, though Angels ſhould define otherwiſe, as the bleſſed Apoſtles own example teacheth. Again, That Men, yea, Councils, may err; and that unleſs the judgment given, do ſatisfie your mindes, unleſs it be ſuch as ye can, by no further argument oppugn; in a word, unleſs you perceive and acknowledge it your ſelves conſonant with Gods Word, to ſtand unto it, not allowing it, were to ſin againſt your own conſciences. But conſider, I beſeech you, firſt, As touching the Apoſtle, how that wherein he was ſo reſolute and peremptory, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt made manifeſt unto him, even by Intuitive Revelation, wherein there was no poſſibility of error: That which you are perſwaded of, ye have it no otherwiſe then by your own onely probable collection; and therefore ſuch bold aſſeverations as in him were admirable, ſhould in your mouths but argue raſhneſs. God was not ignorant, that the Prieſts and Judges, whoſe ſentence in Matters of Controverſie he ordained ſhould ſtand, both might and oftentimes would be deceived in their judgment. Howbeit, better it was in the eye of his underſtanding, that ſometime an erronious ſentence Definitive ſhould prevail, till the ſame authority perceiving ſuch overſight, might afterwards correct or reverſe it, then that ſtrifes ſhould have reſpite to grow, and not come ſpeedily unto ſome end: Neither wiſh we, that men ſhould do any thing which in their hearts they are perſwaded they ought not to do; but this perſwaſion ought (we ſay) to be fully ſetled in their hearts, that in litigious and controverſed cauſes of ſuch quality, the Will of God is to have them to do whatſoever the ſentence of judicial and final Deciſion ſhall determine, yea, though it ſeem in their private opinion to ſwarve utterly from that which is right; as no doubt, many times the ſentence amongſt the Jews, did ſeem unto one part or other contending: And yet in this caſe, God did then allow them to do that which in their private judgment it ſeemed (yea, and perhaps truly ſeemed) that the Law did diſallow. For if God be not the Author of confuſion, but of peace, then can he not be the Author of our refuſal, but of our contentment, to ſtand unto ſome Definitive Sentence; without which, almoſt impoſſible it is, that either we ſhould avoid confuſion, or ever hope to attain peace. To ſmall purpoſe, had the Council of* Jeruſalem *been aſſembled,*

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if once their determination being ſet down, men might afterwards have defended their former opinions. When therefore they had given their Definitive Sentence, all Controverſie was at an end: Things were diſputed before they came to be determined; Men afterwards were not to diſpute any longer, but to obey. The Sentence of Judgment finiſhed their ſtrife, which their diſputes before judgment, could not do. This was ground ſufficient for any reaſonable Mans conſcience to build the duty of Obedience upon, whatſoever his own opinion were as touching the matter before in queſtion. So full of wilfulneſs and ſelf-liking, is our nature, that without ſome Definitive Sentence, which being given, may ſtand, and a neceſsity of ſilence on both ſides afterward impoſed; ſmall hope there is, that ſtrifes thus far proſecuted, will in ſhort time quietly end. Now it were in vain to ask you, Whether ye could be content that the Sentence of any Court already erected, ſhould be ſo far authorized, as that among the Jews eſtabliſhed by God himſelf, for the determining of all Controverſies. That man which will do preſumptuouſly, not hearkning unto the Prieſt that ſtandeth before the Lord to miniſter there; nor unto the Judge, let him die. *Ye have given us already to underſtand what your opinion is in part, concerning Her ſacred Majeſties Court of High Commiſſion; the nature whereof is, the ſame with that amongſt the Jews, albeit the power be not ſo great. The other way, happily may like you better, becauſe Maſter* Beza *in his laſt Book, ſave one, written about theſe Matters, profeſſeth himſelf to be now weary of ſuch Combats and Encounters, whether by word or writing, in as much as he findeth that Controverſies thereby are made but Brawls: And therefore wiſheth* that in ſome common lawful Aſſembly of Churches, all theſe ſtrifes may at once be decided. *Shall there be then in the mean while no* doings? *Yes. There are the weightier Matters of the Law,* Judgment, and Mercy, and Fidelity. *Theſe things we ought to do; and theſe things, while we contend about leſs, we leave undone. Happier are they, whom the Lord, when he cometh, ſhall finde doing in theſe things, then diſputing about Doctors, Elders, and Deacons: Or if there be no remedy, but ſomewhat needs ye muſt do, which may tend to the ſetting forward of your Diſcipline; do that which wiſemen, who think ſome Statute of the Realm more fit to be repealed then to ſtand in force, are accuſtomed to do, before they come to Parliament, where the place of enacting is; that is to ſay, ſpend the time in re-examining more duly your cauſe, and in more throughly conſidering of that which ye labor to overthrow: As for the Orders which are eſtabliſhed, ſith Equity and Reaſon, the Law of Nature, God and Man, do all favor that which is in Being, till orderly Judgment of Deciſion be given againſt it, it is but Juſtice to exact of you, and perverſneſs in you, it ſhould be to deny thereunto your willing obedience. Not that I judge it a thing allowable for men to obſerve thoſe Laws, which in their hearts, they are ſtedfaſtly perſwaded to be againſt the Law of God: But your perſwaſion in this caſe, ye are all bound for the time to ſuſpend; and in otherwiſe doing, ye offend againſt God, by troubling his Church without any juſt or neceſſary cauſe. Be it that there are ſome reaſons inducing you to think hardly of our Laws: Are thoſe reaſons demonſtrative, are they neceſſary, or but meer probabilities onely? An Argument neceſſary and demonſtrative is ſuch, as being propoſed unto any man, and underſtood; the minde cannot chuſe, but inwardly aſſent. Any one ſuch reaſon diſchargeth, I grant the Conſcience, and ſetteth it at full liberty. For the publick approbation given by the Body of this whole Church, unto thoſe things which are eſtabliſhed, doth make it but probable, that they are good; and therefore unto a neceſſary proof, that they are not good, it muſt give place: But if the skilfulleſt amongſt you can ſhew, that all the Books ye have hitherto written, be able to afford any one argument of this nature, let the inſtance be given. As for probabilities, What thing was there ever ſet down ſo agreeable with ſound reaſon, but ſome probable ſhew againſt it might be made? Is it meet, that when publickly things are received, and have taken place; General Obedience thereunto ſhould ceaſe to be exacted, in caſe, this or that private perſon, led with ſome probable conceit, ſhould make open Proteſtation;* Peter *or* John diſallow them, and pronounce them naught. *In which caſe your anſwer will be, That concerning the Laws of our Church, they are not onely condemned in the opinion of a* private man, but of thouſands, *yea, and* even of thoſe amongſt which divers are in publick charge and authority. *As though when publick conſent of the whole hath eſtabliſhed any thing, every mans judgment being thereunto compared, were not private; howſoever his calling be to ſome kinde of publick charge. So that of Peace and Quietneſs, there is not any way poſſible, unleſs the probable voice of every intire Society or Body Politick, over-rule all private of like nature in the ſame Body: Which thing effectually proveth, That God being Author of Peace, and not of Confuſion in the Church, muſt needs*

Pref. Tract. de Excom. Presbyt.

Matth. 23. 23.

T. C. lib. 3. p. 171.

be

be Author of those mens peaceable resolutions, who concerning these things, have determined with themselves, to think and do as the Church, they are of decreeth; till they see necessary cause enforcing them to the contrary.

The Matter contained in these Eight Books.

7. *Nor is mine own intent, any other in these several Books of discourse, then to make it appear unto you; that for the Ecclesiastical Laws of this Land, we are led by great reason to observe them, and ye by no necessity bound to impugne them. It is no part of my secret meaning, to draw you hereby into hatred, or to set upon the face of this cause any fairer gloss, then the naked truth doth afford; but my whole endeavor is to resolve the Conscience, and to shew, as near as I can, what in this Controversie, the Heart is to think, if it will follow the light of sound and sincere judgment, without either cloud of prejudice, or mist of passionate affection. Wherefore, seeing that Laws and Ordinances in particular, whether such as we observe, or such as your selves would have established; when the minde doth sift and examine them, it must needs have often recourse to a number of doubts and questions, about the nature, kindes, and qualities of Laws in general; whereof, unless it be throughly informed, there will appear no certainty to stay our perswasion upon: I have for that cause set down in the first place, an Introduction on both sides needful to be considered; declaring therein, what Law is, how different kindes of Laws there are, and what force they are of, according unto each kinde. This done, because ye suppose the Laws, for which ye strive, are found in Scripture; but those not, against which we strive: And upon this surmise, are drawn to hold it, as the very main Pillar of your whole cause;* That Scripture ought to be the onely rule of all our actions; *and consequently, that the Church Orders which we observe, being not commanded in Scripture, are offensive and displeasant unto God. I have spent the second Book in sifting of this point, which standeth with you for the first and chiefest principle whereon ye build. Whereunto the next in degree is,* That *as God will have always a Church upon Earth, while the World doth continue, and that Church stand in need of Government; of which Government, it behoveth himself to be; both the Author and Teacher: So it cannot stand with duty; That man should ever presume in any wise to change and alter the same; and therefore,* That in Scripture there must of necessity be found some particular Form of Ecclesiastical Polity, the Laws whereof, admit not any kinde of alteration. *The first three Books being thus ended, the fourth proceedeth from the general Grounds and Foundations of your cause, unto your general Accusations against us, as having in the Orders of our Church (for so you pretend)* Corrupted the right Form of Church Polity with manifold Popish Rites and Ceremonies, which certain Reformed Churches have banished from amongst them, and have thereby given us such example as *(you think)* we ought to follow. *This your Assertion hath herein drawn us to make search, whether these be just Exceptions against the Customs of our Church, when ye plead, that they are the same which the Church of* Rome *hath, or that they are not the same which some other Reformed Churches have devised. Of those four Books which remain, and are bestowed about the Specialties of that Cause which lieth in Controversie, the first examineth the causes by you alledged; wherefore the publick duties of Christian Religion, as our Prayers, our Sacraments, and the rest, should not be ordered in such sort, as with us they are; nor that power whereby the persons of men are consecrated unto the Ministry, be disposed of in such manner as the Laws of this Church do allow. The second and third, are concerning the power of Jurisdiction; the one, Whether Laymen, such as your Governing Elders are, ought in all Congregations for ever, to be invested with that power? The other, Whether Bishops may have that power over other Pastors, and therewithal, that honor which with us they have? And because, besides the Power of Order, which all consecrated persons have, and the Power of Jurisdiction, which neither they all, nor they onely have: There is a third power, a Power of Ecclesiastical Dominion, communicable, as we think, unto persons not Ecclesiastical, and most fit to be restrained unto the Prince our Soveraign Commander over the whole Body Politick. The eighth Book we have allotted unto this Question, and have sifted therein your Objections against those preeminences Royal which thereunto appertain. Thus have I laid before you the Brief of these my Travels, and presented under your view, the Limbs of that Cause litigious between us; the whole intire Body whereof, being thus compact, it shall be no troublesome thing for any man to finde each particular Controversies resting place, and the coherence it hath with those things, either on which it dependeth, or which depend on it.*

8. *The*

8. *The caſe ſo ſtanding therefore, my Brethren, as it doth, the wiſdom of Governors ye muſt not blame, in that they further alſo forecaſting the manifold ſtrange and dangerous innovations, which are more then likely to follow, if your Diſcipline ſhould take place, have for that cauſe thought it hitherto a part of their duty to withſtand your endeavors that way: The rather, for that they have ſeen already ſome ſmall beginnings of the fruits thereof, in them, who concurring with you in judgment about the neceſsity of that Diſcipline, have adventured without more ado, to ſeparate themſelves from the reſt of the Church, and to put your ſpeculations in execution. Theſe mens haſtineſs, the warier ſort of you doth not commend; ye wiſh they had held themſelves longer in, and not ſo dangerouſly flown abroad before the feathers of the Cauſe had been grown; their Error with merciful terms ye reprove, naming them in great commiſeration of minde, your* poor Brethren. *They on the contrary ſide, more bitterly accuſe you as their* falſe Brethren, *and againſt you they plead, ſaying, From your Breſts it is, that we have ſucked thoſe things, which when ye delivered unto us, ye termed that heavenly, ſincere, and wholeſom Milk of Gods Word; howſoever ye now abhor as poyſon, that which the vertue thereof hath wrought and brought forth in us. Ye ſometime our Companions, Guides, and Familiars, with whom we have had moſt ſweet Conſultations, are now become our profeſſed Adverſaries, becauſe we think the Statute-Congregations in* England, *to be no true Chriſtian Churches; becauſe we have ſevered our ſelves from them, and becauſe without their leave or licence, that are in Civil Authority, we have ſecretly framed our own Churches according to the Platform of the Word of God: For of that point between you and us, there is no Controverſie. Alas, what would ye have us to do? At ſuch time as ye were content to accept us in the number of your own, your Teaching we heard, we read your Writings: And though we would, yet able we are not to forget, with what zeal ye have ever profeſt, That in the Engliſh Congregations (for ſo many of them as be ordered according unto their own Laws,) the very Publick Service of God is fraught, as touching Matter, with heaps of intolerable Pollutions, and as concerning Form, borrowed from the Shop of Antichriſt; hateful both ways in the eyes of the moſt Holy; the kinde of their Government, by Biſhops and Archbiſhops, Antichriſtian; that Diſcipline which Chriſt hath eſſentially tied, that is to ſay, ſo united unto his Church, that we cannot account it really to be his Church which hath not in it the ſame Diſcipline, that very Diſcipline no leſs there deſpiſed, then in the higheſt Throne of Antichriſt. All ſuch parts of the Word of God, as do any way concern that Diſcipline, no leſs unſoundly taught and interpreted by all authorized Engliſh Paſtors, then by Antichriſts Factors themſelves: At Baptiſm, Croſsing; at the Supper of the Lord, Kneeling; at both, a number of other the moſt notorious Badges of Antichriſtian Recogniſance, uſual. Being moved with theſe and the like, your effectual diſcourſes, whereunto we gave moſt attentive ear, till they entred even into our ſouls, and were as fire within our boſoms; We thought we might hereof be bold to conclude, That ſith no ſuch Antichriſtian Synagogue may be accounted a true Church of Chriſt, ye by accuſing all Congregations ordered according to the Laws of* England *as Antichriſtian, did mean to condemn thoſe Congregations, as not being any of them worthy the name of a true Chriſtian Church. Ye tell us now, it is not your meaning: But what meant your often threatnings of them, who profeſsing themſelves the inhabitants of Mount* Sion, *were too loth to depart wholly as they ſhould out of* Babylon? *Whereat, our hearts being fearfully troubled, we durſt not, we durſt not continue longer ſo near her confines, leſt her plagues might ſuddenly overtake us, before we did ceaſe to be partakers with her ſins; for ſo we could not chuſe, but acknowledge with grief, that we were, when they doing evil, we by our preſence in their Aſſemblies, ſeemed to like thereof; or at leaſtwiſe, not ſo earneſtly to diſlike, as became men heartily zealous of Gods glory. For adventuring to erect the Diſcipline of Chriſt, without the leave of the Chriſtian Magiſtrate, haply ye may condemn us as fools, in that we hazard thereby our eſtates and perſons, further then you which are that way more wiſe think neceſſary: But of any offence or ſin therein committed againſt God, with what conſcience can you accuſe us, when your own poſitions are, That the things we obſerve, ſhould every of them be dearer unto us, then ten thouſand lives; that they are the peremptory Commandments of God; that no mortal man can diſpenſe with them; and that the Magiſtrate grievouſly ſinneth, in not conſtraining thereunto? Will ye blame any man for doing that of his own accord, which all men ſhould be compelled to do, that are not willing of themſelves? When God commandeth, ſhall we anſwer, that we will obey, if ſo be* Ceſar *will grant us leave? Is Diſcipline an Eccleſiaſtical Matter, or a Civil? If an Eccleſiaſtical, it muſt of neceſsity belong to the duty of the Miniſter; and the Miniſter (ye*

How juſt cauſe there is to fear the manifold dangerous events, likely to enſue upon this intended Reformation, if it did take place.

1 Pet. 2. 2.

Pſal. 55. 13.

Pref. againſt Dr. Bancr.

ſay) holdeth all his Authority of doing whatſoever belongeth unto the Spiritual Charge of the Houſe of God, even immediately from God himſelf, without dependency upon any Magiſtrate. Whereupon it followeth, as we ſuppoſe, that the hearts of the people being willing to be under the Scepter of Chriſt, the Miniſter of God, into whoſe hands the Lord himſelf hath put that Scepter, is without all excuſe, if thereby he guide them not. Nor do we finde, that hitherto greatly ye have diſliked thoſe Churches abroad, where the people with direction of their godly Miniſters, have even againſt the will of the Magiſtrate, brought in either the Doctrine or Diſcipline of Jeſus Chriſt: For which cauſe, we muſt now think the very ſame thing of you,

Matth. 23. 3. *which our Saviour did ſometime utter concerning falſe-hearted Scribes and Phariſees,* They ſay, and do not. *Thus the fooliſh* Barrowiſt *deriveth his Schiſm by way of Concluſion, as to him it ſeemeth, directly and plainly out of your principles. Him therefore we leave to be ſatisfied by you, from whom he hath ſprung: And if ſuch, by your own acknowledgment, be perſons dangerous, although as yet the alterations which they have made, are of ſmall and tender growth; the changes likely to enſue, throughout all States and Vocations within this Land, in caſe your deſire ſhould take place, muſt be thought upon. Firſt, Concerning the Supream Power of the Higheſt, they are no ſmall Prerogatives, which now thereunto belonging, the Form of your Diſcipline will conſtrain it to reſign; as in the laſt Book of this Treatiſe we have ſhewed at large. Again, it may juſtly be feared, whether our Engliſh Nobility, when the Matter came in tryal, would contentedly ſuffer themſelves to be always at the Call, and to ſtand to the ſentence of a number of mean perſons, aſſiſted with the preſence of their poor Teacher; a man (as ſometimes it hapneth) though better able to ſpeak, yet little or no whit apter to judge, then the reſt: From whom, be their dealings never ſo abſurd (unleſs it be by way of Complaint to a Synod) no Appeal may be made unto any one of higher Power; in as much as the Order of your Diſcipline admitteth no ſtanding in Equality of Courts, no Spiritual Judge to have any ordinary Superior on Earth, but as many Supremacies as there are Pariſhes and ſeveral Congregations. Neither is it altogether without cauſe, that ſo many do fear the overthrow of all Learning, as a threatned ſequel of this*

Sap. 6. 24. *your Intended Diſcipline: For if the* Worlds Preſervation *depend upon the* multitude of the wiſe; *and of that ſort, the number hereafter be not likely to wax over-great, when*

Eccleſ. 26. 29. *(that therewith the ſon of* Syrach *profeſſeth himſelf* at the heart grieved) men of underſtanding are *already ſo* little ſet by: *How ſhould their mindes, whom the love of ſo precious a Jewel filleth with ſecret jealouſie, even in regard of the leſt things which may any way hinder the flouriſhing eſtate thereof, chuſe but miſdoubt leſt this Diſcipline, which always you match with Divine Doctrine, as her natural and true Siſter, be found unto all kindes of knowledge a Step-mother; ſeeing that the greateſt worldly hopes, which are propoſed unto the chiefeſt kinde of Learning, ye ſeek utterly to extirpate as Weeds; and have grounded your Platform on ſuch Propoſitions, as do after a ſort undermine thoſe moſt renowned Habitations, where, through the goodneſs of Almighty God, all commendable Arts and Sciences, are with exceeding great induſtry hitherto (and ſo may they for ever continue) ſtudied, proceeded in, and profeſt? To charge you, as purpoſely bent to the overthrow of that, wherein ſo many of you have attained no ſmall perfection, were injurious. Onely therefore, I wiſh, that your ſelves did well conſider, how oppoſite certain of your Poſitions are unto the ſtate of Collegiate Societies, whereon the two Univerſities conſiſt. Thoſe Degrees which their Statutes binde them to take, are by your Laws taken away, your ſelves who have ſought them, ye ſo excuſe; as that ye would have men to think ye judge them not allowable, but tolerable onely, and to be borne with, for ſome help which ye finde in them unto the furtherance of your purpoſes, till the corrupt eſtate of the Church may be better reformed. Your Laws forbidding Eccleſiaſtical Perſons utterly the exerciſe of Civil Power, muſt needs deprive the Heads and Maſters in the ſame Colledges of all ſuch Authority as now they exerciſe, either at home, by puniſhing the faults of thoſe, who not as children to their Parents by the Law of Nature, but altogether by Civil Authority are ſubject unto them; or abroad, by keeping Courts amongſt their Tenants. Your Laws making permanent inequality amongſt Miniſters, a thing repugnant to the Word of God, enforce thoſe Colledges, the Seniors whereof are all, or any part of them, Miniſters under the Government of a Maſter in the ſame Vocation, to chuſe, as oft as they meet together, a new Preſident. For if ſo ye judge it neceſſary to do in Synods, for the avoiding of permanent inequality amongſt Miniſters; the ſame cauſe muſt needs, even in theſe Collegiate Aſſemblies, enforce the like: Except peradventure ye mean to avoid all ſuch abſurdities, by diſſolving thoſe Corporations,*

and

and by bringing the Universities unto the Form of the School of Geneva. *Which thing men the rather are inclined to look for, in as much as the Ministery, wherein to their Founders, with singular Providence, have by the same Statutes appointed them necessarily to enter at a certain time, your Laws binde them much more necessarily to forbear, till some Parish abroad call for them. Your opinion concerning the Law Civil, is, That the knowledge thereof might be spared, as a thing which this Land doth not need. Professors in that kinde being few, ye are the bolder to spurn at them, and not to dissemble your mindes, as concerning their removal: In whose Studies, although my self have not much been conversant, nevertheless exceeding great cause, I see, there is to wish, that thereunto more encouragement were given, as well for the singular Treasures of Wisdom therein contained, as also for the great use we have thereof, both in Decision of certain kindes of causes arising daily within our selves, and especially for Commerce with Nations abroad, whereunto that knowledge is most requisite. The Reasons wherewith ye would perswade, that Scripture is the onely rule to frame all our actions by, are in every respect as effectual for proof, that the same is the onely Law whereby to determine all our Civil Controversies. And then what doth let, but that as those men may have their desire, who frankly broach it already, That the Work of Reformation will never be perfect, till the Law of Jesus Christ be received alone; so Pleaders and Counsellors may bring their Books of the Common Law, and bestow them as the Students of curious and needless Arts did theirs in the Apostles time? I leave them to scan, how far those words of yours may reach, wherein ye declare, That whereas now many houses lie waste through inordinate Suits of Law,* This one thing will shew the excellency of Discipline for the Wealth of the Realm, and quiet of Subjects; That the Church is to censure such a Party, who is apparently troublesome and contentious, and without REASONABLE CAUSE, upon a meer Will and Stomach, doth vex and molest his Brother, and trouble the Country. *For mine own part, I do not see, but that it might very well agree with your Principles, if your Discipline were fully planted, even to send out your Writs of* Surcease *unto all Courts of* England *besides, for the most things handled in them. A great deal further I might proceed, and descend lower; but for as much as against all these and the like difficulties, your answer is, That we ought to search what things are consonant to Gods Will, not which be most for our own ease; and therefore that your Discipline being (for such is your Error) the absolute Commandment of Almighty God, it must be received, although the World by receiving it, should be clean turned upside down: Herein lieth the greatest danger of all. For whereas the name of Divine Authority, is used to countenance these things, which are not the Commandments of God, but your own Erroneous Collections; on him ye must father whatsoever ye shall afterwards be led, either to do in withstanding the Adversaries of your Cause, or to think in maintenance of your doings. And what this may be, God doth know. In such kindes of Error, the Minde once imagining it self to seek the execution of Gods Will, laboreth forthwith to remove both things and persons, which any way hinder it from taking place; and in such cases, if any strange or new thing seem requisite to be done, a strange and new opinion, concerning the lawfulness thereof, is withal received and broached under countenance of Divine Authority. One example herein may serve for many, to shew, That false opinions touching the Will of God to have things done, are wont to bring forth mighty and violent practices against the hinderances of them; and those practices new opinions more pernicious then the first, yea, most extreamly sometimes opposite to that which the first did seem to intend. Where the people took upon them the Reformation of the Church, by casting out Popish Superstition, they having received from their Pastors a General Instruction, that whatsoever the Heavenly Father hath not planted, must be rooted out; proceeded in some foreign places so far, that down went Oratories, and the very Temples of God themselves: For as they chanced to take the compass of their Commission stricter or larger, so their dealings were accordingly more or less moderate. Amongst others, there sprang up presently one kinde of men, with whose zeal and forwardness, the rest being compared, were thought to be marvellous cold and dull. These grounding themselves on Rules more general; that whatsoever the Law of Christ commandeth not, thereof Antichrist is the Author; and that whatsoever Antichrist, or his adherents did in the World, the true Professors of Christ are to undo; found out many things more then others had done, the Extirpation whereof was in their conceit, as necessary as of any thing before removed. Hereupon they secretly made their doleful complaints every where as they went, that albeit the World did begin to profess some distike of that which*

Humb. Motion to the L. L. p. 50.

Acts 19. 19.

Humb. Motion Page 74.

Counterp. Pag. 108.

Mat. 15. 13.

was evil in the Kingdom of Darkneſs, yet Fruits worthy of a true Repentance were not ſeen; and that if men did repent as they ought, they muſt endeavor to purge the truth of all manner evil, to the end, there might follow a new World afterward, wherein righteouſneſs onely ſhould dwell. Private Repentance they ſaid, muſt appear by every mans faſhioning his own life, contrary unto the cuſtom and orders of this preſent World, both in greater things and in leſs. To this purpoſe, they had always in their mouths, thoſe greater things, Charity, Faith, the true fear of God, the Croſs, the Mortification of the fleſh. All their Exhortations were to ſet light of the things in this World, to account riches and honors vanity, and in token thereof, not onely to ſeek neither; but if men were poſſeſſors of both, even to caſt away the one, and reſign the other, that all men might ſee their unfeigned converſion unto Chriſt.

Guy de Bres contr. lerreur des Anabaptiſtes, page 4.

Page 5.

Page 16. They were Sollicitors of Men to Faſts, to often Meditations of Heavenly things, and as it

Pag. 118, 119. were Conferences in ſecret with God by Prayers, not framed according to the frozen manner of the World, but expreſſing ſuch fervent deſires as might even force God to hearken unto them. Where they found men in Diet, Attire, Furniture of Houſe, or any other way obſervers of civility, and decent order, ſuch they reproved as being carnally and earthly minded.

Pag. 116, 120. Every word otherwiſe then ſeverely and ſadly uttered, ſeemed to pierce like a Sword thorow

Page 124. them. If any man were pleaſant, their manner was preſently with ſighs to repeat thoſe words

Luk. 6. 12. of our Saviour Chriſt, Wo be to you which now laugh, for ye ſhall lament. So great

Pag. 117. was their delight to be always in trouble, that ſuch as did quietly lead their lives, they judged of all other men to be in moſt dangerous caſe. They ſo much affected to croſs the ordinary cuſtom in every thing, that when other mens uſe was to put on better attire, they would be ſure to ſhew themſelves openly abroad in worſe: The ordinary names of the days in the week, they thought it a kinde of prophaneneſs to uſe, and therefore accuſtomed themſelves to make no other diſtinction, then by numbers, The firſt, ſecond, third day. From this they proceeded

Page 40. unto Publick Reformation, firſt Eccleſiaſtical, and then Civil. Touching the former, they boldly avouched, that themſelves onely had the Truth, which thing upon peril of their lives, they would at all times defend; and that ſince the Apoſtles lived, the ſame was never before in all points ſincerely taught. Wherefore, that things might again be brought to that ancient integrity which Jeſus Chriſt by his Word requireth, they began to controll the Miniſters of the Goſpel, for attributing ſo much force and vertue unto the Scriptures of God read, whereas the Truth was, that when the Word is ſaid to engender Faith in the Heart, and to convert the Soul of Man, or to work any ſuch Spiritual Divine effect, theſe ſpeeches are not thereunto appliable as it is read or preached, but as it is ingrafted in us by the power of the Holy Ghoſt, opening the eyes of our underſtanding, and ſo revealing the Myſteries of God, accord-

Jere. 31. 34. ing to that which Jeremy promiſed before ſhould be, ſaying, I will put my Law in their inward parts, and I will write it in their hearts. The Book of God they notwithſtanding for

Page 29. the moſt part ſo admired, that other diſputation againſt their opinions then onely by allegation

Page 27. of Scripture they would not hear; beſides it, they thought no other Writings in the World ſhould be ſtudied; in ſo much, as one of their great Prophets exhorting them to caſt away all reſpects unto Humane Writings, ſo far to his motion they condeſcended, that as many as had any Books, ſave the Holy Bible in their cuſtody, they brought and ſet them publickly on fire. When they and their Bibles were alone together, what ſtrange phantaſtical opinion ſoever at any time entred into their heads, their uſe was to think the Spirit taught it them. Their phrenſies concerning our Saviours Incarnation, the ſtate of Souls departed, and ſuch like, are things needleſs to be rehearſed. And for as much as they were of the ſame Suit with thoſe

2 Tim. 3. 7. of whom the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, ſaying, They are ſtill learning, but never attain to the knowledge of truth, it was no marvel to ſee them every day broach ſome new thing, not heard of before. Which reſtleſs levity they did interpret to be their growing to Spiritual

Page 65. Perfection, and a proceeding from Faith to Faith. The differences amongſt them grew by this mean in a manner infinite, ſo that ſcarcely was there found any one of them, the forge

Page 66. of whoſe Brain was not poſſeſt with ſome ſpecial myſtery. Whereupon although their mutual

Page 135. contentions were moſt fiercely proſecuted amongſt themſelves, yet when they came to defend the cauſe common to them all againſt the Adverſaries of their Faction, they had ways to lick one

Page 25. another whole, the ſounder in his own perſwaſion excuſing THE DEAR BRETHREN, which were not ſo far enlightned, and profeſſing a charitable hope of the Mercy of God towards

Page 71. them, notwithſtanding their ſwerving from him in ſome things. Their own Miniſters they highly magnified, as men whoſe vocation was from God: The reſt their manner was to term

Page 124. diſdainfully Scribes and Phariſees, to account their Calling an Humane Creature, and to detain

the

the people as much as might be from hearing them. As touching Sacraments, Baptism administred in the Church of Rome, *they judged to be but an execrable Mockery and no Baptism; both becauſe the Miniſters thereof in the Papacy are wicked Idolaters, lewd Perſons, Thieves, and Murderers, curſed Creatures, ignorant Beaſts; and alſo for that to baptize, is a proper action belonging unto none but the Church of Chriſt, whereas* Rome *is Antichriſts Synagogue. The cuſtom of uſing God-fathers and God-mothers at Chriſtnings, they ſcorned. Baptiſm of Infants, although confeſt by themſelves, to have been continued even ſithence the very Apoſtles own times; yet they altogether condemned, partly, becauſe ſundry errors are of no leſs antiquity; and partly, for that there is no Commandment in the Goſpel of Chriſt, which ſaith,* Baptize Infants; *but he contrariwiſe in ſaying,* Go Preach and Baptize, *doth appoint, that the Miniſter of Baptiſm ſhall in that action firſt adminiſter Doctrine, and then Baptiſm; as alſo in ſaying,* Whoſoever doth believe and is baptized, *he appointeth, that the party to whom Baptiſm is adminiſtred, ſhall firſt believe, and then be baptized; to the end, that Believing may go before this Sacrament in the Receiver, no otherwiſe then Preaching in the Giver, ſith equally in both, the Law of Chriſt declareth, not onely what things are required, but alſo in what order they are required. The Euchariſt they received (pretending our Lord and Saviours example) after Supper: And for avoiding all thoſe impieties which have been grounded upon the Myſtical words of Chriſt,* This is my Body, This is my Blood; *they thought it not ſafe to mention either Body or Blood in that Sacrament, but rather to abrogate both, and to uſe no words but theſe,* Take, eat, declare the death of our Lord. Drink, ſhew forth our Lords death. *In Rites and Ceremonies, their Profeſſion was hatred of all Conformity with the Church of* Rome: *For which cauſe, they would rather endure any torment, then obſerve the ſolemn Feſtivals which others dia, in as much as Antichriſt (they ſaid) was the firſt inventer of them. The pretended end of their Civil Reformation, was, That Chriſt might have dominion over all; that all Crowns and Scepters might be thrown down at his feet; that no other might raign over Chriſtian men, but he; no Regiment keep them in aw, but his Diſcipline; amongſt them no Sword at all be carried beſides his, the Sword of Spiritual Excommunication. For this cauſe they labored with all their might, in over-turning the Seats of Magiſtracy, becauſe Chriſt hath ſaid,* Kings of Nations; *in aboliſhing the execution of Juſtice, becauſe Chriſt hath ſaid,* Reſiſt not evil; *in forbidding Oaths, the neceſſary means of Judicial tryal, becauſe Chriſt hath ſaid,* Swear not at all: *Finally, in bringing in Community of Goods, becauſe Chriſt by his Apoſtles hath given the World ſuch example, to the end, that men might excel one another, not in Wealth, the Pillar of Secular Authority, but in Vertue. Theſe men at the firſt were onely pitied in their Error, and not much withſtood by any; the great Humility, Zeal, and Devotion, which appeared to be in them, was in all mens opinion a pledge of their harmleſs meaning. The hardeſt that men of ſound underſtanding conceived of them, was but this,* O quam honeſtâ voluntate miſeri errant! *With how good a meaning theſe poor Souls do evil? Luther made requeſt unto* Frederick, *Duke of* Saxony, *that within his Dominion they might be favorably dealt with and ſpared, for that (their Error exempted) they ſeemed otherwiſe right good men. By means of which merciful Toleration they gathered ſtrength, much more then was ſafe for the State of the Commonwealth wherein they lived. They had their ſecret Corner-meetings and Aſſemblies in the night, the people flocked unto them by thouſands. The means whereby they both allured and retained ſo great multitudes, were moſt effectual; Firſt, A wonderful ſhew of zeal towards God, wherewith they ſeemed to be even rapt in every thing they ſpake: Secondly, An hatred of ſin, and a ſingular love of integrity, which men did think to be much more then ordinary in them, by reaſon of the cuſtom which they had to fill the ears of the people with Invectives againſt their authorized Guides, as well Spiritual as Civil: Thirdly, The bountiful relief wherewith they eaſed the broken eſtate of ſuch needy Creatures, as were in that reſpect the more apt to be drawn away. Fourthly, A tender compaſſion which they were thought to take upon the miſeries of the common ſort, over whoſe heads their manner was even to pour down ſhowres of tears in complaining, that no reſpect was had unto them, that their goods were devoured by wicked Cormorants, their perſons had in contempt, all Liberty, both Temporal and Spiritual, taken from them; that it was high time for God now to hear their groans, and to ſend them deliverance. Laſtly, A cunning ſlight which they had to ſtroke and ſmoothe up the mindes of their followers, as well by appropriating unto them all the favorable Titles, the good words, and the gracious promiſes in Scripture; as alſo by caſting*

Page 764.
Page 748.
Page 512.
Page 518.
Page 722.
Page 726.
Page 688.
Page 38.
Page 122.
Page 841.
Page 833.
Page 849.
Page 40.
Lactant. de Juſtit. lib. 5. cap. 19.
Page 6.
Page 420.
Page 55.
Page 6.
Page 7.

casting the contrary always on the heads of such as were severed from that retinue: Whereupon, the peoples common acclamation unto such deceivers was: These are verily the Men of
Page 7. *God, these are his true and sincere Prophets. If any such Prophet or Man of God, did suffer by order of Law, condign and deserved punishment, were it for Fellony, Rebellion, Murder, or what else; the people (so strangely were their hearts inchanted) as though Blessed St.* Stephen *had been again Martyred, did lament, that God took away his most dear servants*
Page 27. *from them. In all these things being fully perswaded, that what they did, it was obedience to the Will of God, and that all men should do the like; there remained after speculation, Practice, whereby the whole World thereunto (if it were possible) might be framed. This*
Page 6. *they saw could not be done, but with mighty opposition and resistence; against which, to strengthen themselves, they secretly entred into a League of Association. And peradventure considering, that although they were many, yet long Wars would in time waste them out; they began to think, whether it might not be, that God would have them do for their speedy and mighty increase, the same which sometime Gods own chosen people, the people of* Israel *did. Glad and fain they were to have it so; which very desire was it self apt to breed both an opinion of possibility, and a willingness to gather Arguments of likelihood, that so God himself would have it. Nothing more clear unto their seeming, then that a* New Jerusalem *being often spoken of in Scripture, they undoubtedly were themselves that* New Jerusalem, *and the* Old *did by way of a certain Figurative resemblance signifie what they should both be, and do. Here they drew in a Sea of Matter, by amplifying all things unto their own Company, which are any where spoken concerning Divine Favors and Benefits bestowed upon the Old Commonwealth of* Israel; *concluding, that as* Israel *was delivered out of* Egypt, *so they spiritually out of the* Egypt *of this Worlds servile thraldom unto Sin and Superstition: As* Israel *was to root out the Idolatrous Nations, and to plant instead of them, a people which feared God; so the same Lords good will and pleasure was now, that these new* Israelites *should under the conduct of other* Joshua's, Sampsons, *and* Gideons, *perform a work no less miraculous in casting out violently the wicked from the Earth, and establishing the Kingdom of Christ with perfect liberty: And therefore, as the cause why the Children of* Israel *took unto one Man many Wives, might be, lest the casualties of War should any way hinder the promise of God concerning their multitude, from taking effect in them; so it was not unlike that, for the necessary propagation of Christs Kingdom under the Gospel, the Lord was content to allow as much. Now whatsoever they did in such sort collect out of Scripture, when they came to justifie or perswade it unto others, all was the Heavenly Fathers appointment, his commandment, his will and charge. Which thing is the very point, in regard whereof, I have gathered this Declaration. For my purpose herein is to shew, that when the mindes of men are once erroneously perswaded, that it is the Will of God to have those things done which they fancy; then Opinions are as Thorns in their sides, never suffering them to take rest till they have brought their speculations into practice. The lets and impediments of which practice, their restless desire and study to remove, leadeth them every day forth by the hand into other more dangerous opinions, sometimes quite and clean contrary to their first pretended meanings. So as what will grow out of such Errors as go masked under the cloak of Divine Authority, impossible it is, that ever the wit of man should imagine, till time have brought forth the fruits of them: For which cause, it behoveth Wisdom to fear the sequels thereof, even beyond all apparent cause of fear. These men, in whose mouths at the first, sounded nothing but onely Mortification of the Flesh, were come at the length, to think they might lawfully have their six or seven Wives apiece: They which at the first, thought Judgment and Justice it self to be mercileſs cruelty; accounted at the length, their own hands sanctified with being imbrued in Christian blood: They who at the first were wont to beat down all Dominion, and to urge against poor Constables,* Kings of Nations; *had at the length, both Consuls and Kings of their own erection amongst themselves: Finally, they which could not brook at the first, that any man should seek, no not by Law, the recovery of Goods injuriously taken or withheld from him, were grown at the last to think they could not offer unto God more acceptable Sacrifice, then by turning their Adversaries clean out of house*
Page 41. *and home, and by enriching themselves with all kinde of spoil and pillage. Which thing being laid to their charge, they had in a readiness their answer, That now the time was come,*
Matth. 5. 5. *when, according to our Saviours promise,* The meek ones must inherit the Earth; *and that their title hereunto was the same which the righteous* Israelites *had unto the goods of the*
Exod. 12. 2. *wicked* Egyptians. *Wherefore sith the World hath had in these men so fresh experience, how*

dangerous

dangerous such active Errors are, it must not offend you, though touching the sequel of your present misperswasions, much more be doubted, then your own intents and purposes do haply aim at. And yet your words already are somewhat, when ye affirm, that your Pastors, Doctors, Elders, and Deacons, ought to be in this Church of England, Whether Her Majesty and our State will, or no: *When for the animating of your Confederates, ye publish the Musters which ye have made of your own Bands, and proclaim them to amount to I know not how many thousands; when ye threaten, that sith neither your Suits to the Parliament, nor Supplications to our Convocation-House; neither your Defences by Writing, nor Challenges of Disputation in behalf of that Cause, are able to prevail, we must blame our selves, if to bring in Discipline, some such means hereafter be used, as shall cause all our hearts to ake.* That things doubtful, are to be construed in the better part, *is a Principle not safe to be followed in Matters concerning the Publick State of a Commonweal. But howsoever these and the like Speeches, be accounted as Arrows idlely shot at random, without either eye had to any Mark, or regard to their lighting place; hath not your longing desire for the practice of your Discipline, brought the Matter already unto this demurrer amongst you; whether the people and their Godly Pastors, that way affected, ought not to make Separation from the rest, and to begin the Exercise of Discipline, without the Licence of Civil Powers, which Licence they have sought for, and are not heard? Upon which question, as ye have now divided your selves, the warier sort of you taking the one part, and the forwarder in zeal, the other; so in case these earnest Ones should prevail, what other sequel can any wise man imagine but this, that having first resolved that Attempts for Discipline without Superiors are lawful, it will follow in the next place to be disputed, What may be attempted against Superiors, which will not have the Scepter of that Discipline to rule over them? Yea, even by you which have staid your selves from running head-long with the other sort, somewhat notwithstanding there hath been done without the leave or liking of your lawful Superiors, for the exercise of a part of your Discipline amongst the Clergy thereunto addicted. And lest Examination of Principal Parties therein should bring those things to light, which might hinder and let your proceedings; behold, for a Bar against that impediment, one Opinion ye have newly added unto the rest, even upon this occasion, an Opinion to exempt you from taking Oaths, which may turn to the molestation of your Brethren in that cause. The next Neighbor Opinion whereunto, when occasion requireth, may follow for Dispensation with Oaths already taken, if they afterwards be found to import a necessity of detecting ought which may bring such good men into trouble or damage, whatsoever the cause be. O merciful God, what mans wit is there able to sound the depth of those dangerous and fearful evils, whereinto our weak and impotent nature is inclineable to sink it self, rather then to shew an acknowledgment of Error in that which once we have unadvisedly taken upon us to defend, against the stream, as it were, of a contrary publick resolution! Wherefore, if we any thing respect their Error, who being perswaded, even as ye are, have gone further upon that perswasion then ye allow, if we regard the present State of the highest Governor placed over us, if the quality and disposition of our Nobles, if the Orders and Laws of our famous Universities, if the Profession of the Civil, or the Practice of the Common Law amongst us, if the mischiefs whereinto, even before our eyes, so many others have faln head-long from no less plausible and fair beginnings then yours are: There is in every of these Considerations most just cause to fear, lest our hastiness to embrace a thing of so perilous consequence, should cause Posterity to feel those evils, which as yet are more easie for us to prevent, then they would be for them to remedy.*

Mart. in his third Libel, pag. 28.

Demonstr. in the Pref.

9. *The best and safest way for you therefore, my dear Brethren, is, To call your Deeds past to a new reckoning, to re-examine the cause ye have taken in hand, and to try it even point by point, argument by argument, with all the diligent exactness ye can, to lay aside the Gall of that Bitterness wherein your mindes have hitherto over-abounded, and with meekness to search the Truth. Think ye are Men, deem it not impossible for you to err; sift unpartially your own hearts, whether it be force of Reason, or vehemency of Affection, which hath bred, and still doth feed these Opinions in you. If Truth do any where manifest it self, seek not to smother it with glozing Delusion, acknowledge the greatness thereof, and think it your best Victory, when the same doth prevail over you.*

The Conclusion of all.

That ye have been earnest in speaking or writing again and again the contrary way, should be no blemish or discredit at all unto you. Amongst so many so huge Volumes, as the infinite pains of St. Augustine *have brought forth, what one hath gotten him greater love, commendation, and honor, then the Book wherein he carefully collecteth his own over-sights,*

and

and ſincerely condemneth them? Many ſpeeches there are of Jobs, *whereby his Wiſdom and other Vertues may appear; but the glory of an ingenuous minde he hath purchaſed by theſe words onely,* Behold, I will lay mine hand on my mouth; I have ſpoken once, yet will I not therefore maintain Argument; yea, twice, howbeit for that cauſe further I will not proceed. *Far more comfort it were for us (ſo ſmall is the joy we take in theſe ſtrifes) to labor under the ſame yoke, as men that look for the ſame eternal reward of their labors, to be enjoyned with you in Bands of indiſſoluble Love and Amity, to live as if our perſons being many, our ſouls were but one, rather than in ſuch diſmembred ſort, to ſpend our few and wretched days in a tedious proſecuting of weariſome contentions; the end whereof, if they have not ſome ſpeedy end, will be heavy, even on both ſides. Brought already we are, even to* Greg. Naz. in Apol. *that eſtate which* Gregory Nazianzen *mournfully deſcribeth, ſaying,* My minde leadeth me *(ſith there is no other remedy)* to flie and to convey my ſelf into ſome corner out of ſight, where I may ſcape from this cloudy tempeſt of maliciouſneſs, whereby all parts are entred into a deadly war amongſt themſelves, and that little remnant of love which was, is now conſumed to nothing. The onely godlineſs we glory in, is to finde out ſomewhat whereby we may judge others to be ungodly. Each others faults we obſerve, as matter of exprobration, and not of grief. By theſe means we are grown hateful in the eyes of the Heathens themſelves, and (which woundeth us the more deeply) able we are not to deny, but that we have deſerved their hatred: With the better ſort of our own, our fame and credit is clean loſt. The leſs we are to marvel, if they judge vilely of us, who although we did well, would hardly allow thereof. On our backs they alſo build that are leud, and what we object one againſt another, the ſame they uſe, to the utter ſcorn and diſgrace of us all. This we have gained by our mutual home-diſſentions: This we are worthily rewarded with, which are more forward to ſtrive, then becometh men of vertuous and milde diſpoſition. *But our truſt in the Almighty is, that with us Contentions are now at the higheſt flote, and that the day will come (for what cauſe of deſpair is there?) when the Paſſions of former Enmity being allayed, we ſhall with ten times redoubled tokens of our unfeignedly reconciled love, ſhew our ſelves each towards other the ſame, which* Joſeph *and the Brethren of* Joſeph *were at the time of their enterview in* Egypt. *Our comfortable expectation and moſt thirſty deſire whereof, what man ſoever amongſt you ſhall any way help to ſatisfie, (as we truly hope, there is no one amongſt you, but ſome way or other will.)* The bleſſings of the God of Peace, both in this World, and in the World to come, be upon him more then the Stars of the Firmament in number.

Job 39. 37.

WHAT

WHAT THINGS ARE HANDLED

In the following

BOOKS.

BOOK I.

Concerning LAWS in General.

BOOK II.

Of the use of Divine Law contained in Scripture; Whether that be the onely Law which ought to serve for our Direction in all things without exception?

BOOK III.

Of Laws concerning Ecclesiastical Polity: Whether the Form thereof be in Scripture so set down, that no Addition or Change is lawful?

BOOK IV.

Of General Exceptions taken against the Laws of our Polity, as being Popish, and banished out of certain Reformed Churches.

BOOK V.

Of our Laws that concern the Publick Religious Duties of the Church, and the manner of bestowing that Power of Order, which enableth Men in sundry Degrees and Callings to execute the same.

BOOK VI.

Of the Power of Jurisdiction, which the Reformed Platform claimeth unto Lay-Elders, with others.

BOOK VII.

Of the Power of Jurisdiction, and the Honor which is annexed thereunto in Bishops.

BOOK VIII.

Of the Power of Ecclesiastical Dominion or Supream Authority, which with us the highest Governor or Prince hath, as well in regard of Domestical Jurisdictions, as of that other Foreignly claimed by the Bishop of Rome.

OF

OF THE LAWS OF Ecclesiastical Polity.

Book I.

Concerning Laws, and their several kindes in general.

The Matter contained in this First Book.

1. *The cause of Writing this General Discourse concerning Laws.*
2. *Of that Law which God from before the beginning hath set for himself, to do all things by.*
3. *The Law which Natural Agents observe, and their necessary manner of keeping it.*
4. *The Law which the Angels of God obey.*
5. *The Law whereby Man is in his Actions directed to the Imitation of God.*
6. *Mens first beginning to understand that Law.*
7. *Of Mans Will, which is the first thing that Laws of Action are made to guide.*
8. *Of the Natural finding out of Laws by the Light of Reason, to guide the Will unto that which is good.*
9. *Of the benefit of keeping that Law which Reason teacheth.*
10. *How Reason doth lead Men unto the making of Humane Laws, whereby Politick Societies are governed, and to agreement about Laws, whereby the Fellowship or Communion of Independent Societies standeth.*
11. *Wherefore God hath by Scripture further made known such Supernatural Laws, as do serve for Mens direction.*
12. *The cause why so many Natural or Rational Laws are set down in holy Scripture.*
13. *The benefit of having Divine Laws written.*
14. *The sufficiency of Scripture unto the end for which it was instituted.*
15. *Of Laws Positive contained in Scripture; the Mutability of certain of them, and the general use of Scripture.*
16. *A Conclusion, shewing how all this belongeth to the Cause in question.*

The cause of writing this General Discourse.

HE that goeth about to perswade a multitude, that they are not so well-governed as they ought to be, shall never want attentive and favorable Hearers; because they know the manifold defects whereunto every kinde of Regiment is subject; but the secret lets and difficulties, which in publick proceedings, are innumerable and inevitable, they have not ordinarily the judgment to consider. And because such as openly reprove supposed disorders of State, are taken for Principal Friends to the Common Benefit of all, and for men that carry singular Freedom of Minde: Under this fair and plausible colour whatsoever they utter,

passeth for good and currant. That which wanteth in the weight of their Speech, is supplied by the aptness of Mens mindes to accept and believe it. Whereas on the other side, if we maintain things that are established, we have not onely to strive with a number of heavy prejudices, deeply rooted in the hearts of men, who think that herein we serve the time, and speak in favor of the present State, because thereby we either hold or seek preferment; but also to bear such Exceptions as Mindes so averted beforehand, usually take against that which they are loth should be poured into them. Albeit therefore, much of that we are to speak in this present Cause, may seem to a number perhaps tedious, perhaps obscure, dark, and intricate, (for many talk of the Truth, which never sounded the depth from whence it springeth: And therefore when they are led thereunto, they are soon weary, as men drawn from those beaten paths wherewith they have been inured;) yet this may not so far prevail, as to cut off that which the matter it self requireth, howsoever the nice humor of some be therewith pleased, or no. They unto whom we shall seem tedious, are in no wise injured by us, because it is in their own hands to spare that labor which they are not willing to endure. And if any complain of obscurity, they must consider, that in these Matters it cometh no otherwise to pass, then in sundry the works both of Art, and also of Nature, where that which hath greatest force in the very things we see, is notwithstanding it self oftentimes not seen. The stateliness of Houses, the goodliness of Trees, when we behold them delighteth the eye; but that Foundation which beareth up the one, that Root which ministreth unto the other nourishment and life, is in the bosome of the Earth concealed; and if there be occasion at any time to search into it, such labor is then more necessary then pleasant, both to them which undertake it, and for the lookers on. In like manner, the use and benefit of good Laws, all that live under them, may enjoy with delight and comfort, albeit the grounds and first original causes from whence they have sprung, be unknown, as to the greatest part of men they are. But when they who withdraw their obedience, pretend, That the Laws which they should obey, are corrupt and vicious: For better examination of their quality, it behoveth the very Foundation and Root, the highest Well-Spring and Fountain of them to be discovered. Which because we are not oftentimes accustomed to do, when we do it, the pains we take are more needful a great deal then acceptable, and the Matters which we handle, seem by reason of newness, (till the minde grow better acquainted with them) dark, intricate, and unfamiliar. For as much help whereof as may be in this case, I have endeavored throughout the Body of this whole Discourse, that every former part might give strength unto all that follow, and every latter bring some light unto all before: So that if the judgments of men do but hold themselves in suspence, as touching these first more General Meditations, till in order they have perused the rest that ensue; what may seem dark at the first, will afterwards be found more plain, even as the latter particular decisions will appear, I doubt not, more strong, when the other have been read before. The Laws of the Church, whereby for so many Ages together we have been guided in the Exercise of Christian Religion, and the Service of the true God, our Rites, Customs, and Orders of Eccleſiastical Government, are called in question: We are accused as men that will not have Christ Jesus to rule over them; but have wilfully cast his Statutes behinde their backs, hating to be reformed and made subject unto the Scepter of his Discipline. Behold therefore, we offer the Laws whereby we live, unto the General Tryal and Judgment of the whole World; heartily beseeching Almighty God, whom we desire to serve according to his own Will, that both we and others (all kinde of Partial affection being clean laid aside) may have eyes to see, and hearts to embrace the things that in his sight are most acceptable. And because the Point, about which we strive, is the Quality of our Laws, our first entrance hereinto cannot better be made, then with consideration of the Nature of Law in general, and of that Law which giveth Life unto all the rest which are commendable, just, and good, namely, the Law whereby the Eternal himself doth work. Proceeding from hence to the Law, first of Nature, then of Scripture, we shall have the easier access unto those things which come after to be debated, concerning the particular Cause and Question which we have in hand.

Of that Law which God from before the beginning hath set for himself to do all things by.

2. All things that are, have some operation not violent or casual: Neither doth any thing ever begin to exercise the same, without some fore-conceived end for which it worketh. And the end which it worketh for, is not obtained, unless the Work be

also

also fit to obtain it by; for unto every end, every operation will not serve. That which doth assign unto each thing the kinde, that which doth moderate the force and power, that which doth appoint the form and measure of working, the same we term a *Law*: So that no certain end could ever be attained, unless the Actions whereby it is attained, were regular; that is to say, Made suitable, fit, and correspondent unto their end, by some Canon Rule or Law. Which thing doth first take place in the Works, even of God himself. All things therefore do work after a sort, according to Law; all other things according to a Law, whereof some Superiors unto whom they are subject, is Author; onely the Works and Operations of God, have him both for their Worker, and for the Law whereby they are wrought. The Being of God, is a kinde of Law to his working; for that Perfection which God is, giveth Perfection to that he doth. Those Natural, Necessary, and Internal Operations of God, the *Generation* of the Son, the *Proceeding* of the Spirit, are without the compass of my present intent; which is to touch onely such Operations as have their Beginning and Being by a voluntary purpose, wherewith God hath eternally decreed, when, and how they should be; which Eternal Decree is that we term an *Eternal Law*. Dangerous it were for the feeble Brain of Man, to wade far into the doings of the most High; whom although to know be Life, and Joy to make mention of his Name; yet our soundest knowledge is, to know, that we know him not as indeed he is, neither can know him; and our safest eloquence concerning him, is our silence, when we confess without confession, that his glory is inexplicable, his greatness above our capacity and reach. He is above, and we upon Earth; therefore it behoveth our words to be wary and few. Our God is One, or rather very Oneness, and meer Unity, having nothing but it Self in it Self, and not consisting (as all things do besides God) of many things. In which Essential Unity of God, a Trinity Personal nevertheless subsisteth, after a manner far exceeding the possibility of mans conceit. The works which outwardly are of God, they are in such sort of him being One, that each Person hath in them somewhat peculiar and proper. For being Three, and they all subsisting in the Essence of one Deity, from the Father, by the Son, through the Spirit, all things are. That which the Son doth hear of the Father, and which the Spirit doth receive of the Father and the Son, the same we have at the hands of the Spirit, as being the last; and therefore the nearest unto us in order, although in power the same with the Second and the First. The wise and learned among the very Heathens themselves, have all acknowledged some first cause, whereupon originally the Being of all things dependeth. Neither have they otherwise spoken of that Cause then as an Agent, which knowing *what* and *why* it worketh, observeth in working a most exact *Order* or *Law*. Thus much is signified by that which *Homer* mentioneth[a], Διὸς δ' ἐτελείτο βουλή. Thus much acknowledged by *Mercurius Trismegistus*, [b] Τὸν πάντα κόσμον ἐποίησεν ὁ δημιουργὸς οὐ χερσὶν, ἀλλὰ λόγῳ. Thus much confest by *Anaxagoras* and *Plato*, terming the Maker of the World, an *Intellectual Worker*. Finally, the *Stoiks*, although imagining the first cause of all things to be Fire, held nevertheless, that the same Fire having Art, did [c] Ὁ δὼ βαδίζειν ἐπὶ γενέσει κόσμου. They all confess therefore, in the working of that first cause, that *Counsel* is used, *Reason* followed; a *Way* observed, that is to say, Constant *Order* and *Law* is kept, whereof it self must needs be Author unto it self: Otherwise it should have some worthier and higher to direct it, and so could not it self be the first; being the first, it can have no other then it self to be the Author of that Law, which it willingly worketh by. God therefore is a Law both to himself, and to all other things besides. To himself, he is a Law in all those things whereof our Saviour speaks, saying, *My Father worketh as yet, so I*. God worketh nothing without cause. All those things which are done by him, have some end, for which they are done; and the end for which they are done, is a Reason of his Will to do them. His Will had not inclined to create Woman, but that he saw it could not be well, if she were not created. *Non est bonum, It is not good man should be alone*; therefore let us make an helper for him. That and nothing else is done by God, which to leave undone, were not so good. If therefore it be demanded, why God having power and ability infinite, the effects notwithstanding of that power are all so limited, as we see they are: The reason hereof is, the End which he hath proposed, and the Law whereby his Wisdom hath stinted the effects of his power in such sort, that it doth not work infinitely, but correspondently unto that end for which it worketh, even all

John 16. 13, 14, 15.

a *Jupiters* counsel was accomplished.
b The Creator made th whole world not with hands, but by Reason. *Stob. in Eclog. Phys.*
c Proceed b a certain a set way the making the World.

John 5. 17.

Gen. 2. 18.

all things, χρήστως, in most decent and comely sort, all things in *measure, number,* and *weight.* The General End of Gods External Working, is the exercise of his most glorious and most abundant vertue. Which abundance doth shew it self in variety, and for that cause this variety is oftentimes in Scripture exprest by the name of *riches. The Lord hath made all things for his own sake.* Not that any thing is made to be beneficial unto him, but all things for him to shew beneficence and grace in them. The particular drift of every Act proceeding externally from God, we are not able to discern, and therefore cannot always give the proper and certain reason of his Works. Howbeit undoubtedly, a proper and certain Reason there is of every Finite Work of God, in as much as there is a Law imposed upon it; which if there were not, it should be Infinite, even as the Worker himself is. They err therefore, who think that of the Will of God to do this or that, there is no Reason besides his Will. Many times no Reason known to us; but that there is no reason thereof, I judge it most unreasonable to imagine, in as much as he worketh all things, Κατὰ τὴν βουλὴν τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ, not onely according to his own Will, but *the counsel of his own Will.* And whatsoever is done with counsel or wise resolution, hath of necessity some reason why it should be done, albeit that reason be to us in some things so secret, that it forceth the wit of man to stand, as the Blessed Apostle himself doth, amazed thereat, *O the depth of the riches, both of the Wisdom and Knowledge of God. How unsearchable are his Judgments, &c.* That Law Eternal which God himself hath made to himself, and thereby worketh all things, whereof he is the Cause and Author; that Law in the admirable frame whereof shineth with most perfect Beauty, the Countenance of that Wisdom which hath testified concerning her self, *The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way, even before his works of old; I was set up:* That Law which hath been the Pattern to make, and is the Card to guide the World by; that Law which hath been of God, and with God everlastingly; that Law, the Author and Observer whereof is, one onely God, to be blessed for ever; how should either Men or Angels be able perfectly to behold? The Book of this Law, we are neither able nor worthy to open and look into. That little thereof, which we darkly apprehend, we admire; the rest, with religious ignorance, we humbly and meekly adore. Seeing therefore, that according to this Law he worketh, *Of whom, through whom, and for whom, are all things;* although there seem unto us confusion and disorder in the affairs of this present world. *Tamen quoniam bonus mundum rector temperat, recte fieri cuncta ne dubites.* Let no man doubt, but that every thing is well done, because the World is ruled by so good a Guide, as transgresseth not his own Law; then which, nothing can be more absolute, perfect, and just. The Law whereby he worketh, is Eternal, and therefore can have no shew or colour of mutability: For which cause, a part of that Law being opened in the Promises which God hath made (because his Promises are nothing else but Declarations, what God will do for the good of men) touching those Promises the Apostle hath witnessed, That God may as possibly deny himself, and not be God, as fail to perform them. And concerning the Counsel of God, he termeth it likewise a thing *Unchangeable*; the Counsel of God, and that Law of God, whereof now we speak, being one. Nor is the freedom of the Will of God, any whit abated, let, or hindred, by means of this; because the Imposition of this Law upon himself, is his own free and voluntary act. This Law therefore, we may name Eternal, being *that order which God before all Ages hath set down with himself, for himself to do all things by.*

Sapi. 8. 1. *Sapi.* 11. 17. Ephes. 1. 7. Phil. 4. 19. Col. 2. 3. Prov. 16. 4. Ephes. 1. 11. Rom. 11. 33. Prov. 8. 23. Rom. 11. 36. *Boet.* lib. 4. de Consol. Philos. 2 Tim. 2. 13. Heb. 6. 17.

The Law which Natural Agents have given them to observe, and their necessary manner of keeping it.

3. I am not ignorant, that by *Law Eternal,* the Learned for the most part do understand the Order, not which God hath eternally purposed himself in all his Works to observe, but rather that, which with himself he hath set down as expedient to be kept by all his Creatures, according to the several conditions wherewith he hath endued them. They who thus are accustomed to speak, apply the name of *Law* unto that onely rule of working, which Superior Authority imposeth; whereas we somewhat more enlarging the sense thereof, term any kinde of Rule or Canon whereby Actions are framed, a Law. Now that Law, which as it is laid up in the bosom of God, they call *Eternal,* receiveth according unto the different kinde of things which are subject unto it, different and sundry kindes of names. That part of it, which ordereth Natural Agents, we call usually *Natures Law*; that which Angels do clearly behold, and without any swerving observe, is a *Law Celestial* and *Heavenly*; the *Law of Reason,* that which bindeth Creatures reasonable in this World, and with which by reason they most plainly perceive

perceive themselves bound; that which bindeth them, and is not known but by special Revelation from God, *Divine Law*. *Humane Law*, that which out of the Law, either of Reason, or of God, Men probably gathering to be expedient, they make it a Law. All things therefore, which are as they ought to be, are conformed unto this *Second Law Eternal*; and even those things, which to this *Eternal Law* are not conformable, are notwithstanding in some sort ordered by the *First Eternal Law*. For what good or evil is there under the Sun; what action correspondent or repugnant unto the Law which God hath imposed upon his Creatures, but in, or upon it, God doth work according to the Law which himself hath eternally purposed to keep; that is to say, The *First Eternal Law?* So that a twofold Law Eternal being thus made, it is not hard to conceive how they both take place in [d] all things. Wherefore to come to the Law of Nature, albeit thereby we sometimes mean that manner of working which God hath set for each created thing to keep; yet for as much as those things are termed most properly *Natural Agents*, which keep the Law of their kinde unwittingly, as the Heavens and Elements of the World, which can do no otherwise then they do: And for as much as we give unto Intellectual Natures, the name of *Voluntary Agents*, that so we may distinguish them from the other, expedient it will be, that we sever the Law of Nature observed by the one, from that which the other is tied unto. Touching the former, their strict keeping of one Tenure, Statute, and Law is spoken of by all, but hath in it more then men have as yet attained to know, or perhaps ever shall attain, seeing the travel of wading herein, is given of God to the Sons of Men; that perceiving how much the least thing in the World hath in it, more then the wisest are able to reach unto, they may by this means learn humility. *Moses*, in describing the Work of Creation, attributeth speech unto God: *God said, Let there be light: Let there be a Firmament: Let the Waters under the Heavens be gathered together into one place: Let the Earth bring forth: Let there be Lights in the Firmament of Heaven.* Was this onely the intent of *Moses*, to signifie the infinite greatness of Gods Power, by the easiness of his accomplishing such effects, without travel, pain, or labor? Surely, it seemeth that *Moses* had herein, besides this, a further purpose, namely, first, to teach that God did not work as a necessary, but a voluntary Agent, intending beforehand, and decreeing with himself, that which did outwardly proceed from him. Secondly, to shew that God did then institute a Law natural to be observed by Creatures; and therefore according to the manner of Laws, the Institution thereof is described, as being established by solemn injunction. His commanding those things to be which are, and to be in such sort as they are, to keep that tenure and course which they do, importeth the establishment of Natures Law. This Worlds first Creation, and the preservation since of things created, what is it, but onely so far forth a manifestation by execution, what the Eternal Law of God is concerning things natural? And as it cometh to pass in a Kingdom rightly ordered, that after a Law is once published, it presently takes effect far and wide, all States framing themselves thereunto; even so let us think it fareth in the Natural course of the World: Since the time that God did first proclaim the Edicts of his Law upon it, Heaven and Earth have hearkned unto his voice, and their labor hath been to do his will: *He made a Law for the Rain*; He gave his *Decree unto the Sea, that the Waters should not pass his Commandment*. Now, if Nature should intermit her course, and leave altogether, though it were but for a while, the observation of her own Laws; if those Principal and Mother Elements of the World, whereof all things in this lower World are made, should lose the qualities which now they have; if the frame of that Heavenly Arch erected over our Heads, should loosen and dissolve it self; if Celestial Spheres should forget their wonted motions, and by irregular volubility turn themselves any way as it might happen; if the Prince of the Lights of Heaven, which now as a Gyant doth run his unwearied course, should, as it were, through a languishing faintness, begin to stand, and to rest himself; if the Moon should wander from her beaten way, the times and seasons of

Psal. 19. 5.

[d] Id omne quod in rebus creatis fit, est materia legis æternæ. *Th. l.* 1, 2. *q.* 93. *art.* 4, 5, 6. Nullo modo aliquid legibus summi creatoris ordinationique subtrahitur, à quo pax universitatis administratur. *August. de Civit. Dei, lib.* 19. *c.* 22 *Immo & peccatum, quatenus à Deo justè permittitur, cadit in legem æternam. Etiam legi æternæ subjicitur peccatum; quatenus voluntaria legis transgressio pœnalè quoddam incommodum animæ inserit, juxtà illud Augustini.* Justisti Domine, & sic est, ut pœna sua sibi sit omnis animus inordinatus. *Confes. lib.* 1. *cap.* 12. *Nec male scholastici*, Quemadmodum inquiunt videmus res naturales contingentes, hoc ipso quod à fine particulari suo, atque adeo à lege æternâ exorbitant, in eandem legem æternam incidere, quatenus consequuntur alium finem à lege etiam æternâ ipsis in casu particulari constitutum: Sic verisimile est homines etiam cùm peccant & desciscunt à lege æternâ ut præcipiente, reincidere in ordinem æternæ legis ut punientis.

of the year blend themselves, by disordered and confused mixture, the Winds breathe out their last gasp, the Clouds yield no Rain, the Earth be defeated of Heavenly influence, the Fruits of the Earth pine away, as Children at the withered Brests of their Mother, no longer able to yield them relief: What would become of Man himself, whom these things now do all serve? See we not plainly, that obedience of Creatures unto the Law of Nature, is the stay of the whole World? Notwithstanding, with Nature it cometh sometimes to pass, as with art. Let *Phidias* have rude and obstinate stuff to carve, though his art do that it should, his work will lack that beauty which otherwise in fitter matter it might have had. He that striketh an Instrument with skill, may cause notwithstanding a very unpleasant sound; if the string whereon he striketh, chance to be uncapable of harmony. In the matter whereof things natural consist, that of *Theophrastus* takes place, Πολὺ τὸ οὐχ ὑπακοῦον οὐδὲ δεχόμενον τὸ εὖ. *Much of it is oftentimes such, as will by no means yield to receive that impression which were best and most perfect.* Which defect in the matter of things natural, they who gave themselves unto the contemplation of nature amongst the Heathen, observed often: But the true original cause thereof, Divine Malediction, laid for the sin of Man upon these Creatures, which God had made for the use of Man; this being an Article of that saving truth which God hath revealed unto his Church, was above the reach of their meerly natural capacity and understanding. But howsoever, these swervings are now and then incident into the course of Nature; nevertheless, so constantly the Laws of Nature, are by Natural Agents observed, that no man denieth, but those things which Nature worketh, are wrought either always, or for the most part, after one and the same manner. If here it be demanded, What that is which keepeth Nature in obedience to her own Law, we must have recourse to that higher Law, whereof we have already spoken; and because all other Laws do thereon depend, from thence we must borrow so much as shall need for brief resolution in this point. Although we are not of opinion therefore, as some are, that Nature in working, hath before her certain exemplary draughts or patterns, which subsisting in the bosom of the Highest, and being thence discovered, she fixeth her eye upon them, as Travellers by Sea upon the Pole-star of the World, and that according thereunto she guideth her hand to work by imitation: Although we rather embrace the Oracle of *Hippocrates*, *That each thing, both in small and in great, fulfilleth the task which destiny hath set down*. And concerning the manner of excecuting and fulfilling the same, *What they do, they know not, yet is it in shew and appearance, as though they did know what they do; and the truth is, they do not discern the things which they look on:* Nevertheless, for as much as the works of Nature are no less exact, then if she did both behold and study how to express some absolute shape or mirror always present before her; yea, such her dexterity and skill appeareth, that no intellectual Creature in the World were able by capacity, to do that which Nature doth without capacity and knowledge; it cannot be, but Nature hath some Directer of infinite knowledge to guide her in all her ways. Who the guide of Nature, but onely the God of Nature? *In him we live, move, and are.* Those things which Nature is said to do, are by Divine Art performed, using Nature as an Instrument; nor is there any such Art or Knowledge Divine in Nature her self working, but in the guide of Natures work. Whereas therefore things natural, which are not in the number of Voluntary Agents (for of such onely we now speak, and of no other) do so necessarily observe their certain Laws, that as long as they keep those [e] Forms which give them their Being, they cannot possibly be apt or inclinable to do otherwise then they do; seeing the kindes of their operations are both constantly and exactly framed, according to the several ends for which they serve, they themselves, in the mean while, though doing that which is fit, yet knowing neither what they do, nor why: It followeth, that all which they do in this sort, proceedeth originally from some such Agent, as knoweth, appointeth, holdeth up, and even actually frameth the same. The manner of this Divine Efficiency being far above us, we are no more able to conceive by our Reason, then Creatures unreasonable by their Sense, are able to apprehend after what manner we dispose and order the course of our affairs. Onely thus much is discerned, that the Natural Generation and Process of all things, receiveth order of proceeding from the setled stability of Divine Understanding. This appointeth un o them their kindes of working, the disposition whereof, in the Purity of Gods own Knowledge and Will, is rightly termed by the name of *Providence*. The same being referred

Theophrast. in Metaph.

Arist. Rhet. 1. cap. 39.

Τὴν πεπρωμένην μοίρην ἕκαστον ἐκπληροῖ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ μέζον καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ μεῖον. ὁ πρήσσουσιν, οὐκ οἴδασιν, ὁδὲ πρήσσουσι δοκέουσιν εἰδέναι καὶ τὰ ἀμφὶ ὁρῶσι οὐ γνώσκουσι.

Acts 17. 28.

e Form in other Creatures is a thing proportionable unto the soul in living Creatures. Sensible it is not, nor otherwise discernable then onely by effects. According to the diversity of inward Forms, things of the World are distinguished into their kindes.

referred unto the things themselves here disposed by it, was wont by the Ancient to be called *Natural Destiny*. That Law, the performance whereof we behold in things natural, is as it were an authentical, or an original Draught, written in the bosom of God himself; whose Spirit being to execute the same, useth every particular nature, every meer natural agent, onely as an Instrument created at the beginning, and ever since the beginning, used to work his own will and pleasure withal. Nature therefore, is nothing else but Gods Instrument: In the course whereof, *Dionysius* perceiving some sudden disturbance, is said to have cryed out; *Aut Deus naturæ patitur, aut mundi machina dissolvitur*; Either God doth suffer impediment, and is by a greater then himself hindred; or if that be impossible, then hath he determined to make a present dissolution of the World, the execution of that Law beginning now to stand still, without which the World cannot stand. This Workman, whose servitor Nature is, being in truth but onely One, the Heathens imagining to be moe, gave him in the Skie, the name of *Jupiter*, in the Air, the name of *Juno*, in the Water, the name of *Neptune*, in the Earth, the name of *Vesta*, and sometimes of *Ceres*; the name of *Apollo* in the Sun, in the Moon, the name of *Diana*, the name of *Æolus*, and divers other in the Winds; and to conclude, even so many Guides of Nature they dreamed of, as they saw there were kindes of things natural in the World. These they honored, as having power to work or cease accordingly as men deserved of them: But unto us, there is one onely Guide of all Agents Natural, and he both the Creator and the Worker of all in all, alone to be blessed, adored, and honored by all for ever. That which hitherto hath been spoken, concerneth Natural Agents considered in themselves: But we must further remember also (which thing to touch, in a word, shall suffice,) That as in this respect they have their Law, which Law directeth them in the means whereby they tend to their own perfection; so likewise another Law there is, which toucheth them as they are sociable parts united into one Body: A Law which bindeth them each to serve unto others good, and all to prefer the good of the whole, before whatsoever their own particular, as we plainly see they do, when things natural in that regard, forget their ordinary natural wont: That which is heavy, mounting sometime upwards of its own accord, and forsaking the Centre of the Earth, which to it self is most natural, even as if it did hear it self commanded to let go the good it privately wisheth, and to relieve the present distress of Nature in common.

Vide *Thom.* in Compend. Theol. cap. 3. Omne quod movetur ab aliquo, est quasi instrumentum quoddam primi moventis. Ridiculum est autem etiam apud indoctos ponere instrumentum moveri non ab aliquo principali agente.

4. But now that we may lift up our eyes (as it were) from the Footstool to the Throne of God, and leaving these Natural, consider a little the state of Heavenly and Divine Creatures: Touching Angels, which are Spirits Immaterial and Intellectual, the glorious Inhabitants of those Sacred Palaces, where nothing but Light and Blessed Immortality, no shadow of matter for tears, discontentments, griefs, and uncomfortable passions to work upon; but all joy, tranquillity, and peace, even for ever and ever doth dwell. As in number and order they are huge, mighty, and royal Armies, so likewise in perfection of obedience unto that Law, which the Highest, whom they adore, love, and imitate, hath imposed upon them. Such observants they are thereof, that our Saviour himself being to set down the perfect *Idea* of that which we are to pray and wish for on Earth, did not teach to pray or wish for more, then onely that here it might be with us, as with them it is in Heaven. God which moveth meer Natural Agents as an efficient onely, doth otherwise move Intellectual Creatures, and especially his holy Angels: For beholding the Face of God, in admiration of so great excellency, they all adore him; and being rapt with the love of his beauty, they cleave inseparably for ever unto him. Desire to resemble him in goodness, maketh them unwearied, and even unsatiable in their longing, to do by all means, all manner of good unto all the Creatures of God, but especially unto the Children of Men. In the countenance of whose Nature looking downward, they behold themselves beneath themselves, even as upward in God, beneath whom themselves are, they see that character which is no where but in themselves and us, resembled. Thus far even the Painims have approached; thus far they have seen into the doings of the Angels of God; *Orpheus* confessing, that the Fiery Throne of God is attended on by those most industrious Angels, careful how all things are performed amongst men; and the Mirror of Humane Wisdom plainly teaching, That God moveth Angels, even as that thing doth stir Mans heart, which is thereunto presented amiable. Angelical Actions may

The Law which Angels do work by. Psal. 64. 4. Heb 1. 7. Eph. 3. 10. Dan. 7. 10. Matth. 26. 53. Heb. 12. 22. Luk. 2. 13. Matth. 6. 10. & 18. 10. Psal 91 11, 12. Luk. 15. 7. Heb. 1. 14. Acts 10. 3. Dan. 9. 23. Matth. 18. 10. Dan. 4. 10. Τῷ ὃ σφίνῳ πυρίεντι πεφρικότι πολυώνυμε χθονὸς Ἄγγελε· ὅτι μείλιχε βροτοῖς ὡς πάντα τελεῖς. *Arist.* Metaph. 12. cap. 7. Job 38. 7. Matth. 18. 10. Psal. 148. 2. Heb. 1. 6. Isai. 6. 3.

This is intimated whersoever we finde them termed the Sons of God, as Job 1. 6. & 38. 7. 2 Pet. 2. 4. Jude, vers. 6. Psal. 148. 2. Luk. 2. 13. Matth. 26. 53. Psal. 148. 2. Heb. 12. 22. Apoc. 22. 9.

therefore be reduced unto these three general kindes. First, Most delectable Love arising from the visible apprehension of the Purity, Glory, and Beauty of God invisible, saving onely unto Spirits that are pure: Secondly, Adoration, grounded upon the evidence of the greatness of God, on whom they see how all things depend: Thirdly, Imitation, bred by the presence of his exemplary goodness, who ceaseth not before them daily to fill Heaven and Earth with the rich treasures of most free and undeserved Grace. Of Angels, we are not to consider onely what they are, and do, in regard of their own Being, but that also which concerneth them as they are linked into a kinde of Corporation amongst themselves, and of Society or Fellowship with men. Consider Angels, each of them severally in himself, and their Law is that which the Prophet *David* mentioneth, *All ye his Angels praise him.* Consider the Angels of God associated, and their Law is that which disposeth them as an Army, one in order and degree above another. Consider finally the Angels, as having with us that communion which the Apostle to the *Hebrews* noteth; and in regard whereof, Angels have not disdained to profess themselves our *fellow servants.* From hence there springeth up a third Law, which bindeth them to works of Ministerial employment: Every of which their several Functions, are by them performed with joy. A part of the Angels of God notwithstanding (we know) have faln, and that their fall hath been through the voluntary breach of that Law, which did require at their hands continuance in the exercise of their high and admirable vertue. Impossible it was, that ever their will should change or encline to remit any part of their duty, without some object having force to avert their conceit from God, and to draw it another way; and that before they attained that high perfection of bliss, wherein now the Elect Angels are without possibility of falling. Of any thing more then of God, they could not by any means like, as long as whatsoever they knew besides God, they apprehended it not in it self, without dependency upon God; because so long, God must needs seem infinitely better then any thing which they so could apprehend. Things beneath them, could not in such sort be presented unto their eyes, but that therein they must needs see always, how those things did depend on God. It seemeth therefore, that there was no other way for Angels to sin, but by reflex of their understanding upon themselves; when being held with admiration of their own sublimity and honor, the memory of their subordination unto God, and their dependency on him was drowned in this conceit; whereupon their adoration, love, and imitation of God, could not chuse but be also interrupted. The fall of Angels therefore, was Pride: Since their fall, their practices have been the clean contrary unto those beforementioned; for being dispersed, some in the Air, some on the Earth, some in the Water; some amongst the Minerals, Dens, and Caves that are under the Earth, they have, by all means, labored to effect an Universal Rebellion against the Laws, and as far as in them lieth, utter destruction of the Works of God. These wicked spirits, the Heathens honored instead of Gods, both generally under the name of *Dii inferi,* Gods Infernal; and particularly, some in Oracles, some in Idols, some as Houshold Gods, some as Nymphs: In a word, No foul and wicked spirit, which was not one way or other honored of Men as God, till such time as Light appeared in the World, and dissolved the works of the Devil. Thus much therefore may suffice for Angels, the next unto whom in degree are Men.

Joh. 8. 44. 1 Pet. 5. 8. Apoc. 9. 11. Gen. 3. 15. 1 Chro. 21. 1. Job 1. 7. & 2. 5. Joh. 13. 25. Acts 5. 3. Apoc. 20. 8.

The Law whereby Man is in his Actions directed to the Imitation of God.

5. God alone excepted, who actually and everlastingly is, whatsoever he may be, and which cannot hereafter be, that which now he is not; all other things besides, are somewhat in possibility, which as yet they are not in act. And for this cause, there is in all things an appetite or desire, whereby they incline to something which they may be; and when they are it, they shall be perfecter then now they are. All which Perfections are contained under the general name of *Goodness.* And because there is not in the World any thing whereby another may not some way be made the perfecter, therefore all things that are, are good. Again, sith there can be no goodness desired, which proceedeth not from God himself, as from the supream cause of all things; and every effect doth after a sort contain, at leastwise resemble the cause from which it proceedeth: All things in the World are said, in some sort, to seek the highest, and to covet more or less the participation of God himself; yet this doth no where so much appear, as it doth in Man, because there are so many kindes of Perfections which

Πάντα γὰρ ἐκείνου ὀρέγεται. *Arist.* de An. lib. 1. cap. 4.

which Man seeketh. The first degree of Goodness, is, that General Perfection which all things do seek, in desiring the continuance of their Being; all things therefore coveting, as much as may be, to be like unto God in Being ever; that which cannot hereunto attain personally, doth seek to continue it self another way; that is, by Offspring and Propagation. The next degree of Goodness is, that which each thing coveteth, by affecting resemblance with God, in the constancy and excellency of those operations which belong unto their kinde. The Immutability of God they strive unto, by working either always, or for the most part, after one and the same manner; his absolute exactness they imitate, by tending unto that which is most exquisite in every particular. Hence have risen a number of Axioms in Philosophy, shewing, *How the works of nature do always aim at that which cannot be bettered.* These two kindes of Goodness rehearsed, are so nearly united to the things themselves which desire them, that we scarcely perceive the appetite to stir in reaching forth her hand towards them. But the desire of those Perfections which grow externally, is more apparent, especially of such as are not expresly desired, unless they be first known, or such as are not for any other cause, then for Knowledge it self desired. Concerning Perfections in this kinde, that by proceeding in the Knowledge of Truth, and by growing in the exercise of Vertue, Man, amongst the Creatures of this inferior World, aspireth to the greatest Conformity with God: This is not onely known unto us, whom he himself hath so instructed, but even they do acknowledge, who amongst men are not judged the nearest unto him. With *Plato,* what one thing more usual, then to excite men unto the love of Wisdom, by shewing, how much wise men are thereby exalted above men; how knowledge doth raise them up into Heaven; how it maketh them, though not Gods, yet as Gods, high, admirable, and divine? And *Mercurius Trismegistus* speaking of the vertues of a righteous Soul, *Such spirits* (saith he) *are never cloyed with praising and speaking well of all men, with doing good unto every one by word and deed, because they study to frame themselves according to* THE PATTERN *of the Father of Spirits.*

Ἐν τοῖς φύσει δεῖ τὸ βέλτιον, ἐὰν ἐνδέχηται ὑπάρχειν μᾶλλον· ἡ φύσις ἀεὶ ποιεῖ τῶν ἐνδεχομένων τὸ βέλτιστον. *Arist.* 2. de Cœl. cap. 5. Matth. 5. 48. Sap. 7. 27.

Ἡ δὲ τοιαύτη ψυχὴ κόρον οὐδέποτε ἔχει, ὑμνοῦσα, εὐφημοῦσά τε πάντας ἀνθρώπους, καὶ λόγοις καὶ ἔργοις πάντας εὐποιοῦσα, μιμουμένη αὐτῆς τὸν πατέρα.

6. In the Matter of Knowledge, there is between the Angels of God, and the Children of Men this difference: Angels already have full and compleat knowledge in the highest degree that can be imparted unto them: Men, if we view them in their Spring, are at the first without understanding or knowledge at all. Nevertheless, from this utter vacuity they grow by degrees, till they come at length to be even as the Angels themselves are. That which agreeth to the one now, the other shall attain unto in the end; they are not so far disjoyned and severed, but that they come at length to meet. The Soul of Man being therefore at the first as a Book, wherein nothing is, and yet all things may be imprinted; we are to search by what steps and degrees it riseth unto Perfection of Knowledge. Unto that which hath been already set down, concerning Natural Agents, this we must add, That albeit therein we have comprised as well Creatures living, as void of life, if they be in degree of nature beneath Men; nevertheless, a difference we must observe between those Natural Agents that work altogether unwittingly; and those which have, though weak, yet some understanding what they do, as Fishes, Fowls, and Beasts, have. Beasts are in sensible capacity as ripe, even as men themselves, perhaps more ripe. For as Stones, though in dignity of Nature, inferior unto Plants, yet exceed them in firmness of strength, or durability of Being; and Plants, though beneath the excellency of Creatures endued with sense, yet exceed them in the Faculty of Vegetation, and of Fertility: So Beasts, though otherwise behinde Men, may notwithstanding in actions of Sense and Fancy go beyond them; because the endeavors of Nature, when it hath an higher perfection to seek, are in lower the more remiss, not esteeming thereof so much as those things do, which have no better proposed unto them. The Soul of Man therefore, being capable of a more Divine Perfection, hath (besides the Faculties of growing unto sensible knowledge, which is common unto us with Beasts) a further hability, whereof in them there is no shew at all, the ability of reaching * higher then unto sensible things. Till we grow to some ripeness of years, the Soul of Man doth onely store it self with conceits of things of inferior and more open quality; which afterwards do serve as

Mens first beginning to grow to the knowledge of that Law which they are to observe. Vide Isai. 7. 16.

* Ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβαίνει, καὶ μετρεῖ αὐτὸν, καὶ οἶδε ποῖα μὲν ἐστὶν αὐτῷ ὑψηλὰ, ποῖα δὲ ταπεινὰ, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἀκριβῶς μανθάνει. Καὶ τὸ πάντων μεῖζον, οὐδὲ τὴν γὴν καταλιπὼν ἄνω γίνεται. *Merc. Tris.* Aristotelical demonstration.

Instruments unto that which is greater; in the mean while, above the reach of meaner Creatures it ascendeth not. When once it comprehendeth any thing above this, as the differences of time, affirmations, negations, and contradiction in Speech, we then count it to have some use of Natural Reason. Whereunto, if afterwards there might be added the right helps of true Art and Learning (which helps, I must plainly confess, this age of the World, carrying the name of a Learned Age, doth neither much know, nor greatly regard) there would undoubtedly be almost as great difference in maturity of judgment between men therewith inured, and that which now men are, as between men that are now, and Innocents. Which speech, if any condemn, as being over Hyperbolical, let them consider but this one thing: No Art is at the first finding out so perfect, as Industry may after make it; yet the very first Man, that to any purpose knew the way we speak of, and followed it, hath alone thereby performed more, very near, in all parts of Natural Knowledge, then sithence in any one part thereof the whole World besid s hath done: In the poverty of that other new devised aid, two things there are notwithstanding singular. Of marvellous quick dispatch it is, and doth shew them that have it, as much almost in three days, as if it had dwelt threescore years with them. Again, because the curiosity of Mans wit doth many times with peril wade farther in the search of things, then were convenient; the same is thereby restrained unto such generalities, as every where offering themselves, are apparent unto men of the weakest conceit that need be: So as following the Rules and Precepts thereof, we may finde it to be an Art, which teacheth the way of speedy Discourse, and restraineth the minde of Man, that it may not wax overwise. Education and Instruction are the means, the one by use, the other by precept, to make our Natural Faculty of Reason, both the better, and the sooner able to judge rightly between Truth and Error, Good and Evil. But at what time a man may be said to have attained so far forth the use of Reason, as sufficeth to make him capable of those Laws, whereby he is then bound to guide his actions: This is a great deal more easie for common sense to discern, then for any man by skill and learning to determine; even as it is not in Philosophers, who best know the nature both of Fire and Gold, to teach what degree of the one, will serve to purifie the other, so well as the Artizan (which doth this by fire) discerneth by Sense, when the fire hath that degree of heat which sufficeth for his purpose.

Ramistry.

Of Mans Will, which is the thing that Laws of Action are made to guide. Ephes. 4. 23.

7. By Reason, Man attaineth unto the knowledge of things that are, and are not sensible; it resteth therefore, that we search how Man attaineth unto the knowledge of such things unsensible, as are to be known, that they may be done. Seeing then that nothing can move, unless there be some end, the desire whereof provoketh unto motion: How should that Divine Power of the Soul, that *Spirit of our Minde*, as the Apostle termeth it, ever stir it self unto action, unless it have also the like spur? The end for which we are moved to work, is sometimes the goodness which we conceive of the very working it self, without any further respect at all; and the cause that procureth action, is the meer desire of action, no other good besides being thereby intended. Of certain turbulent wits, it is said, *Illis quieta movere magna merces videbatur*. They thought the very disturbance of things established, an hire sufficient to set them on work: Sometimes that which we do, is referred to a further end, without the desire whereof, we would leave the same undone, as in their actions that gave Alms, to purchase thereby the praise of men. Man in Perfection of Nature, being made according to the likeness of his Maker, resembleth him also in the manner of working; so that whatsoever we work as men, the same we do wittingly work, and freely: Neither are we, according to the manner of Natural Agents, any way so tied, but that it is in our power to leave the things we do undone. The good which either is gotten by doing, or which consisteth in the very doing it self, causeth not action, unless apprehending it as good, we so like and desire it. That we do unto any such end, the same we chuse and prefer before the leaving of it undone. Choice there is not, unless the thing which we take, be so in our power, that we might have refused and left it. If fire consume the stubble, it chuseth not so to do, because the nature thereof is such, that it can do no other: To chuse, is to will one thing before another; and to will, is to bend our Souls to the having or doing of that which they see to be good. Goodness is seen with the Eye of the Understanding, and the Light of that Eye,

Salust.

Matth. 6. 2.

is

is Reason: So that two Principal Fountains there are of Humane Action, *Knowledge* and *Will*; which Will, in things tending towards any end, is termed *Choice*. Concerning Knowledge; *Behold*, saith *Moses*, *I have set before you this day, good and evil, life and death.* Concerning Will, he addeth immediately *Chuse life*; that is to say, the things that tend unto Life, them chuse: But of one thing we must have special care, as being a matter of no small moment, and that is, How the Will properly and strictly taken, as it is of things which are referred unto the end that man desireth, differeth greatly from that inferior natural desire, which we call Appetite. The object of Appetite is, whatsoever sensible good may be wished for; the object of Will is, that good which Reason doth lead us to seek. Affections, as Joy, and Grief, and Fear, and Anger, with such like, being, as it were, the sundry fashions and forms of Appetite, can neither rise at the conceit of a thing indifferent, nor yet chuse but rise at the sight of some things. Wherefore it is not altogether in our power, whether we will be stirred with Affections, or no. Whereas Actions which issue from the disposition of the Will, are in the Power thereof to be performed or stayed. Finally, Appetite is the Wills Sollicitor, and the Will is Appetites Controuler; what we covet according to the one, by the other we often reject: Neither is any other desire termed properly Will, but that where Reason and Understanding, or the shew of Reason, prescribeth the thing desired. It may be therefore a question, Whether those operations of men are to be counted voluntary, wherein that good which is sensible, provoketh Appetite, and Appetite causeth Action, Reason being never called to counsel; as when we eat or drink, or betake our selves unto rest, and such like. The truth is, that such actions in men having attained to the use of Reason, are voluntary: For as the Authority of higher Powers, hath force even in those things which are done without their privity, and are of so mean reckoning, that to acquaint them therewith it needeth not: In like sort, voluntarily we are said to do that also, which the Will, if it listed, might hinder from being done, although about the doing thereof, we do not expresly use our Reason or Understanding, and so immediately apply our Wills thereunto. In cases therefore of such facility, the Will doth yield her assent, as it were, with a kinde of silence, by not dissenting; in which respect, her force is not so apparent, as in express Mandates or Prohibitions, especially upon advice and consultation going before. Where Understanding therefore needeth in those things, Reason is the Director of Mans Will, by discovering in Action what is good: For the Laws of Weldoing, are the Dictates of right Reason. Children which are not as yet come unto those years whereat they may have; again, Innocents, which are excluded by Natural Defect from ever having; thirdly, Mad-men, which for the present cannot possibly have the use of right Reason to guide themselves, have for their guide the Reason that guideth other men, which are Tutors over them, to seek and to procure their good for them. In the rest, there is that Light of Reason, whereby good may be known from evil; and which discovering the same rightly, is termed right. The Will notwithstanding, doth not incline to have, or do that which Reason teacheth to be good, unless the same do also teach it to be possible. For albeit the Appetite, being more general, may wish any thing which seemeth good, be it never so impossible; yet for such things, the reasonable Will of Man doth never seek. Let Reason teach impossibility in any thing, and the Will of Man doth let it go; a thing impossible it doth not affect, the impossibility thereof being manifest. There is in the Will of Man, naturally that freedom, whereby it is apt to take or refuse any particular object whatsoever, being presented unto it. Whereupon it followeth, That there is no particular object so good, but it may have the shew of some difficulty or unpleasant quality annexed to it; in respect whereof, the Will may shrink and decline it: Contrariwise (for so things are blended) there is no particular evil which hath not some appearance of goodness whereby to insinuate it self: For evil, as evil, cannot be desired; if that be desired which is evil, the cause is the goodness which is, or seemeth to be joyned with it. Goodness doth not move by being, but by being apparent; and therefore many things are neglected, which are most precious, onely because the value of them lieth hid. Sensible Goodness is most apparent, neer, and present; which causeth the Appetite to be therewith strongly provoked. Now Pursuit and Refusal in the Will do follow, the one the Affirmation, the other the

Deut. 30. 19.

O mihi præteritos referat si *Jupiter* annos!

Εἰ δὲ τὶς ἐπὶ κακίαν ὁρμᾷ, πρῶτον μὲν οὐχ ὡς ἐπὶ κακίαν αὐτὴν ὁρμήσει, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπ' ἀγαθόν. Paulò post.

Ἀδύνατον γὰρ ὁρμᾷν ἐπὶ κακὰ βουλόμενον ἔχειν αὐτά. οὔτε ἐλπίδι ἀγαθοῦ, οὔτε φόβῳ μείζονος κακοῦ. Alcin. de Dog. Plat.

the Negation of Goodneſs; which the Underſtanding apprehendeth, grounding it ſelf upon Senſe, unleſs ſome higher Reaſon do chance to teach the contrary. And if Reaſon have taught it rightly to be good, yet not ſo apparently, that the Minde receiveth it with utter impoſſibility of being otherwiſe; ſtill there is place left for the Will to take or leave. Whereas therefore, amongſt ſo many things as are to be done, there are ſo few, the goodneſs whereof, Reaſon in ſuch ſort doth, or eaſily can diſcover, we are not to marvel at the choice of evil, even then when the contrary is probably known. Hereby it cometh to paſs, that Cuſtom inuring the Minde by long practice, and ſo leaving there a ſenſible Impreſſion, prevaileth more then reaſonable Perſwaſion what way ſoever. Reaſon therefore may rightly diſcern the thing which is good, and yet the Will of Man not incline it ſelf thereunto, as oft as the prejudice of ſenſible Experience doth overſway: Nor let any Man think, that this doth make any thing for the juſt excuſe of Iniquity; for there was never ſin committed, wherein a leſs good was not preferred before a greater, and that wilfully; which cannot be done without the ſingular diſgrace of Nature, and the utter diſturbance of that Divine Order, whereby the preheminence of chiefeſt Acceptation, is by the beſt things worthily challenged. There is not that good which concerneth us, but it hath evidence enough for it ſelf, if Reaſon were diligent to ſearch it out. Through neglect thereof, abuſed we are with the ſhew of that which is not; ſometimes the ſubtilty of Satan enveighling us, as it did *Eve*[a]; ſometimes the haſtineſs of our Wills preventing the more conſiderate Advice of ſound Reaſon, as in the [b] Apoſtles, when they no ſooner ſaw what they liked not, but they forthwith were deſirous of fire from Heaven; ſometimes the very cuſtom of evil making the heart obdurate againſt whatſoever inſtructions to the contrary, as in them, over whom our Saviour ſpake weeping, [c] *O Jeruſalem, how often, and thou wouldſt not?* Still therefore that wherewith we ſtand blameable, and can no way excuſe it, is, in doing evil, we prefer a leſs good before a greater, the greatneſs whereof is by Reaſon inveſtigable, and may be known. The ſearch of Knowledge is a thing painful; and the painfulneſs of Knowledge, is that which maketh the Will ſo hardly inclinable thereunto. The Root hereof, Divine Malediction; whereby the * Inſtruments being weakned, wherewithal, the Soul (eſpecially in reaſoning) doth work, it preferreth reſt in Ignorance, before wearieſome labor to know: For a ſpur of Diligence therefore, we have a natural thirſt after Knowledge ingrafted in us. But by Reaſon of that original weakneſs in the Inſtruments, without which, the Underſtanding part is not able in this World by diſcourſe to work, the very conceit of painfulneſs is as a bridle to ſtay us. For which cauſe the Apoſtle, who knew right well, that the wearineſs of the fleſh is an heavy clog to the Will, ſtriketh mightily upon this Key, *Awake thou that ſleepeſt, caſt off all which preſſeth down; watch, labor, ſtrive to go forward, and to grow in knowledge.*

a 2 Cor. 11. 3.
b Luke 9. 51.
c Matth. 23 37.
* Sap. 9. 15.
A corruptible Body is heavy unto the Soul, and the earthly Manſion keepeth down the Mind that is full of cares, And hardly can we diſcern the things that are upon Earth, & with great labor finde we out the things which are before us. Who can then ſeek out the things that are in Heaven? Epheſ. 5 14. Heb. 12. 1, 12. 1 Cor. 16. 15. Prov. 2. 4. Luk. 13. 24.

Of the Natural way of finding out Laws by Reaſon, to guide the Will unto that which is good.

8. Wherefore to return to our former intent of diſcovering the Natural way, whereby Rules have been found out concerning that Goodneſs wherewith the Will of Man ought to be moved in Humane Actions; as every thing naturally and neceſſarily doth deſire the utmoſt good and greateſt Perfection, whereof Nature hath made it capable, even ſo Man. Our felicity therefore being the object and accompliſhment of our deſire, we cannot chuſe but wiſh and covet it. All particular things which are ſubject unto Action, the Will doth ſo far forth incline unto, as Reaſon judgeth them the better for us, and conſequently the more available to our bliſs. If Reaſon err, we fall into evil, and are ſo far forth deprived of the general Perfection we ſeek. Seeing therefore, that for the framing of Mens actions, the knowledge of good from evil is neceſſary, it onely reſteth, that we ſearch how this may be had: Neither muſt we ſuppoſe, that there needeth one Rule to know the good, and another the evil by. For he that knoweth what is ſtraight, doth even thereby diſcern what is crooked, becauſe the abſence of ſtraightneſs in bodies capable thereof, is crookedneſs. Goodneſs in Actions is like unto ſtraightneſs, wherefore that which is done well, we term right: For as the ſtraight way is moſt acceptable to him that travelleth, becauſe by it he cometh ſooneſt to his journeys end; ſo in Action, that which doth lie the eveneſt between us and the end we deſire, muſt needs be the fitteſt for our uſe. Beſides which fitneſs for uſe, there is alſo in rectitude, Beauty; as contrariwiſe in obliquity, deformity. And that which is good in the Actions of Men, doth not onely delight as profitable, but as amiable

Τῷ εὐθεῖ καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ τὸ καμπύλον γινώσκομεν. Κριτὴς γὰρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ στραβοῦ. *Ariſt. de An. lib. 1.*

amiable also. In which consideration, the *Grecians* most divinely have given to the Active perfection of Men, a name expressing both Beauty and Goodness; because Goodness in ordinary speech, is for the most part applied onely to that which is beneficial: But we in the name of Goodness, do here imply both. And of discerning Goodness, there are but these two ways; the one, the knowledge of the causes whereby it is made such; the other, the observation of those signs and tokens, which being annexed always unto Goodness, argue, That where they are found, there also Goodness is, although we know not the cause by force whereof it is there. The former of these, is the most sure and infallible way, but so hard, that all shun it, and had rather walk as men do in the dark, by hap-hazard, then tread so long and intricate Mazes for Knowledge sake. As therefore Physitians are many times forced to leave such Methods of curing, as themselves know to be the fittest, and being over-ruled by their Patients impatiency, are fain to try the best they can, in taking that way of cure, which the cured will yield unto: In like sort, considering how the case doth stand with this present Age full of Tongue, and weak of Brain, behold we yield to the stream thereof; into the Causes of Goodness we will not make any curious or deep inquiry; to touch them now and then it shall be sufficient, when they are so near at hand, that easily they may be conceived without any far removed discourse: That way we are contented to prove, which being the worse in it self, is notwithstanding now by reason of common imbecillity, the fitter and likelier to be brooked. Signs and tokens to know good by, are of sundry kindes; some more certain, and some less: The most certain token of evident Goodness is, if the general perswasion of all men do so account it. And therefore a common received Error, is never utterly overthrown, till such times as we go from Signs unto Causes, and shew some manifest Root or Fountain thereof common unto all, whereby it may clearly appear how it hath come to pass, that so many have been overseen. In which case, surmises and slight probabilities will not serve, because the universal consent of men, is the perfectest and strongest in this kinde, which comprehendeth onely the signs and tokens of Goodness. Things casual do vary, and that which a man doth but chance to think well of, cannot still have the like hap. Wherefore although we know not the cause, yet thus much we may know, that some necessary cause there is, whensoever the judgments of all men generally, or for the most part, run one and the same way, especially in matters of that discourse: For of things necessarily and naturally done, there is no more affirmed but this. [a] *They keep either always, or for the most part, one Tenure.* The general and perpetual voice of men is, as the Sentence of God himself. [b] For that which all men have at all times learned, Nature her self must needs have taught; and God being the Author of Nature, her voice is but his Instrument. By her, from him, we receive whatsoever in such sort we learn. Infinite duties there are, the goodness whereof is by this rule sufficiently manifested, although we had no other warrant besides to approve them. The Apostle St. *Paul* having speech concerning the Heathen, saith of them, [c] *They are a Law unto themselves.* His meaning is, that by force of the Light of Reason, wherewith God illuminateth every one which cometh into the World, Men being enabled to know truth from falshood, and good from evil, do thereby learn in many things what the Will of God is, which will himself not revealing by any extraordinary means unto them; but they by natural discourse attaining the knowledge thereof, seem the Makers of those Laws which indeed are his, and they but onely the finders of them out. A Law therefore generally taken, is a directive rule unto goodness of operation. The rule of Divine Operations outward, is the definitive appointment of Gods own Wisdom set down within himself. The rule of Natural Agents that work by simple necessity, is the determination of the Wisdom of God, known to God himself, the Principal Director of them, but not unto them that are directed to execute the same. The rule of Natural Agents which work after a sort of their own accord, as the Beasts do, is the judgment of common sense or fancy, concerning the sensible goodness of those objects wherewith they are moved. The rule of Ghostly or Immaterial Natures, as Spirits and Angels, is their intuitive intellectual judgment concerning the amiable beauty and high goodness of that object which with unspeakble joy and delight doth set them on work. The rule of Voluntary Agents on Earth, is the sentence that Reason giveth concerning the goodness of those things which they are to do: And the sentences which Reason giveth, are some more, some

Καλοκἀγαθία.

a Ἡ ἀεὶ ἢ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ ὡσαύτως ἐπὸ βαίνει.

b Non potest error contingere ubi omnes idem opinantur. *Monticat.* in 1 Pol. Quicquid in omnibus individuis unius speciei communiter inest id causam communem habeat oportet, quæ est eorum individuorum species & natura. Idem. Quod à tota aliqua specie fit, universalis particularisq; naturæ fit instinctu, Ficin. de Christ. Rel. Si proficere cupis, primò firmè id verum puta quod sana mens omnium hominum attestatur, *Cusa* in Compend. cap. 1. Non licet naturale universaléque hominum judicium falsum vanumque existimare. *Teles.* Ὃ γὰρ πᾶσι δοκεῖ, τοῦτο εἶναι φάμεν. Ὃ δ' ἀναιρῶν ταύτην τὴν πίστιν οὐ πάνυ πιστότερα ἐρεῖ. *Arist.* lib. 10. cap. 2.

c Rom. 2. 14.

ſome leſs general, before it come to define in particular actions, what is good. The main principles of Reaſon, are in themſelves apparent. For to make nothing evident of it ſelf unto Mans underſtanding, were to take away all poſſibility of knowing any thing. And herein that of *Theophraſtus* is true, *They that ſeek a reaſon of all things, do utterly overthrow Reaſon.* In every kinde of Knowledge, ſome ſuch grounds there are, as that being propoſed, the Minde doth preſently embrace them as free from all poſſibility of Error, clear and manifeſt without proof. In which kinde, Axioms or Principles more general, are ſuch as this, *That the greater good is to be choſen before the leſs.* If therefore it ſhould be demanded, what reaſon there is, why the will of man, which doth neceſſarily ſhun harm, and covet whatſoever is pleaſant and ſweet, ſhould be commanded to count the pleaſures of ſin, Gall, and notwithſtanding the bitter Accidents wherewith Vertuous Actions are compaſt, yet ſtill to rejoyce and delight in them: Surely this could never ſtand with Reaſon; but that Wiſdom thus preſcribing, groundeth her Laws upon an infallible rule of Compariſon, which is, That ſmall difficulties, when exceeding great good is ſure to enſue; and on the other ſide momentany benefits, when the hurt which they draw after them, is unſpeakable, are not at all to be reſpected. This rule is the ground whereupon the Wiſdom of the Apoſtle buildeth a Law, enjoyning Patience unto himſelf, *The preſent lightneſs of our affliction worketh unto us, even with abundance upon abundance, an eternal weight of glory; while we look not on the things which are ſeen, but on the things which are not ſeen: For the things which are ſeen, are temporal; but the things which are not ſeen, are eternal.* Therefore Chriſtianity to be embraced, whatſoever calamities in thoſe times it was accompanied withal. Upon the ſame ground our Saviour proveth the Law moſt reaſonable, that doth forbid thoſe crimes, which men for gains ſake fall into. For a man to win the World, if it be with the loſs of his Soul, what benefit or good is it? Axioms leſs general, yet ſo manifeſt, that they need no farther proof, are ſuch as theſe, *God to be worſhipped; Parents to be honored; Others to be uſed by us, as we our ſelves would be by them.* Such things, as ſoon as they are alledged, all men acknowledge to be good; they require no proof or further diſcourſe to be aſſured of their goodneſs. Notwithſtanding whatſoever ſuch principle there is, it was at the firſt found out by diſcourſe, and drawn from out of the very Bowels of Heaven and Earth: For we are to note, that things in the World are to us diſcernable, not onely ſo far forth as ſerveth for our vital preſervation, but further alſo in a twofold higher reſpect. For firſt, if all other uſes were utterly taken away; yet the Minde of Man being by Nature ſpeculative and delighted with contemplation in it ſelf, they were to be known even for meer Knowledge and Underſtandings ſake. Yea further, beſides this, the knowledge of every the leaſt thing in the World, hath in it a ſecond peculiar benefit unto us, in as much as it ſerveth to miniſter Rules, Canons, and Laws for Men to direct thoſe actions by, which we properly term Humane. This did the very Heathens themſelves obſcurely inſinuate, by making *Themis*, which we call *Jus* or Right, to be the Daughter of Heaven and Earth. We know things either as they are in themſelves, or as they are in mutual relation one to another. The knowledge of that which Man is in reference unto himſelf, and other things in relation unto Man, I may juſtly term the Mother of all thoſe Principles, which are as it were Edicts, Statutes, and Decrees, in that Law of Nature, whereby Humane Actions are framed. Firſt therefore, having obſerved that the beſt things where they are not hindred, do ſtill produce the beſt Operations; (for which cauſe, where many things are to concur unto one effect, the beſt is in all congruity of Reaſon to guide the reſidue, that it prevailing moſt, the work principally done by it, may have greateſt perfection;) when hereupon we come to obſerve in our ſelves, of what excellency our Souls are, in compariſon of our Bodies, and the diviner part in relation unto the baſer of our Souls; ſeeing that all theſe concur in producing Humane Actions, it cannot be well, unleſs the chiefeſt do command and direct the reſt. The Soul then ought to conduct the Body, and the Spirit of our Mindes, the Soul. This is therefore the firſt Law, whereby the higheſt power of the Minde requireth general obedience at the hands of all the reſt, concurring with it unto Action. Touching the ſeveral grand Mandates, which being impoſed by the underſtanding Faculty of the Minde, muſt be obeyed by the Will of Man, they are by the ſame method found out, whether they import our duty towards God, or towards Man. Touching the one, I may not here ſtand to open, by what

'Απάντων ζητοῦντες λόγον, ἀναιροῦσι λόγον. *Theoph.* in Metaph.

2 Cor. 4. 17.

Matth 16. 26.

Ariſt. Polit. 1. cap. 5.

what degrees of discourse the Mindes even of meer Natural Men, have attained to know, not onely that there is a God, but also what Power, Force, Wisdom, and other properties that God hath, and how all things depend on him. This being therefore presupposed, from that known relation which God hath unto us [a] as unto children, and unto all good things as unto effects, whereof himself is the [b] principal cause, these Axioms and Laws Natural concerning our duty have arisen. [c] *That in all things we go about, his aid is by Prayer to be craved:* [d] *That he cannot have sufficient honor done unto him, but the uttermost of that we can do to honor him, we must*; which is in effect the same that we read, [e] *Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy minde.* Which Law our Saviour doth term [f] *The first, and the great Commandment.* Touching the next, which as our Saviour addeth, is like unto this (he meaneth in amplitude and largeness, in as much as it is the Root out of which all Laws of duty to Men-ward have grown, as out of the former all Offices of Religion towards God) the like Natural enducement hath brought men to know, that it is their duty no less to love others, then themselves. For seeing those things which are equal, must needs all have one measure; if I cannot but wish to receive all good, even as much at every mans hand, as any man can wish unto his own soul, how should I look to have any part of my desire herein satisfied, unless my self be careful to satisfie the like desire, which is undoubtedly in other men, we all being of one and the same Nature? To have any thing offered them repugnant to this desire, must needs in all respects grieve them as much as me: So that if I do harm, I must look to suffer; there being no reason that others should shew greater measure of love to me, then they have by me shewed unto them. My desire therefore to be loved of my equals in nature, as much as possible may be, imposeth upon me a natural duty of bearing to them-ward fully the like affection. From which relation of equality between our selves, and them that are as our selves, what several Rules and Canons Natural Reason hath drawn for direction of life, no man is ignorant; as namely, [g] *That because we would take no harm, we must therefore do none; that sith we would not be in any thing extreamly dealt with, we must our selves avoid all extremity in our dealings; that from all violence and wrong we are utterly to abstain,* with such like; which further to wade in, would be tedious, and to our present purpose not altogether so necessary, seeing that on these two General Heads already mentioned, all other specialities are dependent. Wherefore the natural measure whereby to judge our doings, is the sentence of Reason, determining and setting down what is good to be done. Which sentence is either mandatory, shewing what must be done; or else permissive, declaring onely what may be done; or thirdly, admonitory, opening what is the most convenient for us to do. The first taketh place, where the comparison doth stand altogether between doing, and not doing of one thing, which in it self is absolutely good or evil; as it had been for *Joseph* to yield, or not to yield, to the impotent desire of his leud Mistress, the one evil, the other good simply. The second is, when of divers things evil, all being not evitable, we are permitted to take one; which one, saving onely in case of so great urgency, were not otherwise to be taken; as in the matter of Divorce amongst the Jews. The last, when of divers things good, one is principal and most eminent; as in their act who sold their possessions, and laid the price at the Apostles feet; which possessions they might have retained unto themselves without sin: Again, in the Apostle St. *Pauls* own choice, to maintain himself by his own labor; whereas in living by the Churches maintenance, as others did, there had been no offence committed. In goodness therefore, there is a latitude or extent, whereby it cometh to pass, that even of good actions, some are better then other some; whereas otherwise one man could not excel another, but all should be either absolutely good, as hitting jump that indivisible Point or Centre wherein goodness consisteth; or else missing it, they should be excluded out of the number of well-doers. Degrees of well-doing there could be none, except perhaps in the seldomness and oftenness of doing well: But the Nature of Goodness being thus ample, a Law is properly that which Reason in such sort defineth to be good, that it must be done. And the Law of Reason or Humane Nature is that, which men by discourse of Natural Reason, have rightly found out themselves to be all for ever bound unto in their actions. Laws of Reason have these marks to be known by: Such as keep them, resemble most lively in their voluntary actions, that very manner of work-

Arist Polit. 1. cap. 5.

a Οὐδεὶς Θεὸς δύσνους ἀνθρώποις. *Plat.* in Theat.

b Ὅτι γὰρ Θεὸς δοκεῖ τὸ αἴτιον πᾶσιν εἶναι καὶ ἀρχή τις. *Arist.* Metaph. lib. 1. cap. 2.

c Ἀλλ' ὦ Σώκρατες τοῦτό γε δὴ πάντες ὅσοι καὶ κατὰ βραχὺ σωφροσύνης μετέχουσιν, ἐπὶ πάσῃ ὁρμῇ καὶ μικρῷ καὶ μεγάλῳ πράγματος θεὸν ἀεὶ τοῦ καλοῦσι. *Plat.* in Tim.

d *Arist.* Ethic. lib. 8. cap. ult.

e Deut. 6. 4.

f Matth. 21. 28.

g Quod quis in se approbat, in alio reprobare non posse. lib. in arenam C. de inof. test. Quod quisque juris in alium statueret, ipsum quoque eodem uti debere. lib. quod quisque. Ab omni penitùs injuriâ atque vi abstinendum, lib. 1. sect. 1. Quod vi, aut clam. Matth. 22. 40. On these two Commandments hangeth the whole Law. Gen. 39. 9. Mark 10. 4. Acts 4. 37. & 5. 4. 2 Thes. 3. 8.

ing which Nature her self doth necessarily observe in the course of the whole World. The Works of Nature are all behoveful, beautiful, without superfluity or defect; even so theirs, if they be framed according to that which the Law of Reason teacheth. Secondly, Those Laws are investigable by Reason, without the help of Revelation, Supernatural and Divine. Finally, In such sort they are investigable, that the knowledge of them is general, the World hath always been acquainted with them, according to that which one in *Sophocles* observeth, concerning a Branch of this Law. *It is no childe of two days, or yesterdays birth, but hath been no man knoweth how long sithence.* It is not agreed upon by one, or two, or few, but by all; which we may not so understand, as if every particular Man in the whole World did know and confess whatsoever the Law of Reason doth contain: But this Law is such, that being proposed, no man can reject it as unreasonable and unjust. Again, there is nothing in it; but any man (having natural perfection of wit, and ripeness of judgment) may by labor and travel finde out. And to conclude, the general principles thereof are such, as it is not easie to finde men ignorant of them. Law Rational therefore, which men commonly use to call the Law of Nature, meaning thereby the Law which Humane Nature knoweth it self in Reason universally bound unto, which also for that cause may be termed most fitly, the Law of Reason; this Law, I say, comprehendeth all those things, which Men by the Light of their Natural Understanding evidently know, or at leastwise may know, to be beseeming or unbeseeming, vertuous or vicious, good or evil for them to do. Now, although it be true, which some have said, that whatsoever is done amiss, the Law of Nature and Reason thereby is transgrest, because even those offences which are by their special qualities, breaches of Supernatural Laws, do also, for that they are generally evil, violate in general that principle of Reason, which willeth universally to flie from evil; yet do we not therefore so far extend the Law of Reason, as to contain in it all manner of Laws whereunto reasonable Creatures are bound, but (as hath been shewed) we restrain it to those onely duties, which all men by force of Natural Wit, either do, or might understand to be such duties as concern all men. *Certain half-waking men there are* (as St. *Augustine* noteth) *who neither altogether asleep in folly, nor yet throughly awake in the light of true understanding, have thought that there is not at all any thing just and righteous in it self; but look wherewith Nations are inured, the same they take to be right and just. Whereupon their Conclusion is, That seeing each sort of people hath a different kinde of right from other, and that which is right of it's own nature, must be every where one and the same; therefore in it self there is nothing right. These good folks* (saith he, *that I may not trouble their wits with the rehearsal of too many things) have not looked so far into the World as to perceive that,* Do as thou wouldst be done unto, *is a sentence which all Nations under Heaven are agreed upon. Refer this sentence to the love of God; and it extinguisheth all heinous crimes: Refer it to the love of thy Neighbor, and all grievous wrongs it banisheth out of the World.* Wherefore, as touching the Law of Reason, this was (it seemeth) St. *Augustines* judgment; namely, that there are in it some things which stand as principles universally agreed upon; and that out of those Principles, which are in themselves evident, the greatest Moral duties we ow towards God or Man, may without any great difficulty be concluded. If then it be here demanded, by what means it should come to pass (the greatest part of the Law Moral being so easie for all men to know) that so many thousands of men notwithstanding have been ignorant, even of principal Moral duties, not imagining the breach of them to be sin: I deny not, but leud and wicked custom, beginning perhaps at the first amongst few, afterwards spreading into greater multitudes, and so continuing from time to time, may be of force even in plain things, to smother the light of Natural understanding, because men will not bend their wits to examine, whether things wherewith they have been accustomed, be good or evil. For examples sake, that grosser kinde of Heathenish Idolatry, whereby they worshipped the very works of their own hands, was an absurdity to Reason so palpable, that the Prophet *David* comparing Idols and Idolaters together, maketh almost no odds between them, but the one in a manner, as much without wit and sense as the other; *They that make them, are like unto them, and so are all that trust in them.* That wherein an Idolater doth seem so absurd and foolish, is by the Wiseman thus expresst, *He is not ashamed to speak unto that which hath no life: He calleth on him*

Ὀυ γάρ τι νῦν γε, κοὐχθές, ἀλλ' ἀεί ποτε Ζῇ τοῦτο, κοὐδεὶς οἶδεν ἐξ ὅτου φάνη. *Soph. Anti.*

Th. 1,2. q. 94. art. 3. Omnia peccata sunt in universum contra rationem & naturæ legem. *Aug.* de Civit Dei, l. 12. cap. 1. Omne vitium naturæ nocet, ac per hoc contra naturam est. De Doct Chr. lib. 3. cap. 14.

Psal. 115. 18.

Wisd. 13. 17.

him that is weak, for health: He prayeth for life unto him which is dead: Of him, which hath no experience, he requireth help: For his journey, he ſueth to him which is not able to go: For gain, and work, and ſucceſs in his affairs, he ſeeketh furtherance of him that hath no manner of power. The cauſe of which ſenſleſs ſtupidity, is afterwards imputed to cuſtom. *When a Father mourned grievouſly for his ſon that was taken away ſuddenly,* Wiſd. 14. 12. *he made an image for him that was once dead, whom now he worſhipped as a god, ordaining to his ſervants Ceremonies and Sacrifices.* Thus by proceſs of time this wicked cuſtom prevailed, and was kept as a Law; the Authority of Rulers, the Ambition of Craftsmen, and ſuch like means, thruſting forward the ignorant, and encreaſing their ſuperſtition. Unto this which the Wiſeman hath ſpoken, ſomewhat beſides may be added. For whatſoever we have hitherto taught, or ſhall hereafter, concerning the force of Mans natural underſtanding, this we always deſire withal to be underſtood, that there
12 is no kinde of faculty or power in Man, or any other Creature, which can rightly per- 22
form the Functions allotted to it, without perpetual aid and concurrence of that Supream Cauſe of all things. The benefit whereof, as oft as we cauſe God in his juſtice to withdraw, there can no other thing follow then that which the Apoſtle noteth, even men endued with the Light of Reaſon, to walk notwithſtanding *in the vanity of their minde, having their cogitations darkned, and being ſtrangers from the Life of God, through the ignorance which is in them, becauſe of the hardneſs of their hearts.* Ephes. 4. 17. And this cauſe is mentioned by the Prophet *Iſaiah*, ſpeaking of the ignorance of Idolaters, who ſee not how the manifeſt Law of Reaſon condemneth their groſs iniquity and ſin; They have not in them, ſaith he, ſo much wit as to think, *Shall I bow to the ſtock of a tree? All knowledge and underſtanding is taken from them; for God hath ſhut their eyes, that they cannot ſee.* Iſai. 44. 18, 19. That which we ſay in this caſe of Idolatry, ſerveth for all other things, wherein the like kinde of general blindneſs hath prevailed againſt the manifeſt Laws of Reaſon. Within the compaſs of which Laws, we do not onely comprehend whatſoever may be eaſily known to belong to the duty of all men; but even whatſoever may poſſibly be known to be of that quality; ſo that the ſame be by neceſſary conſequence deduced out of clear and manifeſt principles. For if once we deſcend unto probable Collections what is convenient for men, we are then in the Territory where free and arbitrary Determinations; the Territory where Humane Laws take place, which Laws are after to be conſidered.

9. Now the due obſervation of this Law which Reaſon teacheth us, cannot but be effectual unto their great good that obſerve the ſame. For we ſee the whole World, and each part thereof ſo compacted, that as long as each thing performeth onely that work which is natural unto it, it thereby preſerveth both other things, and alſo it ſelf. Contrariwiſe, let any principal thing, as the Sun, the Moon, any one of the Heavens or Elements, but once ceaſe, or fail, or ſwerve; and who doth not eaſily conceive, that the ſequel thereof would be ruine both to it ſelf, and whatſoever dependeth on it? And is it poſſible, that Man being not onely the nobleſt Creature in the World, but even a very World in himſelf, his tranſgreſſing the Law of his Nature ſhould draw no manner of harm after it? Yes, *Tribulation and anguiſh unto every ſoul that doth evil.* Good doth follow unto all things by obſerving the courſe of their nature, and on the contrary ſide evil, by not obſerving it; but not unto Natural Agents that good which we call *Reward*, not that evil which we properly term *Puniſhment*. The reaſon whereof is, becauſe amongſt Creatures in this World, onely Mans obſervation of the Law of his Nature is *Righteouſneſs*, onely Mans tranſgreſſion *Sin*. And the reaſon of this is, the difference in his manner of obſerving or tranſgreſſing the Law of his Nature. He doth not otherwiſe then voluntarily the one, or the other. What we do againſt our wills, or conſtrainedly, we are not properly ſaid to do it; becauſe the motive cauſe of doing it, is not in our ſelves, but carrieth us; as if the Wind ſhould drive a Feather in the Air, we no whit furthering that whereby we are driven. In ſuch caſes therefore the evil which is done, moveth compaſſion; Men are pitied for it, as being rather miſerable in ſuch reſpect then culpable. Some things are likewiſe done by Man, though not through outward force and impulſion, though not againſt, yet without their Wills; as in Alienation of Minde, or any the like inevitable utter abſence of Wit and Judgment. For which cauſe, no Man did ever think the hurtful actions of furious Men and Innocents to be puniſhable. Again, ſome things we do neither againſt nor

The benefit of keeping that Law which Reaſon teacheth.

without, and yet not simply and meerly with our Wills; but with our Wills in such sort moved, that albeit there be no impossibility but that we might, nevertheless we are not so easily able to do otherwise. In this consideration, one evil deed is made more pardonable then another. Finally, that which we do being evil, is notwithstanding by so much more pardonable, by how much the exigence of so doing, or the difficulty of doing otherwise, is greater; unless this necessity or difficulty have originally risen from our selves. It is no excuse therefore unto him, who being drunk committeth incest, and alledgeth, that his wits were not his own; in as much as himself might have chosen, whether his wits should by that mean have been taken from him. Now Rewards and Punishments do always presuppose some thing willingly done well or ill; without which respect, though we may sometimes receive good or harm, yet then the one is onely a Benefit, and not a Reward; the other simply an Hurt, not a Punishment. From the sundry dispositions of Mans will, which is the root of all his actions, there groweth variety in the sequel of Rewards and Punishments, which are by these and the like rules measured: *Take away the will, and all acts are equal: That which we do not, and would do, is commonly accepted as done.* By these and the like rules, Mens actions are determined of, and judged, whether they be in their own nature, rewardable or punishable. Rewards and Punishments are not received, but at the hands of such as being above us, have power to examine and judge our deeds. How men come to have this authority one over another in External Actions, we shall more diligently examine in that which followeth. But for this present, so much all do acknowledge, that sith every mans heart and conscience doth in good or evil, even secretly committed and known to none but it self, either like or disallow it self, and accordingly either rejoyce, very Nature exulting, as it were, in certain hope of reward, or else grieve as it were, in a sense of future punishment; neither of which can in this case be looked for from any other, saving onely from him who discerneth and judgeth the very secrets of all hearts: Therefore he is the onely Rewarder and Revenger of all such Actions; although not of such actions onely, but of all, whereby the Law of Nature is broken, whereof himself is Author. For which cause, the *Roman* Laws, called *The Laws of the Twelve Tables*, requiring offices of inward affection, which the eye of Man cannot reach unto, threaten the neglecters of them with none but Divine Punishment.

Voluntate sublatâ, omnem actum parem esse; lib. fœdissimam, de adult. Bonam voluntatem plerunque pro facto reputari l. si quis in Testament.

Divos castè adeunto, pietatem adhibento. Qui secus faxit, Deus ipse vindex erit.

10. That which hitherto we have set down, is (I hope) sufficient to shew their brutishness, which imagine that Religion and Vertue are onely as Men will account of them; that we might make as much account, if we would, of the contrary, without any harm unto our selves, and that in Nature they are as indifferent one as the other. We see then how Nature it self teacheth Laws and Statutes to live by. The Laws which have been hitherto mentioned, do binde men absolutely, even as they are men, although they have never any setled Fellowship, never any solemn Agreement amongst themselves what to do, or not to do. But forasmuch as we are not by our selves sufficient to furnish our selves with competent store of things needful for such a life as our Nature doth desire, a life fit for the dignity of man: Therefore to supply those defects and imperfections which are in us living single and solely by our selves, we are naturally enduced to seek Communion and Fellowship with others. This was the cause of Mens uniting themselves at the first in Politick Societies, which Societies could not be without government, nor government without a distinct kinde of Law from that which hath been already declared. Two Foundations there are which bear up Publick Societies; the one, a Natural Inclination, whereby all men desire sociable life and fellowship; the other, an order expresly or secretly agreed upon, touching the manner of their Union in living together. The latter is that which we call the Law of a Commonweal, the very Soul of a Politick Body, the parts whereof are by Law animated, held together, and set on work in such Actions as the common good requireth. Laws Politick, ordained for External Order and Regiment amongst Men, are never framed as they should be, unless presuming the Will of Man to be inwardly obstinate, rebellious, and averse from all obedience unto the Sacred Laws of his Nature: In a word, unless presuming Man to be in regard of his depraved minde, little better then a wilde beast, they do accordingly provide notwithstanding so to frame his outward actions, that they be no hindrance unto the common good, for which Societies are instituted; unless they do this, they are not perfect. It resteth therefore, that

How Reason doth lead Men unto the making of Humane Laws, whereby Politick Societies are governed, and to Agreement about Laws, whereby the Fellowship or Communion of Independent Society standeth.

Ἐστὶ γὰρ ὁ μαντεύον ταί τι πάντες φύσει κοινὸν δίκαιον καὶ ἄδικον, κἂν μεδεμία κονωνία πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἦ μηδὲ συνθήκη. *Arist.* Rhet. 1.

that we consider how Nature findeth out such Laws of Government, as serve to direct even Nature depraved to a right end. All men desire to lead in this world an happy life: The life is led most happily, wherein all Vertue is exercised without impediment or let. The Apostle in exhorting men to contentment, although they have in this world no more then very bare Food and Rayment, giveth us thereby to understand, that those are even the lowest of things necessary, that if we should be stripped of all those things, without which we might possibly be, yet these must be left; that destitution in these, is such an impediment, as till it be removed, suffereth not the minde of Man to admit any other care. For this cause first, God assigned *Adam* maintenance of Life, and then appointed him a Law to observe: For this cause after Men began to grow to a number; the first thing we read they gave themselves unto, was the Tilling of the Earth, and the Feeding of Cattle. Having by this mean whereon to live, the principal actions of their life afterward, are noted by the Exercise of their Religion. True it is, that the Kingdom of God must be the first thing in our purposes and desires. But in as much as a righteous life presupposeth life, in as much as to live vertuously, it is impossible except we live: Therefore the first impediment, which naturally we endeavor to remove, is penury and want of things, without which we cannot live. Unto life many implements are necessary; mo, if we seek (as all men naturally do) such a life as hath in it joy, comfort, delight, and pleasure. To this end we see how quickly sundry Arts Mechanical were found out in the very prime of the World. As things of greatest necessity are always first provided for, so things of greatest dignity are most accounted of by all such as judge rightly. Although therefore Riches be a thing which every Man wisheth, yet no Man of judgment can esteem it better to be Rich, then Wise, Vertuous, and Religious. If we be both, or either of these, it is not because we are so born: For into the World we come as empty of the one, as of the other, as naked in Minde as we are in Body. Both which necessities of Man had at the first no other helps and supplies, then onely domestical; such as that which the Prophet implieth, saying, *Can a Mother forget her childe?* Such as that which the Apostle mentioneth, saying, *He that careth not for his own, is worse then an Infidel:* Such as that concerning *Abraham, Abraham will command his sons and his household after him, that they keep the way of the Lord.* But neither that which we learn of our selves, nor that which others teach us, can prevail, where wickedness and malice have taken deep root. If therefore, when there was but as yet one onely family in the World, no means of instruction, Humane or Divine, could prevent effusion of blood: How could it be chosen, but that when Families were multiplied and encreased upon Earth; after Separation, each providing for it self, Envy, Strife, Contention, and Violence, must grow amongst them? For hath not Nature furnished Man with Wit and Valor, and as it were with Armor, which may be used as well unto extream evil as good? Yea, were they not used by the rest of the World unto evil? Unto the contrary onely, by *Seth, Enoch,* and those few the rest in that Line? We all make complaint of the iniquity of our times; not unjustly, for the days are evil. But compare them with those times wherein there were no civil Societies; with those times therein there was as yet no manner of Publick Regiment established, with those times wherein there were not above eight righteous persons living upon the face of the Earth: And we have surely good cause to think, that God hath blessed us exceedingly, and hath made us behold most happy days. To take away all such mutual grievances, injuries, and wrongs, there was no way but onely by growing unto Composition and Agreement amongst themselves, by ordaining some kinde of Government publick, and by yielding themselves subject thereunto; that unto whom they granted authority to rule and govern, by them the peace, tranquillity, and happy estate of the rest might be procured. Men always knew, that when Force and Injury was offered, they might be Defenders of themselves; they knew that howsoever men may seek their own commodity, yet if this were done with injury unto others, it was not to be suffered, but by all men, and by all good means to be withstood: Finally, they knew that no man might in Reason take upon him to determine his own right, and according to his own determination proceed in maintenance thereof, in as much as every man is towards himself and them whom he greatly affecteth partial: And therefore that strifes and troubles would be endless, except they gave their common consent, all to be ordered by some whom they

1 Tim. 6. 8.
Gen. 1. 29. & 2. 17. & 4. 2. & 4. 26.
Matth. 6. 33.
Gen. 4. 20, 21, 22.
Isai. 49. 15.
1 Tim. 5. 8.
Gen. 18. 19.
Gen. 4. 8.
Gen. 6. 5.
Gen. 5.
2 Pet. 2. 5.

they should agree upon. Without which consent, there were no reason that one Man should take upon him to be Lord or Judge over another, because, although there be according to the opinion of some very great and judicious Men, a kinde of Natural Right in the Noble, Wise, and Vertuous, to govern them which are of servile disposition; nevertheless for manifestation of this their right, and mens more peaceable contentment on both sides, the assent of them who are to be governed, seemeth necessary. To Fathers within their Private Families, Nature hath given a supream power; for which cause we see throughout the World, even from the first Foundation thereof, all men have ever been taken as Lords and Lawful Kings in their own houses. Howbeit, over a whole grand multitude, having no such dependency upon any one, and consisting of so many Families, as every Politick Society in the World doth; impossible it is, that any should have compleat lawful power, but by consent of men, or immediate appointment of God, because not having the Natural Superiority of Fathers, their power must needs be either usurped, and then unlawful; or if lawful, then either granted or consented unto by them, over whom they exercise the same, or else given extraordinarily from God, unto whom all the World is subject. It is no improbable opinion therefore which the Arch-Philosopher was of, That as the chiefest person in every houshold, was always as it were a King, so when numbers of housholds joyned themselves in civil Societies together, Kings were the first kinde of Governors amongst them. Which is also (as it seemeth) the reason, why the name of *Father* continued still in them, who of Fathers were made Rulers; as also the ancient custom of Governors to do as *Melchisedec*, and being Kings to exercise the Office of Priests, which Fathers did at the first, grew perhaps by the same occasion: Howbeit, not this the onely kinde of Regiment that hath been received in the World. The inconveniences of one kinde, have caused sundry other to be devised: So that in a word, all Publick Regiment, of what kinde soever, seemeth evidently to have risen from deliberate Advice, Consultation, and Composition between Men, judging it convenient and behoveful; there being no impossibility in Nature considered by it self, but that men might have lived without any Publick Regiment. Howbeit, the corruption of our nature being presupposed, we may not deny, but that the Law of Nature doth now require of necessity some kinde of Regiment; so that to bring things unto the first course they were in, and utterly to take away all kinde of Publick Government in the World, were apparently to overturn the whole World. The case of Mans nature standing therefore as it doth, some kinde of Regiment the Law of Nature doth require; yet the kindes thereof being many, Nature tieth not to any one, but leaveth the choice as a thing arbitrary. At the first, when some certain kinde of Regiment was once approved, it may be that nothing was then further thought upon for the manner of governing, but all permitted unto their Wisdom and Discretion which were to rule; [a] till by experience they found this for all parts very inconvenient, so as the thing which they had devised for a remedy, did indeed but increase the sore which it should have cured. They saw that to live by one Mans will, became the cause of all Mens misery. This constrained them to come unto Laws, wherein all men might see their duties beforehand, and know the penalties of transgressing them. [b] If things be simply good or evil, and withal universally so acknowledged, there needs no new Law to be made for such things. The first kinde therefore of things appointed by Laws Humane, containeth whatsoever being in it self naturally good or evil, is notwithstanding more secret then that it can be discerned by every mans present conceit, without some deeper discourse and judgment. In which discourse, because there is difficulty and possibility many ways to err, unless such things were set down by Laws, many would be ignorant of their duties, which now are not; and many that know what they should do, would nevertheless dissemble it, and to excuse themselves, pretend ignorance and simplicity, which now they cannot. And because the greatest part of Men, are such as prefer their own private good before all things; even that good which is Sensual, before whatsoever is most Divine: And for that the labor of doing good, together with the pleasure arising from the contrary, doth make men for the most part slower to the one, and proner to

Arist. Polit. lib. 3. & 4.

Arist. Polit. lib. 1. cap. 5. Vide & Platonem in 3. de legibus.

[a] Cum premeretur initio multitudo ab iis qui majores opes habebant, ad unum aliquem confugiebant virtute præstantem; qui cum prohiberet injuriâ tenuiores, æquitate constituendâ summos cum infimis pari jure retinebat. Cum id minùs contingeret, leges sunt inventæ *Cic.* Offic. lib. 2. Τὸ γονέας τιμᾶν καὶ φίλους εὐποιεῖν, καὶ τοῖς εὐεργέταις χάριν ἀποδιδόναι, ταῦτα καὶ τούτοις ὅμοια οὐ προστάττουσι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οἱ γεγραμμένοι νόμοι ποιεῖν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀγράφῳ καὶ κοινῷ νόμῳ νομίζεται. *Arist.* Rhet. ad Alex.

[b] Tanta est enim vis voluptatum, ut & ignorantiam protelet in occasionem, & conscientiam corrumpat in dissimulationem. *Tertul.* lib. de Spectacul.

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the other, then that duty prescribed them by Law, can prevail sufficiently with them. Therefore unto Laws that Men do make for the benefit of Men, it hath seemed always needful to add Rewards, which may more allure unto good, then any hardness deterreth from it; and Punishments, which may more deter from evil, then any sweetness thereto allureth. Wherein as the generality is Natural, *Vertue rewardable, and Vice punishable*; So the particular determination of the Reward or Punishment, belongeth unto them by whom Laws are made. Theft is naturally punishable, but the kinde of punishment is Positive; and such lawful, as Men shall think with discretion convenient by Law to appoint. In Laws, that which is Natural, bindeth universally; that which is Positive, not so. To let go those kinde of Positive Laws which Men impose upon themselves, as by vow unto God, contract with Men, or such like; somewhat it will make unto our purpose, a little more fully to consider, what things are incident unto the making of the Positive Laws for the Government of them that live united in Publick Society. Laws do not onely teach what is good, but they enjoyn it; they have in them a certain constraining force; and to constrain Men unto any thing inconvenient, doth seem unreasonable. Most requisite therefore it is, that to devise Laws which all Men shall be forced to obey, none but Wisemen be admitted. Laws are Matters of Principal Consequence; Men of common Capacity, and but ordinary Judgment, are not able (for how should they?) to discern what things are fittest for each kinde and state of Regiment. We cannot be ignorant how much our obedience unto Laws, dependeth upon this point. Let a man, though never so justly, oppose himself unto them that are disordered in their ways, and what one among them commonly doth not stomach at such Contradiction, storm at Reproof, and hate such as would Reform them? Notwithstanding, even they which brook it worst, that Men should tell them of their duties, when they are told the same by a Law, think very well and reasonably of it. For why? They presume that the Law doth speak with all indifferency; that the Law hath no side respect to their persons; that the Law is as it were an Oracle proceeding from Wisdom and Understanding. Howbeit, Laws do not take their constraining force from the quality of such as devise them, but from that power which doth give them the strength of Laws. That which we spake before concerning the Power of Government, must here be applied unto the power of making Laws whereby to govern, which power God hath over all; and by the Natural Law, whereunto he hath made all subject, the lawful power of making Laws, to command whole Politick Societies of Men, belongeth so properly unto the same entire Societies, that for any Prince or Potentate, of what kinde soever upon Earth, to exercise the same of himself, and not either by express Commission immediately and personally received from God, or else by Authority derived at the first from their consent upon whose persons they impose Laws, it is no better then meer tyranny. Laws they are not therefore which Publick Approbation hath not made so: But Approbation not onely they give who personally declare their assent, by voice, sign, or act; but also when others do it in their names, by right originally, at the least, derived from them. As in Parliaments, Councils, and the like Assemblies, although we be not personally our selves present, notwithstanding our Assent is by reason of other Agents there in our behalf. And what we do by others, no reason but that it should stand as our Deed, no less effectually to binde us, then if our selves had done it in person. In many things Assent is given, they that give it, not imagining they do so, because the manner of their assenting, is not apparent. As for example, when an absolute Monarch commandeth his Subjects that which seemeth good in his own discretion; hath not his Edict the force of a Law, whether they approve or dislike it? Again, that which hath been received long sithence, and is by custom now established, we keep as a Law which we may not transgress; yet, what consent was ever thereunto sought or required at our hands? Of this point therefore we are to note, that sith Men naturally have no full and perfect power to command whole Politick Multitudes of Men; therefore utterly without our consent, we could in such sort be at no Mans commandment living. And to be commanded, we do consent, when that Society whereof we are part, hath at any time before consented, without revoking the same after by the like Universal Agreement. Wherefore, as any Mans Deed past is good as long as himself continueth; so the Act of a Publick Society of Men done Five hundred years sithence, standeth as

theirs,

theirs, who presently are of the same Societies, because Corporations are Immortal; we were then alive in our Predecessors, and they in their Successors do live still. Laws therefore Humane of what kinde soever, are available by consent. If here it be demanded how it cometh to pass, that this being common unto all Laws which are made, there should be found even in good Laws so great variety as there is; We must note the Reason hereof to be, the sundry particular ends whereunto the different disposition of that Subject or Matter for which Laws are provided, causeth them to have a special respect in making Laws. A Law there is mentioned amongst the *Grecians*, whereof *Pittacus* is reported to have been Author; and by that Law it was agreed, that he which being overcome with drink, did then strike any man, should suffer punishment double as much, as if he had done the same being sober. No man could ever have thought, this reasonable, that had intended thereby onely to punish the injury committed, according to the gravity of the Fact: For who knoweth not, that harm advisedly done, is naturally less pardonable, and therefore worthy of sharper punishment: But for as much as none did so usually this way offend as men in that case, which they wittingly fell into, even because they would be so much the more freely outragious: It was for their publick good where such disorder was grown, to frame a Positive Law for remedy thereof accordingly. To this appertain those known Laws of making Laws; as that Law-makers must have an eye to that place where, and to the men amongst whom; that one kinde of Laws cannot serve for all kinde of Regiment; that where the Multitude beareth sway, Laws that shall tend unto the preservation of that State, must make common smaller Offices to go by lot, for fear of strife and division likely to arise; by reason that ordinary qualities sufficing for discharge of such Offices, they could not but by many be desired, and so with danger contended for, and not missed without grudge and discontentment; whereas at an uncertain lot, none can finde themselves grieved, on whomsoever it lighteth. Contrariwise the greatest, whereof but few are capable, to pass by Popular Election, that neither the people may envy such as have those Honors, in as much as themselves bestow them, and that the chiefest may be kindled with desire, to exercise all parts of rare and beneficial Vertue; knowing they shall not lose their labor by growing in fame and estimation amongst the people. If the Helm of chief Government be in the hands of a few of the wealthiest, that then Laws providing for continuance thereof, must make the punishment of contumely, and wrong offered unto any of the common sort, sharp and grievous; that so the evil may be prevented, whereby the rich are most likely to bring themselves into hatred with the people, who are not wont to take so great offence, when they are excluded from Honors and Offices, as when their persons are contumeliously trodden upon. In other kindes of Regiment, the like is observed concerning the difference of Positive Laws, which to be everywhere the same, is impossible, and against their Nature. Now as the Learned in the Laws of this Land observe, that our Statutes sometimes are onely the Affirmation or Ratification of that which by Common Law was held before; so here it is not to be omitted, that generally all Laws Humane, which are made for the ordering of Politick Societies, be either such as establish some duty, whereunto all Men by the Law of Reason did before stand bound; or else such as make that a duty now, which before was none: The one sort we may for distinction sake call *Mixedly*, and the other *Meerly Humane*. That which plain or necessary Reason bindeth Men unto, may be in sundry considerations expedient to be ratified by Humane Law. For example, if Confusion of Blood in Marriage, the liberty of having many Wives at once, or any other the like corrupt and unreasonable Custom doth happen to have prevailed far, and to have gotten the upper hand of Right Reason with the greatest part; so that no way is left to rectifie such foul disorder, without prescribing by Law the same things which Reason necessarily doth enforce, but is not perceived that so it doth; or if many be grown unto that which the Apostle did lament in some, concerning whom he writeth, saying, That *even what things they naturally know, in those very things, as Beasts void of Reason, they corrupted themselves*: Or if there be no such special accident, yet for as much as the common sort are led by the sway of their sensual desires; and therefore do more shun sin for the sensible evils which follow it amongst men, then for any kinde of sentence which Reason doth pronounce against it. This very thing is cause sufficient, why duties belonging unto each kinde of Vertue,

Arist. Polit. lib. 2. cap. ult.

Staundf. Preface to the Pleas of the Crown.

Jude, vers. 10. Οἱ πολλοὶ ἀνάγκῃ μᾶλλον ἢ λόγῳ πειθαρχοῦσι, καὶ ζημίαις ἢ τῷ καλῷ. *Arist.* Eth. lib. 10. cap. 10.

tue, albeit the Law of Reaſon teach them, ſhould notwithſtanding be preſcribed even by Humane Law. Which Law in this caſe we term *Mixt*, becauſe the matter whereunto it bindeth, is the ſame which Reaſon neceſſarily doth require at our hands, and from the Law of Reaſon it differeth in the manner of binding onely. For whereas Men before ſtood bound in Conſcience to do as the Law of Reaſon teacheth; they are now by vertue of Humane Law become conſtrainable, and if they outwardly tranſgreſs, puniſhable. As for Laws which are *Meerly Humane*, the matter of them is any thing, which Reaſon doth but probably teach to be fit and convenient; ſo that till ſuch time as Law hath paſſed amongſt men about it, of it ſelf it bindeth no man. One example whereof may be this, Lands are by Humane Law in ſome places, after the owners deceaſe, divided unto all his Children; in ſome, all deſcendeth to the eldeſt Son. If the Law of Reaſon did neceſſarily require but the one of theſe two to be done, they which by Law have received the other, ſhould be ſubject to that heavy ſentence which denounceth againſt all that Decree wicked, unjuſt, and unreaſonable things, *Wo*. Whereas now, which ſoever be received, there is no Law of Reaſon tranſgreſt; becauſe there is probable reaſon why either of them may be expedient, and for either of them more then probable reaſon there is not to be found. Laws, whether mixtly, or meerly Humane, are made by Politick Societies; ſome onely, as thoſe Societies are civilly united; ſome, as they are ſpiritually joyned, and make ſuch a Body as we call the Church. Of Laws Humane in this latter kinde, we are to ſpeak in the Third Book following: Let it therefore ſuffice thus far to have touched the force wherewith Almighty God hath graciouſly endued our Nature, and thereby enabled the ſame to finde out both thoſe Laws which all Men generally are for ever bound to obſerve; and alſo ſuch as are moſt fit for their behoof, who lead their lives in any ordered State of Government. Now beſides that Law which ſimply concerneth men, as Men; and that which belongeth unto them, as they are Men linked with others in ſome Form of Politick Society, there is a third kinde of Law which toucheth all ſuch ſeveral Bodies Politick, ſo far forth as one of them hath Publick Commerce with another. And this third is, *The Law of Nations*. Between Men and Beaſts, there is no poſſibility of Sociable Communion, becauſe the Welſpring of that Communion is a Natural delight which Man hath to transfuſe from himſelf into others, and to receive from others into himſelf, eſpecially thoſe things wherein the excellency of this kinde doth moſt conſiſt. The chiefeſt Inſtrument of Humane Communion therefore is Speech, becauſe thereby we impart mutually one to another, the Conceits of our Reaſonable Underſtanding. And for that cauſe, ſeeing Beaſts are not hereof capable, for as much as with them we can uſe no ſuch Conference, they being in degree, although above other Creatures on Earth, to whom Nature hath denied ſenſe, yet lower then to be ſociable Companions of Man, to whom Nature hath given Reaſon: It is of *Adam* ſaid, that amongſt the Beaſts, *he found not for himſelf any meet companion*. Civil Society doth more content the Nature of Man, then any private kinde of ſolitary living; becauſe in Society, this good of Mutual Participation is ſo much larger then otherwiſe. Herewith notwithſtanding we are not ſatisfied, but we covet (if it might be) to have a kinde of Society and Fellowſhip, even with all mankinde. Which thing *Socrates* intending to ſignifie, profeſſed himſelf a Citizen; not of this or that Commonwealth, but of the World. And an effect of that very natural deſire in us, (a manifeſt token, that we wiſh after a ſort an Univerſal Fellowſhip with all Men) appeareth by the wonderful delight men have, ſome to viſit foreign Countreys, ſome to diſcover Nations not heard of in former Ages; we all to know the Affairs and Dealings of other People, yea, to be in League of Amity with them. And this not onely for Trafficks ſake, or, to the end, that when many are confederated, each may make other the more ſtrong; but for ſuch cauſe alſo, as moved the Queen of *Sheba* to viſit *Solomon*; and in a word, becauſe Nature doth preſume, that how many Men there are in the World, ſo many Gods, as it were, there are; or at leaſtwiſe ſuch they ſhould be towards Men. Touching Laws which are to ſerve Men in this behalf; even as thoſe Laws of Reaſon, which (Man retaining his original Integrity) had been ſufficient to direct each particular perſon in all his Affairs and Duties, are not ſufficient, but require the acceſs of other Laws now, that Man and his Off-ſpring are grown thus corrupt and ſinful. Again, as thoſe Laws of Polity and Regiment, which would have

Iſa. 10. 1.

Ariſt. Polit. 1. cap. 2.

Gen. 2. 20.

Cic. Tuſc. 5. & 1 de Legib.

1 King 10. 1. 2 Chron. 9. 1. Matth. 13. 42. Luke 11. 3.

ſerved Men living in Publick Society together, with that harmleſs diſpoſition, which then they ſhould have had, are not able now to ſerve, when Mens iniquity is ſo hardly reſtrained within any tolerable bounds: In like manner, the National Laws of Natural Commerce between Societies of that former and better quality might have been other then now, when Nations are ſo prone to offer violence, injury, and wrong. Hereupon hath grown in every of theſe three kindes, that diſtinction between *Primary* and *Secondary Laws*; the one grounded upon ſincere, the other built upon depraved Nature. Primary Laws of Nations are ſuch as concern Embaſſage, ſuch as belong to the courteous entertainment of Foreigners and Strangers, ſuch as ſerve for Commodious Traffick, and the like. Secondary Laws in the ſame kinde, are ſuch as this preſent unquiet World is moſt familiarly acquainted with; I mean Laws of Arms, which yet are much better known then kept. But what matter the Law of Nations doth contain, I omit to ſearch. The ſtrength and vertue of that Law is ſuch, that no particular Nation can lawfully prejudice the ſame by any their ſeveral Laws and Ordinances, more then a Man by his private reſolutions the Law of the whole Commonwealth or State wherein he liveth. For as Civil Law being the Act of a whole Body Politick, doth therefore over-rule each ſeveral part of the ſame Body; ſo there is no reaſon, that any one Commonwealth of it ſelf, ſhould to the prejudice of another, annihilate that whereupon the whole World hath agreed. For which cauſe, the *Lacedemonians* forbidding all acceſs of ſtrangers into their coaſts, are in that reſpect both by *Joſephus* and *Theodoret* deſervedly blamed, as being enemies to that Hoſpitality, which for common Humanities ſake, all the Nations on Earth ſhould embrace. Now as there is great cauſe of Communion, and conſequently of Laws, for the maintenance of Communion amongſt Nations: So amongſt Nations Chriſtian, the like in regard even of Chriſtianity, hath been always judged needful. And in this kinde of correſpondence amongſt Nations, the force of General Councils doth ſtand. For as one and the ſame Law Divine, whereof in the next place we are to ſpeak, is unto all Chriſtian Churches a rule for the chiefeſt things; by means whereof they all in that reſpect make one Church, as having all but *One Lord, one Faith, and one Baptiſm.* So the urgent neceſſity of Mutual Communion for Preſervation of our Unity in theſe things; as alſo for Order in ſome other things convenient to be every where uniformly kept, maketh it requiſite, that the Church of God here on Earth, have her Laws of Spiritual Commerce between Chriſtian Nations: Laws, by vertue whereof all Churches may enjoy freely the uſe of thoſe Reverend, Religious and Sacred Conſultations, which are termed Councils General. A thing whereof Gods own Bleſſed Spirit was the Author, a thing practiſed by the holy Apoſtles themſelves, a thing always afterwards kept and obſerved throughout the World; a thing never otherwiſe, then moſt highly eſteemed of, till Pride, Ambition, and Tyranny began by factious and vile Endeavors, to abuſe that Divine Invention, unto the furtherance of wicked purpoſes. But as the juſt Authority of Civil Courts and Parliaments is not therefore to be aboliſhed, becauſe ſometimes there is cunning uſed to frame them according to the private intents of men over-potent in the Commonwealth: So the grievous abuſe which hath been of Councils, ſhould rather cauſe men to ſtudy how ſo gracious a thing may again be reduced to that firſt Perfection, then in regard of ſtains and blemiſhes ſithence growing, be held for ever in extream diſgrace. To ſpeak of this matter as the cauſe requireth, would require very long diſcourſe. All I will preſently ſay, is this, Whether it be for the finding out of any thing whereunto Divine Law bindeth us; but yet in ſuch ſort, that Men are not thereof on all ſides reſolved; or for the ſetting down of ſome Uniform Judgment to ſtand touching ſuch things, as being neither way matters of neceſſity, are notwithſtanding offenſive and ſcandalous, when there is open oppoſition about them: Be it for the ending of ſtrifes, touching matters of Chriſtian belief, wherein the one part may ſeem to have probable cauſe of diſſenting from the other; or be it concerning matters of Polity, Order, and Regiment in the Church; I nothing doubt but that Chriſtian men ſhould much better frame themſelves to thoſe Heavenly Precepts, which our Lord and Saviour, with ſo great inſtancy gave, as concerning Peace and Unity, if we did all concur in deſire to have the uſe of Ancient Councils again renewed, rather then theſe proceedings continued, which either make all Contentions endleſs, or bring them to one onely Determination, and that of all other the worſt, which is

Joſeph. lib. 2. contra Appion.

Theod. lib. 9. de Sanand. Græc. Affect.

Epheſ. 4. 5.

Acts 15. 28.

Joh. 14. 27.

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by Sword. It followeth therefore, that a new Foundation being laid; we now adjoyn hereunto that which cometh in the next place to be spoken of; namely, wherefore God hath himself by Scripture, made known such Laws as serve for direction of Men.

11. All things (God onely accepted) besides the Nature which they have in themselves, receive externally some Perfection from other things, as hath been shewed. In so much, as there is in the whole World no one thing great or small, but either in respect of knowledge or of use, it may unto our Perfection add somewhat. And whatsoever such Perfection there is, which our Nature may acquire, the same we properly term our good, our *Soveraign Good* or *Blessedness*; that wherein the highest degree of all our Perfection consisteth, that which being once attained unto, there can rest nothing further to be desired; and therefore with it our souls are fully content and satisfied, in that they have, they rejoyce, and thirst for no more: Wherefore of good things desired, some are such, that for themselves, we covet them not, but onely because they serve as Instruments unto that for which we are to seek: Of this sort, are Riches: Another kinde there is, which although we desire for it self, as Health, and Vertue, and Knowledge; nevertheless, they are not the last mark whereat we aim, but have their further end whereunto they are referred: So as in them we are not satisfied, as having attained the utmost we may, but our desires do still proceed. These things are linked, and as it were chained one to another. We labor to eat, and we eat to live, and we live to do good, and the good which we do, is as seed sown with reference unto a future Harvest. But we must come at the length to some pause: For if every thing were to be desired for some other without any stint, there could be no certain end proposed unto our actions, we should go on we know not whither; yea, whatsoever we do, were in vain, or rather nothing at all were possible to be done. For as to take away the first efficient of our Being, were to annihilate utterly our persons; so we cannot remove the last final cause of our working, but we shall cause whatsoever we work to cease. Therefore something there must be desired for it self simply, and for no other: That is, simply for it self desirable, unto the nature whereof it is opposite and repugnant to be desired, with relation unto any other. The Ox and the Ass desire their food, neither propose they unto themselves any end wherefore; so that of them, this is desired for it self. But why? By reason of their imperfection, which cannot otherwise desire it; whereas that which is desired simply for it self, the excellency thereof is such as permitteth it not in any sort to be referred unto a further end. Now that which Man doth desire with reference to a further end, the same he desireth in such measure as is unto that end convenient; but what he coveteth as good in it self, towards that his desire is ever infinite. So that unless the last good of all which is desired altogether for it self, be also infinite; we do evil in making it our end, even as they who placed their felicity in wealth, or honor, or pleasure, or any thing here attained, because in desiring any thing as our final perfection, which is not so, we do amiss. Nothing may be infinitely desired, but that good which indeed is infinite: For the better, the more desireable; that therefore most desireable, wherein there is infinity of goodness: So that if any thing desireable may be infinite, that must needs be the highest of all things that are desired. No good is infinite, but onely God; therefore he is our felicity and bliss; moreover, desire tendeth unto union with that it desireth. If then in him we be blessed, it is by force of participation and conjunction with him. Again, it is not the possession of any good thing, can make them happy which have it, unless they enjoy the things wherewith they are possessed. Then are we happy therefore, when fully we enjoy God, as an object wherein the Powers of our Souls are satisfied, even with everlasting delight: So that although we be men, yet by being unto God united, we live as it were the Life of God. Happiness therefore is that estate whereby we attain, so far as possibly may be attained, the full possession of that which simply for it self is to be desired, and containeth in it after an eminent sort, the contentation of our desires, the highest degree of all our Perfection. Of such Perfection, capable we are not in this life: For while we are in the World, we are subject unto sundry * imperfections, grief of body, defects of minde; yea, the best things we do, are painful, and the

Wherefore God hath by Scripture further made known such Supernatural Laws, as do serve for Mens direction.

Gal. 6. 8. *He that soweth to the Spirit, shall of the Spirit reap Life Everlasting.*

Vide *Arist.* Ethic. lib. 10. c. 10. & Metaph. l. 12 cap. 6. & cap. 4. & cap. 30.

* Μόνον ὦ Ἀσκλήπιε τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἐν ἀνθρώποις, τὸ ἔργον οὐδαμοῦ. τὸ μὴ λίαν κακὸν, ἐνθάδε τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐστί.

Τὸ δὲ ἐνθάδε ἀγαθὸν, μόριον τοῦ καλοῦ τὸ ἐλάχιστον. Ἀδύνατον οὖν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐνθάδε καθαρεύειν τῆς κακίας, καθὼ δὲ χάριν ἔχω τῷ θεῷ τῷ εἰς νοῦν μοι βαλόντι τὴν γνώσεως τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, ὅτι ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ εἶναι· ὁ γὰρ κόσμος πλήρωμά ἐστι τῆς κακίας, ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἀγαθοῦ, ἢ τὸ ἀγαθὸν θεοῦ. *Merc. Trif.*

exercise of them grievous, being continued without intermission; so as in those very actions, whereby we are especially perfected in this life, we are not able to persist; forced we are with very weariness, and that often, to interrupt them: Which tediousness, cannot fall into those operations that are in the state of bliss, when our union with God is compleat. Compleat union with him, must be according unto every power and faculty of our mindes, apt to receive so glorious an object. Capable we are of God, both by Understanding and Will: By Understanding, as he is that Soveraign Truth, which comprehends the Rich Treasures of all Wisdom: By Will, as he is that Sea of Goodness, whereof, whoso tasteth, shall thirst no more. As the Will doth now work upon that object by desire, which is as it were a motion towards the end as yet unobtained, so likewise upon the same hereafter received, it shall work also by love. *Appetitus inhiantis fit amor fruentis*, saith St. *Augustine*. *The longing disposition of them that thirst, is changed into the sweet affection of them that taste, and are repleniſhed.* Whereas we now love the thing that is good, but good especially, in respect of benefit unto us; we shall then love the thing that is good, onely or principally for the goodness of beauty in it self. The Soul being in this sort, as it is Active, perfected by love of that infinite good, shall, as it is Receptive, be also perfected with those Supernatural Passions of Joy, Peace, and Delight: All this endless and Everlasting. Which Perpetuity, in regard whereof our Blessedness is termed *A Crown which withereth not*, doth neither depend upon the nature of the thing it self, nor proceed from any natural necessity that our Souls should so exercise themselves for ever in beholding and loving God, but from the Will of God, which doth both freely perfect our nature in so high a degree, and continue it so perfected. Under Man, no Creature in the World is capable of felicity and bliss: First, because their chiefest Perfection consisteth in that which is best for them, but not in that which is simply best, as ours doth. Secondly, because whatsoever External Perfection they tend unto, it is not better then themselves, as ours is. How just occasion have we therefore even in this respect with the Prophet to admire the goodness of God: Lord, what is man that thou shouldst exalt him above the works of thy hands; so far as to make thy self the Inheritance of his Rest, and the Substance of his Felicity! Now, if men had not naturally this desire to be happy, how were it possible that all men should have it? All men have: Therefore this desire in Man is natural. It is not in our power not to do the same; how should it then be in our power to do it coldly or remisly? So that our desire being natural, is also in that degree of earnestness whereunto nothing can be added. And is it probable that God should frame the hearts of all men so desirous of that which no man may obtain? It is an Axiom of Nature, that natural desire cannot utterly be frustrate. This desire of ours being natural, should be frustrate, if that which may satisfie the same, were a thing impossible for Man to aspire unto. Man doth seek a tripple Perfection; first, a sensual, consisting in those things which very life it self requireth, either as necessary Supplements, or as Beauties and Ornaments thereof; then an Intellectual, consisting in those things which none underneath Man, is either capable of, or acquainted with; lastly, a Spiritual and Divine, consisting in those things whereunto we tend by supernatural means here, but cannot here attain unto them. They that make the first of these three, the scope of their whole life, are said by the Apostle to have no God, but onely their Belly, to be earthly-minded men. Unto the second they bend themselves, who seek especially to excel in all such Knowledge and Vertue as doth most commend Men. To this branch belongeth the Law of Moral and Civil Perfection: That there is somewhat higher then either of these two, no other proof doth need then the very Process of Mans desire, which being natural, should be frustrate, if there were not some farther thing wherein it might rest at the length contented, which in the former it cannot do. For Man doth not seem to rest satisfied, either with fruition of that wherewith his life is preserved, or with performance of such actions as advance him most deservedly in estimation; but doth further covet, yea, oftentimes manifestly pursue with great sedulity and earnestness, that which cannot stand him in any stead for vital use; that which exceedeth the reach of Sense, yea, somewhat above capacity of Reason, somewhat Divine and Heavenly, which with hidden exultation, it rather surmiseth then conceiveth; somewhat it seeketh, and what that is directly, it knoweth not; yet very intentive desire thereof doth so incite it, that all other known delights and pleasures

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Matth. 25. *The just shall go into life everlasting.*
Matth. 22. *They shall be as the Angels of God.*
2 Tim 4. 8.
1 Pet. 1. 4.
Psal. 8.
Comment. in Procem. 2. Meraph.
Phil. 3. 19.

are laid aside, they give place to the search of this but onely suspected desire. If the Soul of Man did serve onely to give him Being in this life, then things appertaining unto this life, would content him, as we see they do other Creatures; which Creatures enjoying what they live by, seek no further, but in this contentation do shew a kinde of acknowledgment, that there is no higher good which doth any way belong unto them. With us it is otherwise: For although the Beauties, Riches, Honors, Sciences, Vertues, and Perfections of all Men living, were in the present possession of one; yet somewhat beyond and above all this, there would still be sought and earnestly thirsted for. So that Nature, even in this life, doth plainly claim and call for a more Divine Perfection, then either of these two that have been mentioned. This last and highest estate of Perfection, whereof we speak, is received of Men in the nature of a [a] Reward. Rewards do always presuppose such duties performed as are rewardable: Our natural means therefore unto Blessedness, are our works; nor is it possible that Nature should ever finde any other way to Salvation, then onely this. But examine the works which we do, and since the first Foundation of the World, what one can say, My ways are pure? Seeing then all flesh is guilty of that for which God hath threatned eternally to punish, what possibility is there this way to be saved? There resteth therefore, either no way unto Salvation, or if any, then surely a way which is Supernatural, a way which could never have entred into the heart of man, as much as once to conceive or imagine, if God himself had not revealed it extraordinarily: For which cause, we term it the Mystery or Secret way of Salvation. And therefore St. *Ambrose* in this matter appealeth justly from Man to God, [b] *Cæli mysterium doceat me Deus qui condidit, non homo qui seipsum ignoravit: Let God himself that made me, let not Man that knows not himself, be my instructer concerning the Mystical Way to Heaven.* [c] *When Men of excellent wit* (saith *Lactantius*) *had wholly betaken themselves unto study, after farewel bidden unto all kinde, as well of private as publick Action, they spared no labor that might be spent in the search of Truth; holding it a thing of much more price, to seek and to finde out the reason of all Affairs, as well Divine as Humane, then to stick fast in the toil of piling up Riches, and gathering together heaps of Honors. Howbeit, they both did fail of their purpose, and got not so much as to quit their charges; becaus Truth, which is the secret of the most High God, whose proper handy-work all things are, cannot be compassed with that wit and those senses which are our own. For God and Man should be very near Neighbors, if Mans cogitations were able to take a survey of the Counsels and Appointments of that Majesty Everlasting. Which being utterly impossible, that the Eye of Man by it self should look into the bosom of Divine Reason: God did not suffer him, being desirous of the Light of Wisdom, to stray any longer up and down; and with bootless expence of travel, to wander in darkness that had no passage to get out by. His eyes at the length God did open, and bestow upon him the knowledge of the Truth by way of Donative, to the end that Man might both be clearly convicted of folly; and being through Error out of the way, have the path that leadeth unto immortality laid plain before him.* Thus far *Lactantius Firmianus*, to shew, that God himself is the Teacher of the Truth, whereby is made known the Supernatural way of Salvation, and Law for them to live in that shall be saved. In the Natural Path of Everlasting Life, the first beginning is that ability of doing good, which God in the day of Mans Creation endued him with; from hence Obedience unto the Will of his Creator, absolute Righteousness and Integrity in all his Actions; and last of all, the Justice of God rewarding the worthiness of his deserts with the Crown of Eternal Glory. Had *Adam* continued in his first estate, this had been the way of life unto him and all his Posterity. Whereas I confess notwithstanding, with the [d] wittiest of the School-Divines, that if we speak of strict Justice, God could no way have been bound to requite Mans labors in so large and ample manner as Humane Felicity doth im-

[a] Matth. 5. 12. *Rejoyce and be glad, for great is your reward in Heaven.*

Aug. de Doct. Christ. cap. 6. Summa merces est ut ipso perfruamur.

the true way to Salvation is supernaturall.

[b] *Ambros.* contra Sym.

[c] Magno & excellenti ingenio viri, cum se doctrinæ penitus didissent quicquid laboris poterat impendi (contemptis omnibus & privatis & publicis actionibus) ad inquirendæ veritatis studium contulerunt, existimantes multò esse præclariùs humanarum divinarúmque rerum investigare ac scire rationem, quàm struendis opibus aut cumulandis honoribus inhærere. Sed neque adepti sunt id quod volebant, & operam simul atque industriam perdiderunt: Quia veritas id est, arcanum summi Dei qui fecit omnia, in-

genio ac propriis sensibus non potest comprehendi. Alioqui nihil inter Deum hominémque distaret, si consilia illius Majestatis æternæ cogitatio assequeretur humana. Quod quia fieri non potuit ut homini per seipsum ratio divina notesceret, non est passus hominem Deus lumen sapientiæ requirentem diutiùs aberrare, ac sine ullo laboris effectu vagari per tenebras inextricabiles. Aperuit oculos ejus aliquando, & notionem veritatis munus suum fecit, ut & humanam sapientiam nullam esse monstraret, & erranti ac vago viam consequendæ immortalitatis ostenderet, *Lactant* lib. 1. cap. 1.

[d] *Scot.* lib. 4. Sent. dist. 49. 6. Loquendo de strictâ justitiâ, Deus nulli nostrum propter quæcunque merita est debitor perfectionis reddendæ tam intensæ, propter immoderatum excessum illius perfectionis ultra illa merita. Sed esto quod ex liberalitate suâ determinâsset meritis conferre actum tam perfectum tanquam præmium tali quidem justitiâ qualis decet eum, scilicet supererogantis in præmiis: Tamen non sequitur ex hoc necessariò, quòd per illam justitiam sit reddenda perfectio perennis tanquam præmium, imò abundans sicret retributio in beatitudine unius momenti.

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port; in as much as the dignity of this exceedeth so far the others value. But be it, that God of his great Liberality had determined in lieu of Mans endeavors to bestow the same, by the rule of that Justice which best beseemeth him, namely, the Justice of one that requireth nothing mincingly, but all with pressed, and heaped, and even over-enlarged measure; yet could it never hereupon necessarily be gathered, that such Justice should add to the nature of that Reward, the property of everlasting continuance; sith Possession of Bliss, though it should be but for a moment, were an abundant retribution. But we are not now to enter into this consideration, how gracious and bountiful our good God might still appear in so rewarding the Sons of Men, albeit they should exactly perform whatsoever duty their Nature bindeth them unto. Howsoever God did propose this Reward, we that were to be rewarded, must have done that which is required at our hands; we failing in the one, it were in Nature an impossibility that the other should be looked for. The Light of Nature is never able to finde out any way of obtaining the Reward of Bliss, but by performing exactly the Duties and Works of Righteousness. From Salvation therefore and Life, all flesh being excluded this way, behold how the Wisdom of God hath revealed a way Mystical and Supernatural, a way directing unto the same end of life, by a course which groundeth it self upon the guiltiness of sin, and through sin, desert of condemnation and death. For in this way, the first thing is the tender compassion of God, respecting us drowned and swallowed up in misery: The next is Redemption out of the same, by the precious Death and Merit of a Mighty Saviour, which hath witnessed of himself, saying, *I am the Way*, the way that leadeth us from misery into bliss. This Supernatural Way had God in himself prepared before all Worlds. The way of Supernatural Duty which to us he hath prescribed, our Saviour in the Gospel of St. *John* doth note, terming it by an excellency, The Work of God: *This is the work of God, that ye believe in him whom he hath sent.* Not that God doth require nothing unto happiness at the hands of men, saving onely a naked belief (for Hope and Charity we may not exclude;) but that without belief, all other things are as nothing, and it the ground of those other Divine Vertues. Concerning Faith, the principal object whereof is, that Eternal Verity which hath discovered the Treasures of hidden Wisdom in Christ. Concerning Hope, the highest object whereof, is that Everlasting Goodness which in Christ doth quicken the dead. Concerning Charity, the final object whereof is, that incomprehensible Beauty which shineth in the countenance of Christ the Son of the Living God. Concerning these Vertues, the first of which beginning here with a weak apprehension of things not seen, endeth with the intuitive Vision of God in the World to come; the second beginning here with a trembling expectation of things far removed, and as yet but onely heard of, endeth with Real and Actual Fruition of that which no Tongue can express; the third beginning here with a weak inclination of heart towards him, unto whom we are not able to approach, endeth with endless Union; the mystery whereof is higher then the reach of the thoughts of Men. Concerning that Faith, Hope, and Charity, without which there can be no Salvation; was there ever any mention made saving onely in that Law which God himself hath from Heaven revealed? There is not in the World a syllable muttered with certain truth concerning any of these three, more then hath been supernaturally received from the Mouth of the Eternal God. Laws therefore concerning these things are Supernatural, both in respect of the manner of delivering them, which is Divine; and also in regard of the things delivered, which are such as have not in Nature any cause from which they flow, but were by the voluntary appointment of God ordained, besides the course of Nature, to rectifie Natures obliquity withal.

John 14. 6.

John 6. 29.

The cause why so many Natural or Rational Laws are set down in holy Scripture.

12. When Supernatural Duties are necessarily exacted, Natural are not rejected as needless. The Law of God therefore is, though principally delivered for instruction in the one, yet fraught with Precepts of the other also: The Scripture is fraught even with Laws of Nature, insomuch that * *Gratian* defining Natural Right (whereby is meant the right, which exacteth those general duties that concern men naturally, even as they are men) termeth Natural Right, that which the Books of the Law and the Gospel do contain. Neither is it vain, that the Scripture aboundeth with so great store of Laws in this kinde: For they are either such as we of our selves could not easily have found out, and then the benefit is not small, to have them readily set down to our hands; or

* Jus naturale est quod in lege & Evangelio continetur, pag. 1. d. 1.

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if they be so clear and manifest, that no man endued with Reason can lightly be ignorant of them, yet the Spirit, as it were, borrowing them from the School of Nature, as serving to prove things less manifest, and to enduce a perswasion of somewhat which were in it self more hard and dark, unless it should in such sort be cleared, the very applying of them unto cases particular, is not without most singular use and profit many ways for mens instruction. Besides, be they plain of themselves or obscure, the evidence of Gods own testimony added unto the natural assent of Reason, concerning the certainty of them, doth not a little comfort and confirm the same. Wherefore, in as much as our actions are conversant about things beset with many circumstances, which cause men of sundry wits, to be also of sundry judgments concerning that which ought to be done: Requisit it cannot but seem the Rule of Divine Law should herein help our imbecillity, that we might the more infallibly understand what is good, and what evil. The first principles of the Law of Nature are easie; hard it were to finde men ignorant of them: But concerning the duty which Natures Law doth require at the hands of Men in a number of things particular, so * far hath the Natural Understanding even of sundry whole Nations been darkned, that they have not discerned, no, not gross iniquity to be sin. Again, being so prone as we are to fawn upon our selves, and to be ignorant as much as may be of our own deformities, without the feeling Sense whereof we are most wretched; even so much the more, because not knowing them, we cannot as much as desire to have them taken away: How should our festered sores be cured, but that God hath delivered a Law as sharp as the two-edged sword, piercing the very closest and most unsearchable corners of the heart, which the Law of Nature can hardly, Humane Laws by no means possibly reach unto? Hereby we know even secret concupiscence to be sin, and are made fearful to offend, though it be but in a wandring cogitation. Finally, of those things which are for direction of all the parts of our life needful, and not impossible to be discerned by the Light of Nature it self; are there not many which few mens natural capacity, and some which no mans hath been able to finde out? They are, saith St. *Augustine*, but a few, and they endued with great ripeness of wit and judgment, free from all such affairs as might trouble their Meditations, instructed in the sharpest and the subtilest points of Learning, who have, and that very hardly, been able to finde out but onely the Immortality of the Soul. The Resurrection of the Flesh, what Man did ever at any time dream of, having not heard it otherwise, then from the School of Nature? Whereby it appeareth, how much we are bound to yield unto our Creator, the Father of all Mercy, Eternal Thanks, for that he hath delivered his Law unto the World? a Law wherein so many things are laid open, clear, and manifest; as a Light, which otherwise would have been buried in darkness, not without the hazard; or rather not with the hazard, but with the certain loss of infinite thousands of Souls, most undoubtedly now saved. We see therefore that our soveraign good is desired naturally, that God the Author of that natural desire, had appointed natural means whereby to fulfil it; that Man having utterly disabled his Nature unto those means, hath had other revealed from God, and hath received from Heaven a Law to teach him, how that which is desired naturally, must now supernaturally be attained. Finally, we see, that because those latter exclude not the former quite and clean as unnecessary, therefore together with such Supernatural duties as could not possibly have been otherwise known to the World, the same Law that teacheth them, teacheth also with them such Natural duties, as could not by Light of Nature easily have been known.

* *Joseph.* lib. secundo contra Appio. Lacedæmonii quomodo non sunt ob inhospitalitatem reprehendendi, sœdumque neglectum nuptiarum? Elienses verò & Thebani ob coitum cum masculis planè impudentem & contra naturam; quem rectè & utiliter exercere putabant? Cúmque hæc omnino perpetrarent, etiam suis legibus miscuere. Vide *Th.* 12. q. 49. 4,5,6. Lex naturæ sic corrupta fuit apud Germanos, ut latrocinium non reputarent peccatum. *August.* Aut quisquis author est, lib. de quæst. nov. & vet. test. Quis nesciat quid bonæ vitæ conveniat, aut ignoret quia quod sibi fieri non vult, aliis minimè debeat facere?

At verò ubi naturalis lex evanuit oppressa consuetudine delinquendi, tunc oportuit manifestari scriptis, ut Dei judicium omnes audirent: Non quòd penitus obliterata est, sed quia maximâ ejus autho itate carebat, idololatriæ studebatur, timor Dei in terris non erat, fornicatio operabatur, circa rem proximi avida erat concupiscentia. Data ergo lex est, ut quæ sciebantur authoritatem haberent, & quæ latere cœperant, manifestarentur.

13. In the first Age of the World, God gave Laws unto our Fathers, and by reason of the number of their days, their memories served in stead of Books; whereof the manifold imperfections and defects being known to God, he mercifully relieved the same, by often putting them in minde of that whereof it behoved them to be specially mindful. In which respect, we see how many times one thing hath been iterated unto sundry, even of the best and wisest amongst them. After that the lives of Men were shortned, means more durable to preserve the Laws of God from oblivion and corruption

The benefit of having Divine Laws written.

corruption grew in use, not without precise direction from God himself. First therefore of *Moses* it is said, that he *wrote all the words of God*; not by his own private motion and device: For God taketh this act to himself, *I have written.* Furthermore, were not the Prophets following, commanded also to do the like? Unto the holy Evangelist St. *John*, how often express charge is given, *Scribe, write these things?* Concerning the rest of our Lords Disciples, the words of St. *Augustine* are, *Quidquid ille de suis factis & dictis nos legere voluit, hoc scribendum illis tanquam suis manibus imperavit.* Now although we do not deny it to be a matter meerly accidental unto the Law of God to be written; although writing be not that which addeth authority and strength thereunto: Finally, though his Laws do require at our hands the same obedience, howsoever they be delivered; his providence notwithstanding, which hath made principal choice of this way to deliver them, who seeth not what cause we have to admire and magnifie? The singular benefit that hath grown unto the World by receiving the Laws of God, even by his own appointment committed unto writing, we are not able to esteem as the value thereof deserveth. When the question therefore is, whether we be now to seek for any revealed Law of God, otherwhere then onely in the Sacred Scripture; whether we do now stand bound in the sight of God to yield to Traditions urged by the Church of *Rome*, the same obedience and reverence we do to his Written Law, honoring equally, and adoring both as Divine? Our answer is, No. They that so earnestly plead for the Authority of Tradition, as if nothing were more safely conveyed, then that which spreadeth it self by report, and descendeth by relation of former Generations, unto the Ages that succeed, are not all of them (surely a miracle it were, if they should be) so simple, as thus to perswade themselves; howsoever, if the simple were so perswaded, they could be content perhaps very well to enjoy the benefit, as they account it, of that common Error. What hazard the Truth is in, when it passeth through the hands of report, how maimed and deformed it becometh; they are not, they cannot possibly be ignorant. Let them that are indeed of this minde, consider but onely that little of things Divine, which the * Heathen have in such sort received. How miserable had the State of the Church of God been long ere this, if wanting the Sacred Scripture, we had no Record of his Laws, but onely the memory of man, receiving the same by report and relation from his Predecessors? By Scripture, it hath in the Wisdom of God, seemed meet to deliver unto the World much, but personally expedient to be practised of certain men; many deep and profound points of Doctrine, as being the main original ground whereupon the Precepts of duty depend; many Prophecies, the clear performance whereof might confirm the World in belief of things unseen; many Histories to serve as Looking-glasses to behold the Mercy, the Truth, the Righteousness of God towards all that faithfully serve, obey and honor him; yea, many intire Meditations of Piety, to be as Patterns and Precedents in cases of like Nature; many things needful for Explication, many for Application unto particular occasions, such as the Providence of God from time to time hath taken, to have the several Books of his holy Ordinance written. Be it then, that together with the principal necessary Laws of God, there are sundry other things written, whereof we might haply be ignorant, and yet be saved: What? shall we hereupon think them needless? shall we esteem them as riotous Branches, wherewith we sometimes behold most pleasant Vines overgrown? Surely, no more then we judge our hands or our eyes superfluous, or what part soever; which if our Bodies did want, we might notwithstanding any such defect, retain still the compleat Being of Men. As therefore a compleat Man is neither destitute of any part necessary, and hath some parts, whereof, though the want could not deprive him of his essence, yet to have them, standeth him in singular stead in respect of the special uses for which they serve: In like sort, all those writings which contain in them the Law of God, all those venerable Books of Scripture, all those Sacred Tomes and Volumes of holy Writ; they are with such absolute perfection framed, that in them there neither wanteth any thing, the lack whereof might deprive us of life; nor any thing in such wise aboundeth, that as being superfluous, unfruitful, and altogether needless, we should think it no loss or danger at all, if we did want it.

Exod. 24. 4. Hos. 8. 12.

Apoc. 1. 11. & 14. 13.

August. lib. 1. de Cons. Evang. cap. ult.

Scripture's fullness

* I mean those Historical Matters concerning the ancient state of the first World, the Deluge, the Sons of *Noah*, the Children of *Israels* deliverance out of *Egypt*, the life and doings of *Moses* their Captain, with such like: The certain truth whereof delivered in holy Scripture, is of the Heathen which had them onely by report, so inermingled with fabulous vanities, that the most which remaineth in them to be seen, is the shew of dark and obscure steps, where some part of the Truth hath gone.

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14. Although the Scripture of God therefore be stored with infinite variety of matter in all kindes, although it abound with all sorts of Laws, yet the principal intent of Scripture is to deliver the Laws of Duties Supernatural. Oftentimes it hath been in very solemn manner disputed, whether all things necessary unto salvation, be necessarily set down in the holy Scriptures, or no. If we define that necessary unto salvation, whereby the way to salvation is in any sort made more plain, apparent and easie to be known; then is there no part of true Philosophy, no Art of account, no kinde of Science, rightly so called, but the Scripture must contain it. If onely those things be necessary, as surely none else are, without the knowledge and practise whereof, it is not the will and pleasure of God to make any ordinary grant of salvation; it may be notwithstanding, and oftentimes hath been demanded, how the Books of holy Scripture contain in them all necessary things, when of things necessary the very chief is to know what Books we are bound to esteem holy; which point is confest impossible for the Scripture it self to teach. Whereunto we may answer with truth, that there is not in the World any Art or Science, which proposing unto it self an end (as every one doth some end or other) hath been therefore thought defective, if it have not delivered simply whatsoever is needful to the same end; but all kindes of knowledge have their certain bounds and limits; each of them presupposeth many necessary things learned in other Sciences, and known beforehand. He that should take upon him to teach men how to be eloquent in pleading causes, must needs deliver unto them whatsoever Precepts are requisite unto that end; otherwise he doth not the thing which he taketh upon him. Seeing then no man can plead eloquently, unless he be able first to speak; it followeth, that ability of speech is in this case a thing most necessary. Notwithstanding every man would think it ridiculous, that he which undertaketh by writing to instruct an Orator, should therefore deliver all the Precepts of Grammar; because his Profession is to deliver Precepts necessary unto eloquent speech; yet so, that they which are to receive them be taught beforehand, so much of that which is thereunto necessary, as comprehendeth the skill of speaking. In like sort, albeit Scripture do profess to contain in it all things which are necessary unto salvation; yet the meaning cannot be simply of all things which are necessary, but all things that are necessary in some certain kinde or form; as all things that are necessary, and either could not at all, or could not easily be known by the light of Natural discourse; all things which are necessary to be known, that we may be saved; but known with presupposal of knowledge, concerning certain Principles, whereof it receiveth us already perswaded, and then instructeth us in all the residue that are necessary: In the number of these Principles, one is the Sacred Authority of Scripture. Being therefore perswaded by other means, that these Scriptures are the Oracles of God, themselves do then teach us the rest, and lay before us all the duties which God requireth at our hands, as necessary unto salvation. Further, there hath been some doubt likewise; whether *containing in Scripture*, do import express setting down in plain terms, or else *comprehending* in such sort, that by reason we may from thence conclude all things which are necessary. Against the former of these two constructions, instance hath sundry ways been given. For our belief in the Trinity, the Co-eternity of the Son of God with his Father, the proceeding of the Spirit from the Father and the Son, the duty of Baptizing Infants: These, with such other principal points, the necessity whereof is by none denied, are notwithstanding in Scripture no where to be found by express literal mention, onely deduced they are out of Scripture by collection. This kinde of comprehension in Scripture, being therefore received, still there is no doubt, how far we are to proceed by collection, before the full and compleat measure of things necessary be made up. For let us not think, that as long as the World doth endure, the wit of man shall be able to sound the bottom of that which may be concluded out of the Scripture; especially, if things contained by collection do so far extend, as to draw in whatsoever may be at any time out of Scripture, but probably and conjecturally surmized. But let necessary collection be made requisite, and we may boldly deny, that of all those things which at this day are with so great necessity urged upon this Church, under the name of Reformed Church Discipline, there is any one which their Books hitherto have made manifest to be contained in the Scripture. Let them, if they can, alledge but one properly belonging to their cause, and not common to them and us, and shew the deduction thereof out of Scripture to be

The sufficiency of Scripture unto the end, for which it was instituted

Utrùm cognitio supernaturalis necessaria viatori, sit sufficienter tradita in sacrâ Scripturâ? This question proposed by *Scotus*, is affirmatively concluded.

neceſſary. It hath been already ſhewed, how all things neceſſary unto ſalvation, in ſuch ſort as before we have maintained, muſt needs be poſſible for men to know; and that many things are in ſuch ſort neceſſary, the knowledge whereof is by the light of Nature impoſſible to be attained. Whereupon it followeth, that either all fleſh is excluded from poſſibility of ſalvation, which to think were moſt barbarous; or elſe, that God hath by ſupernatural means revealed the way of life ſo far forth as doth ſuffice. For this cauſe, God hath ſo many times and ways ſpoken to the ſons of men: Neither hath he by ſpeech onely, but by writing alſo inſtructed and taught his Church. The cauſe of writing hath been, to the end that things by him revealed unto the World, might have the longer continuance, and the greater certainty of aſſurance; by how much that which ſtandeth on Record, hath in both thoſe reſpects preheminence above that which paſſeth from hand to hand, and hath no Pens, but the Tongues; no Book, but the ears of Men to record it. The ſeveral Books of Scripture having had each ſome ſeveral occaſion and particular purpoſe, which cauſed them to be written; the Contents thereof, are according to the exigence of that ſpecial end whereunto they are intended. Hereupon it groweth, that every Book of holy Scripture doth take out of all kindes of truth, [a] Natural, [b] Hiſtorical, [c] Foreign, [d] Supernatural, ſo much as the matter handled requireth. Now for as much as there have been Reaſons alledged ſufficient to conclude, that all things neceſſary unto ſalvation muſt be made known, and that God himſelf hath therefore revealed his Will, becauſe otherwiſe men could not have known ſo much as is neceſſary; his ſurceaſing to ſpeak to the World, ſince the publiſhing of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, and the delivery of the ſame in writing, is unto us a manifeſt token that the way of ſalvation is now ſufficiently opened, and that we need no other means for our full inſtruction, then God hath already furniſhed us withal. The main drift of the whole New Teſtament, is that which St. *John* ſetteth down as the purpoſe of his own Hiſtory, *Theſe things are written, that ye might believe, that Jeſus is Chriſt the Son of God, and that in believing, ye might have life through his Name.* The drift of the Old, that which the Apoſtle mentioneth to *Timothy*, *The holy Scriptures are able to make thee wiſe unto ſalvation.* So that the general end, both of Old and New, is one; the difference between them conſiſting in this, That the Old did make wiſe by teaching ſalvation through Chriſt that ſhould come; the New, by teaching that Chriſt the Saviour is come; and that Jeſus whom the Jews did crucifie, and whom God did raiſe again from the dead, is he. When the Apoſtle therefore affirmeth unto *Timothy*, that the Old was able to make him wiſe to ſalvation, it was not his meaning, that the Old alone can do this unto us, which live ſithence the publication of the New. For he ſpeaketh with preſuppoſal of the Doctrine of Chriſt, known alſo unto *Timothy*; and therefore firſt it is ſaid, *Continue thou in thoſe things which thou haſt learned, and art perſwaded, knowing of whom thou haſt been taught them.* Again, thoſe Scriptures he granteth, were able to make him wiſe to ſalvation; but he addeth, *through the Faith which is in Chriſt.* Wherefore without the Doctrine of the New Teſtament, teaching that Chriſt hath wrought the Redemption of the World; which Redemption the Old did foreſhew he ſhould work; it is not the former alone, which can on our behalf, perform ſo much as the Apoſtle doth avouch, who preſuppoſeth this, when he magnifieth that ſo highly. And as his words concerning the Books of ancient Scripture, do not take place, but with preſuppoſal of the Goſpel of Chriſt embraced; ſo our own words alſo, when we extol the compleat ſufficiency of the whole intire Body of the Scripture, muſt in like ſort be underſtood with this caution, That the benefit of Natures Light be not thought excluded as unneceſſary, becauſe the neceſſity of a Diviner Light is magnified. There is in Scripture therefore no defect, but that any man, what place or calling ſoever he hold in the Church of God, may have thereby the light of his Natural Underſtanding ſo perfected, that the one being relieved by the other, there can want no part of needful inſtruction unto any good work which God himſelf requireth, be it Natural, or Supernatural, belonging ſimply unto men, as men; or unto men, as they are united in whatſoever kinde of Society. It ſufficeth therefore, that Nature and Scripture do ſerve in ſuch full ſort, that they both joyntly, and not ſeverally either of them, be ſo compleat, that unto Everlaſting felicity, we need not the knowledge of any thing more then theſe two may eaſily furniſh our mindes with on all ſides: And therefore they which adde Traditions, as a part of Supernatural neceſſary Truth, have not the Truth, but

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a Epheſ. 5. 29.
b 2 Tim. 3. 8.
c Tit. 1. 12.
d 2 Pet. 2. 4.

John 23. 31.

2 Tim. 3. 15.

2 Tim. 3. 14.

Verſ. 15.

are in Error: For they onely plead, that whatsoever God revealeth as necessary for all Christian men to do or believe, the same we ought to embrace, whether we have received it by writing or otherwise, which no man denieth; when that which they should confirm, who claim so great reverence unto Traditions, is, that the same Traditions are necessarily to be acknowledged divine and holy. For we do not reject them onely, because they are not in the Scripture, but because they are neither in Scripture, nor can otherwise sufficiently by any Reason be proved to be of God. That which is of God, and may be evidently proved to be so, we deny not but it hath in his kinde, although unwritten, yet the self same force and authority with the written Laws of God. It is by ours acknowledged, *That the Apostles did in every Church institute and ordain some Rites and Customs, serving for the seemlinesse of Church Regiment; which Rites and Customs they have not committed unto writing.* Those Rites and Customs being known to be Apostolical, and having the nature of things changeable, were no less to be accounted of in the Church, then other things of the like degree; that is to say, capable in like sort of alteration, although set down in the Apostles writings. For both being known to be Apostolical, it is not the manner of delivering them unto the Church, but the Author from whom they proceed, which doth give them their force and credit.

Whitakerus adversus Bellarmin. quæst. 6. cap. 6.

15. Laws being imposed either by each man upon himself, or by a Publick Society, upon the particulars thereof; or by all the Nations of Men, upon every several Society; or by the Lord himself, upon any or every of these: There is not amongst these four kindes any one, but containeth sundry both Natural and Positive Laws. Impossible it is, but that they should fall into a number of gross Errors, who onely take such Laws for Positive, as have been made or invented of men; and holding this Position, hold also, that all Positive, and none but Positive Laws are mutable. Laws Natural do always binde; Laws Positive not so, but onely after they have been expressly and wittingly imposed. Laws Positive there are in every of those kindes beforementioned. As in the first kinde, the Promises which we have past unto Men, and the Vows we have made unto God; for these are Laws which we tie our selves unto, and till we have so tied our selves, they binde us not. Laws Positive in the second kinde, are such as the Civil Constitutions peculiar unto each particular Commonweal. In the third kinde, the Law of Heraldry in War, is Positive: And in the last, all the Judicials which God gave unto the people of *Israel* to observe. And although no Laws but Positive, be mutable; yet all are not mutable, which be Positive. Positive Laws are either permanent, or else changeable, according as the matter it self is, concerning which they were first made. Whether God or Man be the Maker of them, alteration they so far forth admit, as the Matter doth exact. Laws that concern Supernatural duties, are all Positive; and either concern Men supernaturally, as Men, or else as parts of a Supernatural Society; which Society we call the Church. To concern Men as Men supernaturally, is to concern them as duties, which belong of necessity to all, and yet could not have been known by any to belong unto them, unless God had opened them himself; in as much as they do not depend upon any Natural ground at all, out of which they may be deduced, but are appointed of God to supply the defect of those natural ways of salvation, by which we are not now able to attain thereunto. The Church being a Supernatural Society, doth differ from Natural Societies in this, that the persons unto whom we associate our selves, in the one, are Men, simply considered as Men: But they to whom we be joyned in the other, are God, Angels, and holy Men. Again, the Church being both a Society, and a Society Supernatural: Although as it is a Society, it have the self same original grounds which other Politick Societies have, namely, the Natural inclination which all men have unto sociable life, and consent to some certain Bond of Association; which Bond is the Law that appointeth what kinde of order they shall be associated in: Yet unto the Church, as it is a Society Supernatural, this is peculiar; that part of the Bond of their Association which belongs to the Church of God, must be a Law Supernatural, which God himself hath revealed, concerning that kinde of worship which his people shall do unto him. The substance of the service of God therefore, so far forth as it hath in it any thing more then the Law of Reason doth teach, may not be invented of Men, as it is amongst the Heathens; but must be received from God himself, as always it hath been in the Church, saving onely when the Church hath been forgetful of her duty. Wherefore to end with a general

Of Laws Positive contained in Scripture; the mutability of certain of them, and the general use of Scripture.

Rule concerning all the Laws which God hath tied men unto: Those Laws Divine that belong, whether naturally or supernaturally, either to men as men, or to men as they live in Politick Society, or to men as they are of that Politick Society which is the Church, without any further respect had unto any such variable accident; as the Estate of men, and of Societies of men, and of the Church it self in this World is subject unto; all Laws that so belong unto men, they belong for ever, yea, although they be Positive Laws, unless being Positive, God himself which made them, alter them. The reason is, because the subject or matter of Laws in general, is thus far forth constant: Which matter is that for the ordering whereof Laws were instituted, and being instituted, are not changeable without cause: Neither can they have cause of change, when that which gave them their first institution, remaineth for ever one and the same. On the other side, Laws that were made for Men, or Societies, or Churches, in regard of their being such, as they do not always continue, but may perhaps be clean otherwise awhile after, and so may require to be otherwise ordered then before; the Laws of God himself, which are of this nature, no man endued with common sense, will ever deny to be of a different constitution from the former, in respect of the ones constancy, and the mutability of the other. And this doth seem to have been the very cause why St. *John* doth so peculiarly term the doctrine that teacheth salvation by Jesus Christ, *Evangelium Æternum, An eternal Gospel*; because there can be no reason wherefore the publishing thereof should be taken away, and any other instead of it proclaimed, as long as the World doth continue: Whereas the whole Law of Rites and Ceremonies, although delivered with so great solemnity, is notwithstanding clean abrogated, in as much as it had but temporary cause of Gods ordaining it. But that we may at the length conclude this first general introduction unto the Nature and Original Birth, as of all other Laws, so likewise of those which the Sacred Scripture containeth; concerning the Author whereof, even Infidels have confessed, that he can neither err nor deceive: Albeit, about things easie and manifest unto all men by common sense, there needeth no higher consultation; because as a man whose wisdom is in weighty affairs admired, would take it in some disdain to have his counsel solemnly asked about a toy; so the meanness of some things is such, that to search the Scripture of God for the ordering of them, were to derogate from the reverend Authority and Dignity of the Scripture, no less then they do by whom Scriptures are in ordinary talk very idly applied unto vain and childish trifles; yet better it were to be superstitious, then prophane: To take from thence our direction, even in all things great or small, then to wade through matters of principal weight and moment, without ever caring what the Law of God hath, either for or against our designs. Concerning the custom of the very Paynims, thus much *Strabo* witnesseth, [a] *Men that are civil, do lead their lives after one Common Law, appointing them what to do. For that otherwise a multitude should with harmony amongst themselves, concur in the doing of one thing, (for this is civilly to live) or that they should in any sort manage community of life, it is not possible. Now Laws or Statutes are of two sorts: For they are either received from Gods, or else from Men. And our ancient Predecessors did surely most honor and reverence that which was from the Gods: For which cause, Consultation with Oracles, was a thing very usual and frequent in their times.* Did they make so much account of the voice of their gods, which in truth were no gods; and shall we neglect the precious benefit of conference with those Oracles of the true and living God, whereof so great store is left to the Church, and whereunto there is so free, so plain, and so easie access for all men? [b] *By thy Commandments* (this was *Davids* confession unto God) *thou hast made me wiser then mine enemies:* Again, *I have had more understanding then all my Teachers, because thy Testimonies are my Meditations.* What pains would not they have bestowed in the study of these Books, who travelled Sea and Land to gain the treasure of some few days talk with men, whose wisdom the World did make any reckoning of? [c] That little which some of the Heathens did chance to hear, concerning such matter as the Sacred Scripture plentifully containeth, they did in wonderful sort affect; their speeches, as oft as they make mention thereof, are strange, and such as themselves could not utter as they did other things: But still acknowledged that their wits, which did every where else conquer hardness, were with profoundness here over-matched. Wherefore seeing that God hath endued us with Sense, to the end that we might perceive such things as this present life doth need; and with reason, lest that

Isai. 29. 13. *Their fear towards me, was taught by the precept of men.*

Apoc. 14. 6. Κομιδῆ ἄρα ὁ Θεὸς ἁπλοῦν καὶ ἀληθὲς ἐν τε ἔργῳ, καὶ ἐν λόγῳ, καὶ οὔτε αὐτὸς μεθίσταται, οὔτε ἄλλους ἐξαπατᾷ, οὔτε κατὰ φαντασίας, οὔτε κατὰ λόγους οὔτε κατὰ σημείων πομπὰς, οὐδ' ὕπαρ οὐδ' ὄναρ. *Plato* in fine 2. Polit.

a Πολιτικοὶ ὄντες ἀπὸ προστάγματος κοινοῦ ζῶσιν. Ἄλλως γὰρ οὐχ οἷόν τε τοὺς πολλοὺς ἔν τι κατὰ ταὐτὸ ποιεῖν ἡρμοσμένως ἀλλήλοις, ὅπερ ἦν τὸ πολιτεύεσθαι· καὶ ἄλλως πῶς νέμειν βίον κοινόν. Τὸ δὲ πρόστασμα δίττον. ἢ γὰρ παρὰ θεῶν, ἢ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων. Καὶ οἱ γε ἀρχαῖοι τὸ παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἐπιρέσβευον μᾶλλον, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ χρηστηριαζόμενος ἦν τότε πολύς. *Stra.* Geogr. lib. 16.

b Psal. 119. 98.

c Vide Orphei Carmina.

that which Sense cannot reach unto, being both now, and also in regard of a future estate hereafter necessary to be known, should lie obscure: Finally, with the Heavenly support of Prophetical Revelation, which doth open those hidden Mysteries that Reason could never have been able to finde out, or to have known the necessity of them unto our everlasting good: Use we the precious gifts of God, unto his glory and honor that gave them, seeking by all means to know what the Will of our God is, what righteous before him, in his sight what holy, perfect, and good, that we may truly and faithfully do it.

Ὁρᾷς ὅτι τὰς ἱερὰς βίβλους, ἐφ' ἑκάστου τοῦ ἔτους, ἢ σπανίως ἀναγινώσκουσιν. *Philo de Mos.*

16. Thus far therefore we have endeavored in part to open, of what nature and force Laws are, according unto their several kindes; The Law which God with himself hath eternally set down to follow in his own works: The Law which he hath made for his Creatures to keep: The Law of natural and necessary Agents: The Law which Angels in Heaven obey: The Law whereunto by the Light of Reason, Men finde themselves bound, in that they are Men: The Law which they make by composition for Multitudes and Politick Societies of Men to be guided by: The Law which belongeth unto each Nation: The Law that concerneth the Fellowship of all: And lastly, The Law which God himself hath supernaturally revealed. It might peradventure have been more popular and more plausible to vulgar ears, if this first discourse had been spent in extolling the force of Laws, in shewing the great necessity of them when they are good, and in aggravating their offence, by whom Publick Laws are injuriously traduced. But for as much as with such kinde of matter the Passions of Men are rather stirred one way or other, then their knowledge any way set forward unto the tryal of that whereof there is doubt made: I have therefore turned aside from that beaten path, and chosen, though a less easie, yet a more profitable way, in regard of the end we propose. Lest therefore any man should marvel whereunto all these things tend the drift and purpose of all, is this, even to shew in what manner, as every good and perfect gift, so this very gift of good and perfect Laws is derived from the Father of Lights, to teach men a reason why just and reasonable Laws are of so great force, of so great use in the World; and to inform their mindes with some method of reducing the Laws, whereof there is present controversie unto their first original causes, that so it may be in every particular Ordinance thereby the better discerned, whether the same be reasonable, just, and righteous, or no. Is there any thing which can either be thorowly understood, or soundly judged of, till the very first causes and principles from which originally it springeth, be made manifest? If all parts of knowledge have been thought by wise men to be then most orderly delivered and proceeded in, when they are drawn to their first original; seeing that our whole question concerneth the quality of Ecclesiastical Laws, let it not seem a labor superfluous, that in the entrance thereunto, all these several kindes of Laws have been considered; in as much as they all concur as principles, they all have their forcible operations therein, although not all in like apparent and manifest manner: By means whereof it cometh to pass, that the force which they have, is not observed of many. Easier a great deal it is for Men by Law, to be taught what they ought to do, then instructed how to judge as they should do of Law; the one being a thing which belongeth generally unto all; the other, such as none but the wiser and more judicious sort can perform. Yea, the wisest are always touching this point, the readiest to acknowledge, that soundly to judge of a Law, is the weightiest thing which any man can take upon him. But if we will give judgment of the Laws under which we live; first, let that Law Eternal be always before our eyes, as being of principal force and moment to breed in religious mindes a dutiful estimation of all Laws, the use and benefit whereof we see; because there can be no doubt, but that Laws apparently good, are (as it were) things copied out of the very Tables of that High Everlasting Law, even as the Book of that Law hath said concerning it self, *By me Kings reign, and by me Princes decree Justice.* Not as if Men did behold that Book, and accordingly frame their Laws; but because it worketh in them, because it discovereth, and (as it were) readeth it self to the World by them, when the Laws which they make are righteous. Furthermore, although we perceive not the goodness of Laws made; nevertheless, sith things in themselves may have that which we peradventure discern not: Should not this breed a fear into our hearts, how we speak or judge in the worse part concerning that, the unadvised disgrace whereof may be no mean dishonor to him,

A Conclusion, shewing how all this belongeth to the cause in question.

Jam. 1. 17.

Arist. Phys. l. 1. cap. 1.

Arist. Ethic. 10. Τὰ κρίνειν ἐρῶντες, ὀρθῶς. Intelligit de legum qualitate judicium.

Prov. 8. 15.

towards

towards whom we profeſs all ſubmiſſion and aw? Surely there muſt be very manifeſt iniquity in Laws, againſt which we ſhall be able to juſtifie our contumelious Invectives. The chiefeſt root whereof, when we uſe them without cauſe, is ignorance, how Laws inferior are derived from that ſupream or higheſt Law. The firſt that receive impreſſion from thence, are Natural agents. The Law of whoſe operations might be haply thought leſs pertinent, when the queſtion is about Laws for Humane actions, but that in thoſe very actions which moſt ſpiritually and ſupernaturally concern men, the Rules and Axioms of Natural operations have their force. What can be more immediate to our Salvation, then our perſwaſion concerning the Law of Chriſt towards his Church? What greater aſſurance of love towards his Church, then the knowledge of that Myſtical Union, whereby the Church is become as near unto Chriſt, as any one part of his fleſh is unto other? That the Church being in ſuch ſort his, he muſt needs protect it; what proof more ſtrong, then if a manifeſt Law ſo require, which Law it is not poſſible for Chriſt to violate? And what other Law doth the Apoſtle for this alledge, but ſuch as
Epheſ. 5. 2. is both common unto Chriſt with us, and unto us with other things Natural. *No man hateth his own fleſh, but doth love and cheriſh it?* The Axioms of that Law therefore, whereby Natural agents are guided, have their uſe in the Moral, yea, even in the Spiritual actions of men, and conſequently in all Laws belonging unto men howſoever. Neither are the Angels themſelves ſo far ſevered from us in their kinde and manner of working, but that between the Law of their Heavenly operations, and the Actions of men in this our ſtate of mortality, ſuch correſpondence there is, as maketh it expedient to know in ſome ſort the one, for the others more perfect direction. Would Angels
Apoc. 19. 10. acknowledge themſelves Fellow-ſervants with the Sons of Men, but that both having One Lord, there muſt be ſome kinde of Law which is one and the ſame to both, whereunto their obedience being perfecter, is to our weaker, both a Pattern and a Spur? Or
1 Pet. 1. 12. would the Apoſtles, ſpeaking of that which belongeth unto Saints, as they are linked
Epheſ. 3. 10. together in the Bond of Spiritual Society, ſo often make mention how Angels are there-
1 Tim. 5. 21. with delighted; if in things publickly done by the Church, we are not ſomewhat to reſpect what the Angels of Heaven do? Yea, ſo far hath the Apoſtle St. *Paul* proceeded, as to ſignifie that even about the outward Orders of the Church, which ſerve but for
1 Cor. 11. 10. comelineſs, ſome regard is to be had of Angels; who beſt like us when we are moſt like unto them in all parts of decent demeanor. So that the Law of Angels we cannot judge altogether impertinent unto the affairs of the Church of God. Our largeneſs of ſpeech, how men do finde out what things Reaſon bindeth them of neceſſity to obſerve, and what it guideth them to chuſe in things which are left as Arbitrary, the care we have had to declare the different Nature of Laws which ſeverally concern all men, from ſuch as belong unto men, either civilly or ſpiritually aſſociated; ſuch as pertain to the Fellowſhip which Nations, or which Chriſtian Nations have amongſt themſelves; and in the laſt place, ſuch as concerning every or any of theſe God himſelf hath revealed by his holy Word; all ſerveth but to make manifeſt, that as the Actions of men are of ſundry diſtinct kindes, ſo the Laws thereof muſt accordingly be diſtinguiſhed. There are in men operations, ſome Natural, ſome Rational, ſome Supernatural, ſome Politick, ſome finally Eccleſiaſtical: Which if we meaſure not each by his own proper Law, whereas the things themſelves are ſo different, there will be in our underſtanding and judgment of them, confuſion. As that firſt Error ſheweth whereon our oppoſites in this cauſe have grounded themſelves: For as they rightly maintain, that God muſt be glorified in all things, and that the actions of men cannot tend unto his glory, unleſs they be framed after his Law: So it is their Error, to think that the onely Law which God hath appointed unto men in that behalf, is the Sacred Scripture. By that which
Pſal. 148. 7, 8, 9. we work naturally, as when we breath, ſleep, move, we ſet forth the glory of God as Natural agents do, albeit we have no expreſs purpoſe to make that our end, nor any adviſed determination therein to follow a Law, but do that we do (for the moſt part) not
Rom. 1. 21. as much as thinking thereon. In reaſonable and Moral actions, another Law taketh place; a Law by the obſervation whereof we glorifie God in ſuch ſort, as no Creature elſe under Man is able to do; becauſe other Creatures have not judgment to examine the quality of that which is done by them; and therefore in that they do, they neither
Rom. 2. 15. can accuſe nor approve themſelves. Men do both, as the Apoſtle teacheth; yea, thoſe men which have no written Law of God to ſhew what is good or evil, carry written

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in their hearts the Universal Law of Mankinde, the Law of Reason, whereby they judge as by a Rule which God hath given unto all Men for that purpose. The Law of Reason doth somewhat direct Men how to honor God as their Creator; but how to glorifie God in such sort as is required, to the end, he may be an Everlasting Saviour; this we are taught by Divine Law, which Law both ascertaineth the truth, and supplieth unto us the want of that other Law. So that in Moral actions, Divine Law helpeth exceedingly the Law of Reason to guide Mans life; but in Supernatural, it alone guideth. Proceed we further, Let us place Man in some Publick Society with others, whether Civil or Spiritual; and in this case there is no remedy, but we must add yet a further Law. For although, even here likewise, the Laws of Nature and Reason be of necessary use; yet somewhat over and besides them is necessary, namely, Humane and Positive Law, together with that Law which is of commerce between Grand Societies, the Law of Nations, and of Nations Christian. For which cause, the Law of God hath likewise said, *Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers.* The Publick Power of all Societies, is above every Soul contained in the same Societies. And the principal use of that Power is to give Laws unto all that are under it; which Laws in such case we must obey, unless there be reason shewed, which may necessarily inforce, That the Law of Reason, or of God, doth enjoyn the contrary: Because except our own private, and but probable resolutions, be by the Law of Publick Determinations over-ruled, we take away all possibility of sociable life in the World. A plainer example whereof, then our selves, we cannot have. How cometh it to pass, that we are at this present day so rent with mutual contentions, and that the Church is so much troubled about the Polity of the Church? No doubt, if men had been willing to learn how many Laws their actions in this life, are subject unto, and what the true force of each Law is, all these controversies might have died the very day they were first brought forth. It is both commonly said, and truly, That the best men otherwise are not always the best in regard of Society. The reason whereof is, for that the Law of Mens actions is one, if they be respected onely as Men; and another, when they are considered as parts of a Politick Body. Many men there are, then whom nothing is more commendable when they are singled: And yet in Society with others, none less fit to answer the duties which are looked for at their hands. Yea, I am perswaded, that of them, with whom in this cause we strive, there are whose betters among men would be hardly found, if they did not live amongst men, but in some Wilderness by themselves. The cause of which, their disposition so unframable unto Societies wherein their live, is, for that they discern not aright, what place and force these several kindes of Laws ought to have in all their actions. Is there question either concerning the Regiment of the Church in general, or about Conformity between one Church and another, or of Ceremonies, Offices, Powers, Jurisdictions in our own Church? Of all these things, they judge by that rule which they frame to themselves with some shew of probability; and what seemeth in that sort convenient, the same they think themselves bound to practice, the same by all means they labor mightily to uphold; whatsoever any Law of Man to the contrary hath determined, they weigh it not. Thus by following the Law of Private Reason, where the Law of Publick should take place, they breed disturbance. For the better inuring therefore of Mens mindes with the true distinction of Laws, and of their several force, according to the different kinde and quality of our actions, it shall not peradventure be amiss to shew in some one example, how they all take place. To seek no further, let but that be considered, then which there is not any thing more familiar unto us, our food. What things are food, and what are not, we judge naturally by sense, neither need we any other Law to be our Directer in that behalf, then the self-same which is common unto us with Beasts. But when we come to consider of food, as of a benefit which God of his bounteous goodness hath provided for all things living; the Law of Reason doth here require the duty of Thankfulness at our hands towards him, at whose hands we have it. And lest Appetite in the use of Food, should lead us beyond that which is meet, we ow in this case obedience to that Law of Reason, which teacheth mediocrity in meats and drinks. The same things Divine Law teacheth also, as at large we have shewed it, doth all parts of Moral duty, whereunto we all of necessity stand bound, in regard of the life to come. But of certain kindes of food the Jews sometime had, and we our selves likewise have a Mystical, Religious, and Supernatural use; they of their

Rom. 13. 1.

Πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐν μὲν τοῖς οἰκείοις τῇ ἀρετῇ δύνανται χρῆσθαι, ἐν δὲ τοῖς πρὸς ἕτερον ἀδυνατοῦσι. *Arist.* Ethic. lib. 5. cap. 3.

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Job 34. 3. Psal. 145. 15, 16.

Paschal

Paſchal Lamb and Oblations; we of our Bread and Wine in the Euchariſt: Which uſe none but Divine Law could inſtitute. Now as we live in Civil Society, the State of the Commonwealth wherein we live, both may and doth require certain Laws concerning food; which Laws, ſaving onely that we are Members of the Commonwealth, where they are of force, we ſhould not need to reſpect as Rules of Action; whereas now in their place and kinde, they muſt be reſpected and obeyed. Yea, the ſelf-ſame matter is alſo a ſubject wherein ſometime Eccleſiaſtical Laws have place; ſo that unleſs we will be Authors of Confuſion in the Church, our private diſcretion, which otherwiſe might guide us a contrary way, muſt here ſubmit it ſelf to be that way guided, which the Publick Judgment of the Church hath thought better. In which caſe, that of *Zonaras* concerning Faſts may be remembred. *Faſtings are good, but let good things be done in good and convenient manner. He that tranſgreſſeth in his Faſting the Orders of the holy Fathers,* the Poſitive Laws of the Church of Chriſt, muſt be plainly told, *that good things do loſe the grace of their goodneſs, when in good ſort they are not performed.* And as here Mens private fancies muſt give place to the higher Judgment of that Church, which is in Authority a Mother over them: So the very Actions of whole Churches have, in regard of Commerce and Fellowſhip with other Churches, been ſubject to Laws concerning food, the contrary unto which Laws had elſe been thought more convenient for them to obſerve; as by that order of Abſtinence from Strangled and Blood may appear; an order grounded upon that Fellowſhip which the Churches of the Gentiles had with the Jews. Thus we ſee how even one and the ſelf-ſame thing is under divers conſiderations conveyed through many Laws; and that to meaſure by any one kinde of Law all the Actions of Men, were to confound the admirable Order wherein God hath diſpoſed all Laws, each as in nature, ſo in degree, diſtinct from other. Wherefore that here we may briefly end, Of Law there can be no leſs acknowledged, then that her Seat is the Boſom of God, her Voice the Harmony of the World: All things in Heaven and Earth do her homage, the very leaſt as feeling her care, and the greateſt as not exempted from her Power: Both Angels, and Men, and Creatures of what condition ſoever, though each in different ſort and manner, yet all with uniform conſent, admiring her as the Mother of their Peace and Joy.

ʰΟπ ὁ καλὸν τὸ καλὸν, ὅταν μὴ καλῶς γίνῃ. Zonar. in Can. Apoſt. 66.

Acts 15. 20.

OF

OF THE

LAWS

OF

Ecclesiastical Polity.

Book II.

Concerning their First Position who urge Reformation in the Church of England : *Namely, That Scripture is the only rule of all things, which in this life may be done by men.*

The Matter contained in this Second Book.

1. *AN Answer to their first Proof brought out of Scripture,* Prov. 2. 9.
2. *To their second,* 1 Cor. 10. 31.
3. *To their third,* 1 Tim. 4. 5.
4. *To their fourth,* Rom. 14. 23.
5. *To their proofs out of Fathers, who dispute negatively from the Authority of Holy Scripture.*
6. *To their proof by the Scriptures custom of disputing from Divine Authority negatively.*
7. *An Examination of their Opinion concerning the force of Arguments taken from humane Authority for the ordering of mens actions and perswasions.*
8. *A Declaration what the truth is in this matter.*

AS that which in the Title hath been proposed for the matter whereof we treat is only the Ecclesiastical Law whereby we are governed ; So neither is it my purpose to maintain any other thing, then that which therein Truth and Reason shall approve. For concerning the dealings of men, who administer Government, and unto whom the Execution of that Law belongeth, they have their Judge who sitteth in Heaven, and before whose Tribunal Seat they are accountable for whatsoever abuse or corruption, which (being worthily misliked in this Church) the want either of Care or of Conscience in them hath bred. We are no Patrons of those things therefore ; the best defence whereof is speedy redress and amendment. That which is of God we defend, to the uttermost of that ability which he hath given : that which is otherwise, let it wither even in the root from whence it hath sprung. Wherefore all these abuses being severed and set apart, which rise from the corruption of men, and not from the Laws themselves : Come we

to thoſe things which in the very whole entire form of our Church-Polity have been (as we perſwade our ſelves) injuriouſly blamed by them who indeavour to overthrow the ſame, and inſtead thereof to eſtabliſh a much worſe, onely through a ſtrong miſconceit they have, that the ſame is grounded on Divine Authority. Now, whether it be that through an earneſt longing deſire to ſee things brought to a peaceable end; I do but imagine the matters whereof we contend, to be fewer then indeed they are; or elſe for that in truth they are fewer when they come to be diſcuſt by Reaſon, then otherwiſe they ſeem when by heat of contention they are divided into many ſlips, and of every Branch an heap is made: Surely, as now we have drawn them together, chooſing out thoſe things which are requiſite to be ſeverally all diſcuſt, and omitting ſuch mean Specialities as are likely (without any great labour) to fall afterwards of themſelves; I know no cauſe why either the number or the length of theſe Controverſies ſhould diminiſh our hope of ſeeing them end with concord and love on all ſides; which of his infinite love and goodneſs, the Father of all peace and unity grant. Unto which Scope that our endeavour may the more directly tend, it ſeemeth fitteſt that firſt thoſe things be examined, which are as ſeeds from whence the reſt that enſue have grown. And of ſuch the moſt general is, that, wherewith we are here to make our entrance: A Queſtion not moved (I think) any where in other Churches, and therefore in ours the more likely to be ſoon (I truſt) determined: the rather for that it hath grown from no other root then only a deſire to enlarge the neceſſary uſe of the Word of God; which deſire hath begotten an Error inlarging it further then (as we are perſwaded) ſoundneſs of truth will bear. For whereas God hath left ſundry kindes of Laws unto men, and by all thoſe Laws the actions of men are in ſome ſort directed: They hold that one only Law, the Scripture, muſt be the Rule to direct in all things, even ſo far as to the *taking up of a Ruſh or Straw.* About which point there ſhould not need any queſtion to grow, and that which is grown might preſently end, if they did yield but to theſe two reſtraints: The firſt is, Not to extend the actions whereof they ſpeak, ſo low as that Inſtance doth import, of taking up a Straw, but rather keep themſelves at the leaſt within the compaſs of Moral Actions, Actions which have in them Vice or Vertue: The ſecond, Not to exact at our hands for every action the knowledge of ſome place of Scripture, out of which we ſtand bound to deduce it, as by divers Teſtimonies they ſeek to enforce; but rather as the truth is, ſo to acknowledge, that it ſufficeth if ſuch actions be framed according to the Law of Reaſon; the general Axiomes, Rules and Principles of which Law, being ſo frequent in Holy Scripture, there is no let but in that regard, even out of Scripture ſuch duties may be deduced by ſome kind of Conſequence (as by long circuit of Deduction it may be that even all Truth, out of any Truth, may be concluded) howbeit no man bound in ſuch ſort to deduce all his actions out of Scripture, as if either the place be to him unknown whereon they may be concluded, or the reference unto that place not preſently conſidered of, the action ſhall in that reſpect be condemned as unlawful. In this we diſſent, and this we are preſently to examine.

T. C. l. 1. p. 59, 60.

1. In all parts of knowledge rightly ſo termed, things moſt general are moſt ſtrong; Thus it muſt be, inaſmuch as the certainty of our perſwaſion touching particulars, dependeth altogether upon the credit of thoſe Generalities out of which they grow. Albeit therefore every cauſe admit not ſuch Infallible Evidence of proof, as leaveth no poſſibility of doubt or ſcruple behinde it; yet they who claim the general aſſent of the whole world unto that which they teach, and do not fear to give very hard and heavy ſentence upon as many as refuſe to embrace the ſame, muſt have ſpecial regard that their firſt Foundations and Grounds be more then ſlender probabilities. This whole Queſtion which hath been moved about the kinde of Church Regiment, we could not but for our own reſolution ſake, endeavour to unrip and ſift; following therein as near as we might, the conduct of that judicial Method which ſerveth beſt for invention of Truth. By means whereof, having found this the Head Theorem of all their Diſcourſes, who plead for the change of Eccleſiaſtical Government in *England*, namely, *That the Scripture of God is in ſuch ſort the rule of humane actions, that ſimply whatſoever we do, and are not by it directed thereunto, the ſame is ſin*; we hold it

The firſt pretended proof of the firſt Poſition out of Scripture. Prov. 2. 9. T. C. *lib.* 1. *p.* 20. I ſay, That the Word of God containeth whatſoever things can fall into any part of mans life. For ſo *Solomon* ſaith in the ſecond Chapter of the *Proverbs*, *My ſon, if thou receive my words, &c. then thou ſhalt underſtand juſtice, and judgement, and equity, and every good way.*

neceſſary

neceſſary that the proofs hereof be weighed: Be they of weight ſufficient or otherwiſe, it is not ours to judge and determine; onely what difficulties there are, which as yet with-hold our aſſent, till we be further and better ſatisfied, I hope, no indifferent amongſt them will ſcorn or refuſe to hear. Firſt, therefore whereas they alledge, *That Wiſdom* doth teach men *every good way*; and have thereupon inferred, that no way is good in any kinde of action, unleſs Wiſdom do by Scripture lead unto it: See they not plainly how they reſtrain the manifold ways which Wiſdom hath to teach men by, unto one onely way of teaching, which is by Scripture? The bounds of Wiſdom are large, and within them much is contained. Wiſdom was *Adams* Inſtructor in Paradiſe: Wiſdom endued the Fathers who lived before the Law, with the knowledge of holy things; by the wiſdom of the Law of God. *David* attained to excel others in underſtanding; and *Solomon* likewiſe to excel *David*, by the ſelf-ſame wiſedome of God, teaching him many things beſides the Law. The ways of well-doing are in number even as many, as are the kindes of voluntary actions: ſo that whatſoever we do in this World, and may do it ill, we ſhew our ſelves therein by well-doing to be wiſe. Now if wiſdom did teach men by Scripture not only all the ways that are right and good in ſome certain kinde, according to that of [a] S. *Paul*, concerning the uſe of Scripture; but did ſimply without any manner of exception, reſtraint, or diſtinction, teach every way of doing well: There is no Art but Scripture ſhould teach it, becauſe every Art doth teach the way how to do ſomething or other well. To teach men therefore Wiſdom profeſſeth, and to teach them every good way: but not every good way by one way of teaching. Whatſoever either men on Earth, or the Angels of Heaven do know, it is as a drop of that unemptiable Fountain of Wiſdom; which Wiſdom hath diverſly imparted her treaſures unto the World. As her ways are of ſundry kinds, ſo her manner of teaching is not meerly one and the ſame. Some things ſhe openeth by the Sacred Books of Scripture; ſome things by the glorious works of Nature: with ſome things ſhe inſpireth them from above by ſpiritual influence; in ſome things ſhe leadeth and traineth them onely by worldly experience and practice. We may not ſo in any one ſpecial kinde admire her, that we diſgrace her in any other; but let all her ways be according unto their place and degree adored.

Pſal. 119. 95.

[a] 2 Tim. 3. 16. *The whole Scripture is given by inſpiration of God, and is profitable to teach, to improve, to correct, and to inſtruct in righteouſneſs, that the man of God may be abſolute, being made perfect unto all good works.* He meaneth all and only thoſe good works which belong unto us as we are men of God, and which unto ſalvation are neceſſary. Or if we underſtand by men of God, God's Miniſters, there is not required in them an univerſal skill of every good work or way, but an hability to teach whatſoever men are bound to do that they may be ſaved: And with this kinde of knowledge the Scripture ſufficeth to furniſh them as touching matter.

2. That *all things be done to the glory of God*, the bleſſed Apoſtle (it is true) exhorteth. The glory of God is the admirable excellency of that Vertue Divine, which being made manifeſt, cauſeth Men and Angels to extol his greatneſs, and in regard thereof to fear him. By being glorified, it is not meant, that he doth receive any augmentation of glory at our hands; but his Name we glorifie, when we teſtifie our acknowledgement of his glory. Which albeit we moſt effectually do by the vertue of obedience; nevertheleſs it may be perhaps a Queſtion, Whether S. *Paul* did mean that we ſin as oft as ever we go about any thing, without an expreſs intent and purpoſe to obey God therein. He ſaith of himſelf, *I do in all things pleaſe all men, ſeeking not mine own commodity, but* rather the good *of many, that they may be ſaved.* Shall it hereupon be thought, that St. *Paul* did not move either hand or foot, but with expreſs intent even thereby to further the common ſalvation of men? We move, we ſleep, we take the cup at the hand of our friend, a number of things we oftentimes do, only to ſatisfie ſome natural deſire, without preſent, expreſs and actual reference unto any Commandment of God. Unto his glory even theſe things are done which we naturally perform, and not only that which morally and ſpiritually we do. For by every effect proceeding from the moſt concealed inſtincts of Nature, his power is made manifeſt. But it doth not therefore follow, that of neceſſity we ſhall ſin, unleſs we expreſly intend this in every ſuch particular. But be it a thing which requireth no more then onely our general preſuppoſed willingneſs to pleaſe God in all things, or be it a matter wherein we cannot ſo glorifie the Name of God as we ſhould, without an actual intent to do him in that particular ſome ſpecial obedience; yet for any thing there is in this ſentence alledged to

The ſecond Proof out of Scripture, 1 *Cor.* 10. 31. *T. C. l.* 1 *p.* 26. S. *Paul* ſaith, *That whether we eat or drink, or whatſoever we do, we muſt do it to the glory of God*; but no man can glorifie God in any thing but by obedience; and there is no obedience but in reſpect of the commandment and word of God; therefore it followeth that the Word of God directeth a man in all his actions.

the contrary, God may be glorified by obedience, and obeyed by performance of his will, and his will be performed with an actual intelligent desire to fulfil that Law which maketh known what his will is, although no special clause or sentence of Scripture be in every such action set before mens eyes to warrant it. For Scripture is not the onely Law whereby God hath opened his will touching all things that may be done; but there are other kinde of Laws which notifie the will of God, as in the former Book hath been proved at large: nor is there any Law of God, whereunto he doth not account our obedience his glory. *Do therefore all things unto the glory of God,* (saith the Apostle) *be inoffensive both to the Jews and Grecians, and the Church of God; even as I please all men in all things, not seeking mine own commodity, but manies, that they may be saved.* In the least thing done disobediently towards God, or offensively against the good of men, whose benefit we ought to seek for as for our own, we plainly shew that we do not acknowledge God to be such as indeed he is, and consequently that we glorifie him not. This the blessed Apostle teacheth; but doth any Apostle teach that we cannot glorifie God otherwise then onely in doing what we finde that God in Scripture commandeth us to do? The Churches dispersed amongst the Heathen in the East part of the World, are by the Apostle S. *Peter* exhorted, to have their *conversation honest amongst the Gentiles, that they which spake evil of them as of evil doers, might by the good works which they should see, glorifie God in the day of visitation.* As long as that which Christians did was good, and no way subject unto just reproof, their vertuous conversation was a mean to work the Heathens conversion unto Christ. Seeing therefore this had been a thing altogether impossible, but that Infidels themselves did discern, in matters of life and conversation, when believers did well, and when otherwise; when they glorified their Heavenly Father, and when not: It followeth, that some things wherein God is glorified, may be some other way known then onely by the sacred Scripture; of which Scripture the Gentiles being utterly ignorant, did notwithstanding judge rightly of the quality of Christian mens actions. Most certain it is, that nothing but onely sin doth dishonour God. So that to glorifie him in all things, is to do nothing whereby the Name of God may be blasphemed; nothing whereby the salvation of Jew or Grecian, or any in the Church of Christ may be let or hindred; nothing whereby his Law is transgrest. But the Question is, Whether only Scripture do shew whatsoever God is glorified in.

1 Pet. 2. 11.

Rom. 2. 34.

1 Cor. 10. 32.

Rom. 2. 23.

3. And though meats and drinks be said to be sanctified by the Word of God, and by Prayer, yet neither is this a Reason sufficient to prove, That by Scripture we must of necessity be directed, in every light and common thing, which is incident unto any part of mans life. Onely it sheweth that unto us the Word, that is to say, the Gospel of Christ, having not delivered any such difference of things clean and unclean, as the Law of *Moses* did unto the Jews, there is no cause but that we may use indifferently all things, as long as we do not (like Swine) take the benefit of them without a thankful acknowledgement of his liberality and goodness, by whose Providence they are enjoyed. And therefore the Apostle gave warning beforehand to take heed of such as should enjoyn to *abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with thanksgiving, by them which believe and know the Truth. For every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving, because it is sanctified by the Word of God and Prayer.* The Gospel, by not making many things unclean, as the Law did, hath sanctified those things generally to all, which particularly each man unto himself must sanctifie by a reverend and holy use: which will hardly be drawn so far as to serve their purpose, who have imagined the Word in such sort to sanctifie all things, that neither food can be tasted, nor raiment put on, nor in the World any thing done, but this deed must needs be sin in them which do not first know it appointed unto them by Scripture before they do it.

The third Scripture proof, 1 Tim. 4. 5. and that which S. *Paul* said of meats and drinks, that they are sanctified unto us by the Word of God, the same is to be understood of all things else whatsoever we have the use of. *T. C. l. 1. p. 20.*

1 Tim. 4.

4. But to come unto that which of all other things in Scripture is most stood upon: that place of S. *Paul* they say, is of all other most clear, where *speaking of those things which are called indifferent,* in the end he concludeth, *That whatsoever is not of faith, is sin; but faith is not but in respect of the Word of God; therefore whatsoever is not done by the Word of God, is sin.* Whereunto we answer, that albeit the name of Faith being properly and strictly taken, it must needs have reference unto some uttered word,

The fourth Scripture proof, *Rom* 14. 23. *T. C. l. 1. p. 17.*

as

as the Object of belief: nevertheless, sith the ground of credit is the credibility of things credited; and things are made credible, either by the known condition and quality of the utterer, or by the manifest likelihood of Truth, which they have in themselves; hereupon it riseth, that whatsoever we are persuaded of, the same we are generally said to believe. In which generality the Object of Faith may not so narrowly be restrained, as if the same did extend no further then to the only Scriptures of God. *Though* (saith our Saviour) *ye believe not me, believe my works, that ye may know and believe that the Father is in me, and I in him.* *The other Disciples said unto* Thomas, *We have seen the Lord*; but his answer unto them was, *Except I see in his hands the print of the nails, and put my finger into them, I will not believe.* Can there be any thing more plain, then that which by these two Sentences appeareth? Namely, That there may be a certain belief grounded upon other assurance then Scripture; any thing more clear, then that we are said not only to believe the things which we know by anothers relation, but even whatsoever we are certainly persuaded of, whether it be by reason, or by sense? Forasmuch therefore as (*a*) it is granted that S. *Paul* doth mean nothing else by *Faith*, but onely *a full persuasion that that which we do is well done*; against which kinde of Faith or persuasion, as S. *Paul* doth count it sin to enterprize any thing, (*b*) so likewise some of the very Heathen have taught, as *Tully, That nothing ought to be done whereof thou doubtest, whether it be right or wrong*; whereby it appeareth that even those which had no knowledge of the Word of God, did see much of the equity of this which the Apostle requireth of a Christian man; I hope we shall not seem altogether unnecessarily to doubt of the soundness of their opinion, who think simply that nothing but onely the Word of God, can give us assurance in any thing we are to do, and resolve us that we do well. For might not the Jews have been fully persuaded that they did well to think (if they had so thought) that in Christ God the Father was, although the only ground of this their Faith, had been the wonderful works they saw him do? Might not, yea, did not *Thomas* fully in the end persuade himself, that he did well to think that body which now was raised, to be the same which had been crucified? That which gave *Thomas* this assurance was his sense; *Thomas, Because thou hast seen, thou believest*, saith our Saviour. What Scripture had *Tully* for his assurance? Yet I nothing doubt, but that they who alledge him think he did well to set down in Writing, a thing so consonant unto truth. Finally, We all believe that the Scriptures of God are Sacred, and that they have proceeded from God, our selves we assure that we do right well in so believing. We have for this point a Demonstration sound and infallible. But it is not the Word of God which doth or possibly can assure us, that we do well to think it his Word. For if any one Book of Scripture did give testimony to all; yet still that Scripture which giveth credit to the rest, would require another Scripture to give credit unto it: neither could we ever come unto any pause whereon to rest our assurance this way: so that unless beside Scripture, there were something which might assure us that we do well, we could not think we do well; no, not in being assured that Scripture is a sacred and holy Rule of well-doing. On which determination we might be contented to stay our selves without further proceeding herein, but that we are drawn on into a larger speech, by reason of their so great earnestness, who beat more and more upon these last alledged words, as being of all other most pregnant. Whereas therefore they still argue, That *wheresoever faith is wanting, there is sin*; and, *in every action not commanded, faith is wanting*; Ergo, *in every action not commanded, there is sin*: I would demand of them; First, forasmuch as the nature of things indifferent, is neither to be commanded, nor forbidden, but left free and arbitrary; how there can be any thing indifferent, if for want of Faith, sin be committed, when any thing not commanded is done. So that of necessity they must adde somewhat, and at least-wise thus set it down: In every action not commanded of God, or permitted with approbation, Faith is

Psal. 19. 8. Apoc. 3. 14. 2 Cor. 1. 18.

John 10. 38.

John 20. 25.

John 20. 21.

T. C. l. 2. p. 58.

(*a*) And if any will say, that S. *Paul* meaneth there a full πληροφορίαν and persuasion that that which he doth is well done, I grant it: But from whence can that spring but from Faith? How can we persuade and assure our selves that we do well, but whereas we have the Word of God for our warrant? *T. C. l.* 1. *c.* 27.

(*b*) What also that some even of those Heathen men have taught, that nothing ought to be done, whereof thou doubtest whether it be right or wrong? Whereby it appeareth, that even those which had no knowledge of the Word of God, did see much of the equity of this which the Apostle requireth of a Christian man: And that the chiefest difference is, that where they sent men for the difference of good and evil to the light of Reason, in such things the Apostle sendeth them to the School of Christ in his Word, which only is able through faith to give them assurance and resolution in their doings, *T. C. l.* 1. *p.* 60.

is wanting, and for want of Faith there is ſin. The next thing we are to enquire is, What thoſe things be which God permitteth with approbation, and how we may know them to be ſo permitted? When there are unto one end ſundry means; as for example, for the ſuſtenance of our bodies many kindes of food, many ſorts of raiment to cloath our nakedneſs, and ſo in other things of like condition: Here the end it ſelf being neceſſary, but not ſo any one mean thereunto; neceſſary that our bodies ſhould be both fed and cloathed, howbeit no one kinde of food or raiment neceſſary; therefore we hold theſe things free in their own nature and indifferent. The choice is left to our own diſcretion, except a principal Bond of ſome higher duty remove the indifferency that ſuch things have in themſelves. Their indifferency is re-
Acts 5. moved, if either we take away our own liberty, as *Ananias* did, for whom to have ſold or held his Poſſeſſions it was indifferent, till his Solemn Vow and Promiſe unto God had ſtrictly bound him one only way: or if God himſelf have preciſely abridged the ſame, by reſtraining us unto, or by barring us from ſome one or more things of many, which otherwiſe were in themſelves altogether indifferent. Many faſhions of Prieſtly Attire there were, whereof *Aaron* and his Sons might have had their free
Exod.28.43. Levit. 11. choice without ſin, but that God expreſly tied them unto one. All meats indifferent unto the Jew, were it not that God by name excepted ſome, as Swines fleſh. Impoſſible therefore it is we ſhould otherwiſe think, then that what things God doth neither command nor forbid, the ſame he permitteth with approbation either to be done
1 Cor.6.12. or left undone. *All things are lawful unto me*, ſaith the Apoſtle, ſpeaking as it ſeemeth, in the perſon of the Chriſtian Gentile, for maintenance of liberty in things indifferent: whereunto his anſwer is, that nevertheleſs, *All things are not expedient*; in things indifferent there is a choice, they are not always equally expedient. Now in things although not commanded of God, yet lawfull, becauſe they are permitted, the Queſtion is, What light ſhall ſhew us the conveniency which one hath above another? For anſwer, their final Determination is, That *whereas the Heathen did ſend men for the difference of good and evil to the light of reaſon, in ſuch things the Apoſtle ſendeth us to the School of Chriſt in his Word, which onely is able through faith to give us aſſurance and reſolution in our doings*. Which word *Onely*, is utterly without poſſibility of ever being proved. For what if it were true concerning things indifferent, that unleſs the Word of the Lord had determined of the free uſe of them, there could have been no lawful uſe of them at all; which notwithſtanding is untrue; becauſe it is not the Scriptures ſetting down ſuch things as indifferent, but their not ſetting down as neceſſary, that doth make them to be indifferent; yet this to our preſent purpoſe ſerveth nothing at all. We enquire not now, Whether any thing be free to be uſed, which Scripture hath not ſet down as free? but concerning things known and acknowledged to be indifferent, whether particularly in chuſing any one of them before another, we ſin, if any thing but Scripture direct us into this our choice. When many meats are ſet before me, all are indifferent, none unlawful; I take one as moſt convenient. If Scripture require me ſo to do, then is not the thing indifferent, becauſe I muſt do what Scripture requireth. They are all indifferent; I might take any, Scripture doth not require of me to make any ſpecial choice of one: I do notwithſtanding make choice of one, my diſcretion teaching me ſo to do. A hard caſe, that hereupon I ſhould be juſtly condemned of ſin. Nor let any man think that following the judgement of natural diſcretion in ſuch caſes, we can have no aſſurance that we pleaſe God. For to the Author and God of our nature, how ſhall any operation proceeding in natural ſort, be in that reſpect unacceptable? The nature which himſelf hath given to work by, he cannot but be delighted with, when we exerciſe the ſame any way without Commandment of his to the contrary. My deſire is, to make this cauſe ſo manifeſt, that if it were poſſible, no doubt or ſcruple concerning the ſame, might remain in any mans cogitation. Some truths there are, the verity whereof time doth alter: As it is now true that Chriſt is riſen from the dead; which thing was not true at ſuch time as Chriſt was living on earth, and had not ſuffered. It would be known therefore, whether this which they teach concerning the ſinful ſtain of all actions not commanded of God, be a truth that doth now appertain unto us onely, or a perpetual truth, in ſuch ſort that from the firſt beginning of the world, unto the laſt conſummation thereof, it neither hath been, nor can be otherwiſe. I ſee not how they can reſtrain this unto any particular time, how

they

they can think it true now, and not always true, that in every action not commanded there is for want of Faith ſin. Then let them caſt back their eyes unto former generations of men, and mark what was done in the prime of the World: *Seth, Enoch, Noah, Sem, Abraham, Job,* and the reſt that lived before any ſyllable of the Law of God was written, did they not ſin as much as we do in every action not commanded? That which God is unto us by his Sacred Word, the ſame he was unto them by ſuch like means as *Eliphaz* in *Job* deſcribeth. If therefore we ſin in every action which the Scripture commandeth us not, it followeth that they did the like in all ſuch actions as were not by Revelation from Heaven exacted at their hands: Unleſs God from Heaven did by viſion ſtill ſhew them what to do, they might do nothing; not eat, not drink, not ſleep, not move. Yea, but even as in darkneſs, candle-light may ſerve to guide mens ſteps, which to uſe in the day were madneſs; ſo when God had once delivered his Law in writing, it may be, they are of opinion, that then it muſt needs be ſin for men to do any thing, which was not there commanded them to do, whatſoever they might do before. Let this be granted, and it ſhall hereupon plainly enſue, either that the light of Scripture once ſhining in the world, all other light of Nature is therewith in ſuch ſort drowned, that now we need it not, neither may we longer uſe it; or if it ſtand us in any ſtead, yet, as *Ariſtotle* ſpeaketh of men whom nature hath framed for the ſtate of ſervitude, ſaying, *They have reaſon ſo far forth as to conceive when others direct them,* but litttle or none in directing themſelves by themſelves; ſo likewiſe our natural capacity and judgement muſt ſerve us onely for the right underſtanding of that which the ſacred Scripture teacheth. Had the Prophets who ſucceeded *Moſes,* or the bleſſed Apoſtles which followed them, been ſetled in this perſwaſion, never would they have taken ſo great pains in gathering together natural Arguments, thereby to teach the faithful their Duties. To uſe unto them any other Motive then *Scriptum eſt, Thus it is written*, had been to teach them other grounds of their Actions then Scripture; which I grant, they alledge commonly, but not onely. Onely Scripture they ſhould have alledged, had they been thus perſwaded, that ſo far forth we do ſin, as we do any thing otherwiſe directed then by Scripture. S. *Auguſtine* was reſolute in points of Chriſtianity to credit none, how godly and learned ſoever he were, unleſs he confirmed his ſentence by the Scriptures, *or by ſome reaſon not contrary to them.* Let them therefore with S. *Auguſtine* reject and condemn that which is not grounded either on the Scripture, or on ſome reaſon not contrary to Scripture, and we are ready to give them our hands in token of friendly conſent with them.

Job 4. 13.

Ariſt. Pol. 1.

Auguſt. Ep. 19.

5. But againſt this it may be objected, and is, That the Fathers do nothing more uſually in their Books, then draw Arguments from the Scripture negatively in reproof of that which is evil; *Scriptures teach it not, avoid it therefore*: theſe diſputes with the Fathers are ordinary, neither is it hard to ſhew that the Prophets themſelves have ſo reaſoned. Which Arguments being ſound and good, it ſhould ſeem that it cannot be unſound or evil to hold ſtill the ſame Aſſertion, againſt which hitherto we have diſputed. For if it ſtand with reaſon thus to argue, Such a thing is not taught us in Scripture, therefore we may not receive or allow it: how ſhould it ſeem unreaſonable to think, that whatſoever we may lawfully do, the Scripture by commanding it muſt make it lawful? But how far ſuch Arguments do reach, it ſhall the better appear by conſidering the matter wherein they have been urged. Firſt therefore this we conſtantly deny, that of ſo many Teſtimonies as they are able to produce for the ſtrength of Negative Arguments, any one doth generally (which is the point in queſtion) condemn either all opinions as falſe, or all actions as unlawful, which the Scripture teacheth us not. The moſt that can be collected out of them is onely, that in ſome caſes a Negative Argument taken from Scripture is ſtrong, whereof no man endued with judgement can doubt. But doth the ſtrength of ſome Negative Argument prove this kinde of Negative Argument ſtrong, by force whereof, all things are denied which Scripture affirmeth not, or all things which Scripture preſcribeth not condemned? The Queſtion between us is concerning matter of Action, what things are lawful, or unlawful for men to do. The Sentences alledged out of the Fathers, are as peremptory, and as large in every reſpect for matter of Opinion, as of action; which argueth that in truth they never meant any otherwiſe to tie the one then the other unto Scripture, both being thereunto equally tied, as far as each is required in the ſame kinde of neceſſity unto

The Firſt Aſſertion endeavoured to be proved by the uſe of taking Arguments Negatively from the Authority of Scripture: which kinde of diſputing is uſual in the Fathers.

Salvati-

Salvation. If therefore it be not unlawful to know, and with full perſwaſion to believe much more then Scripture alone doth teach; if it be againſt all Senſe and Reaſon to condemn the knowledge of ſo many Arts and Sciences as are otherwiſe learned then in Holy Scripture, notwithſtanding the manifeſt Speeches of ancient Catholick Fathers which ſeem to cloſe up within the boſom thereof all manner good and lawful knowledge; wherefore ſhould their words be thought more effectual to ſhew that we may not in deeds and practice, then they are to prove that in ſpeculation and knowledge, we ought not to go any further then the Scripture? Which Scripture being given to teach matters of belief, no leſs then of action; the Fathers muſt needs be, and are even as plain againſt credit, beſides the relation, as againſt practice, without the injunction of the Scripture. S. *Auguſtine* hath ſaid, *Whether it be queſtion of Chriſt, or whether it be queſtion of his Church, or of what thing ſoever the queſtion be: I ſay not, if we, but if an Angel from Heaven ſhall tell us any thing beſide that you have received in the Scripture under the Law and the Goſpel, let him be accurſed.* In like ſort *Tertullian, We may not give our ſelves this liberty to bring in any thing of our will, nor chuſe any thing that other men bring in of their will; we have the Apoſtles themſelves for Authors, which themſelves brought nothing of their own will; but the Diſcipline which they received of Chriſt, they delivered faithfully unto the people*; in which place the name of Diſcipline importeth not, as they who alledge it would fain have it conſtrued, but as any man who noteth the circumſtance of the place, and the occaſion of uttering the words, will eaſily acknowledge, even the ſelf-ſame thing it ſignifieth, which the name of Doctrine doth; and as well might the one as the other there have been uſed. To help them farther, doth not S. *Jerome*, after the ſelf-ſame manner diſpute, *We believe it not, becauſe we read it not:* yea, *We ought not ſo much as to know the things which the Book of the Law containeth not*, ſaith S. *Hilary*. Shall we hereupon then conclude, that we may not take knowledge of, or give credit unto any thing which ſenſe, or experience, or report, or art doth propoſe, unleſs we finde the ſame in Scripture? No, it is too plain that ſo far to extend their Speeches, is to wreſt them againſt their true intent and meaning. To urge any thing upon the Church, requiring thereunto that Religious Aſſent of Chriſtian Belief, wherewith the words of the Holy Prophets are received; to urge any thing as part of that ſupernatural and celeſtially revealed Truth which God hath taught, and not to ſhew it in Scripture, this did the ancient Fathers evermore think unlawful, impious, execrable. And thus as their Speeches were meant, ſo by us they muſt be reſtrained. As for thoſe alledged words of *Cyprian*, *The Chriſtian Religion ſhall finde, that out of this Scripture Rules of all Doctrines have ſprung, and that from hence doth ſpring, and hither doth return whatſoever the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline doth contain.* Surely this place would never have been brought forth in this cauſe, if it had been but once read over in the Author himſelf, out of whom it is cited. For the words are uttered concerning that one principal Commandment of Love; in the honour whereof he ſpeaketh after this ſort; *Surely this Commandment containeth the Law and the Prophets, and in this one Word is the Abridgement of all the Volumes of Scripture: This Nature, and Reaſon, and the authority of thy Word, O Lord, doth proclaim; this we have heard out of thy mouth; herein the perfection of all Religion doth conſiſt. This is the firſt Commandment and the laſt: This being written in the Book of Life, is (as it were) an everlaſting leſſon both to Men and Angels. Let Chriſtian Religion read this one Word, and meditate upon this Commandment, and out of this Scripture it ſhall finde the Rules of all Learning to have ſprung, and from hence to have riſen, and hither to return, whatſoever the Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline containeth; and that in all things it is vain and bootleſs which Charity confirmeth not.* Was this a ſentence (trow you) of ſo great force to prove that Scripture is the onely Rule of all the actions of men? Might they not hereby even as well prove, that one

Aug. *cont. liter. Petil. l.* 3. *c.* 6.

Tertul. *de præſcript. adverſ.*

T. C. l 2. *p.* 81. *Auguſtine* ſaith, Whether it be queſtion of Chriſt, or whether it be queſtion of his Church, *&c.* And leſt the Anſwer ſhould reſtrain the general ſaying of *Auguſtine*, unto the Doctrine of the Goſpel, ſo that he would thereby ſhut out the Diſcipline; even *Tertullian* himſelf, before he was embrued with the Hereſie of *Montanus*, giveth Teſtimony unto the Diſcipline in theſe words, *We may not give our ſelves*, &c.

Hierom. *contra Helvid.*

Hilar. *in Pſal.* 131.

T. C. l. 2. *p.* 8. Let him hear what *Cyprian* ſaith, The Chriſtian Religion (ſaith he) ſhall finde, that, &c. *Verè hoc mandatum legem complectitur & Prophetas, & in hoc verbo omnium Scripturarum volumina coarctantur. Hoc natura, hoc ratio, hoc Domine, verbi tui clamat authoritas, hoc ex ore tuo audivimus, hic invenit conſummationem omnis Religio. Primum eſt hoc mandatum & ultimum, hoc in libro vitæ conſcriptum indeficientem & hominibus & Angelis exhibet lectionem. Legat hoc unum verbum & in hoc mandato meditetur Chriſtiana Religio, & inveniet ex hac Scriptura omnium doctrinarum regulas emanâſſe, & hinc naſci & huc reverti quicquid Eccleſiaſtica continet diſciplina, & in omnibus irritum eſſe & frivolum quicquid dilectio non confirmat.*

one Commandment of Scripture is the onely rule of all things, and so exclude the rest of the Scripture, as now they do all means besides Scripture? But thus it fareth, when too much desire of contradiction causeth our speech rather to pass by number, then to stay for weight. Well, but *Tertullian* doth in this case speak yet more plainly: *The Scripture* (saith he) *denieth what it noteth not*: which are indeed the words of *Tertullian*. But what? the Scripture reckoneth up the Kings of *Israel*, and amongst those Kings, *David*; the Scripture reckoneth up the sons of *David*, and amongst those sons, *Solomon*. To prove that amongst the Kings of *Israel*, there was no *David* but only one; no *Solomon* but one in the sons of *David*, *Tertullians* Argument will fitly prove. For inasmuch as the Scripture did propose to reckon up all; if there were moe, it would have named them. In this case the *Scripture doth deny the thing it noteth not*. Howbeit I could not but think that man to do me some piece of manifest injury, which would hereby fasten upon me a general Opinion, as if I did think the Scripture to deny the very Reign of King *Henry* the Eighth, because it no where noteth that any such King did reign. *Tertullians* speech is probable concerning such matter as he there speaketh of. There was, saith *Tertullian*, no second *Lamech*, like to him that had two wives; the Scripture denieth what it noteth not. As therefore it noteth one such to have been in that Age of the World; so had there been moe, it would by likelihood as well have noted many as one. What infer we now hereupon? *There was no second* Lamech; *the Scripture denieth what it noteth not*. Were it consonant unto reason to divorce these two Sentences, the former of which doth shew how the latter is restrained, and not marking the former, to conclude by the latter of them, that simply whatsoever any man at this day doth think true, is by the Scripture denied, unless it be there affirmed to be true? I wonder that a case so weak and feeble hath been so much persisted in. But to come unto those their Sentences, wherein matters of action are more apparently touched, the Name of *Tertullian* is as before, so here again pretended; who writing unto his Wife two Books, and exhorting her in the one to live a Widow, in case God before her should take him unto his mercy; and in the other, if she did marry, yet not to joyn her self to an Infidel, as in those times some Widows Christian had done for the advancement of their estate in this present world; he urgeth very earnestly S. *Pauls* words, *Onely in the Lord*: Whereupon he demandeth of them that think they may do the contrary, what Scripture they can shew where God hath dispenced and granted license to do against that which the blessed Apostle so strictly doth enjoyn? And because in defence it might perhaps be replied, Seeing God doth will that couples which are married when both are Infidels, if either party chance to be after converted unto Christianity, this should not make separation between them, as long as the unconverted was willing to retain the other on whom the grace of Christ had shined; wherefore then should that let the making of marriage, which doth not dissolve marriage being made? After great Reasons shewed why God doth in Converts being married, allow continuance with Infidels, and yet disallow that the faithful when they are free should enter into bonds of Wedlock with such, concludeth in the end concerning those women that so marry, *They that please not the Lord, do even thereby offend the Lord; they do even thereby throw themselves into evil*; that is to say, while they please him not by marrying in him, they do that whereby they incur his displeasure; they make an offer of themselves into the service of that enemy with whose servants they link themselves in so near a bond. What one syllable is there in all this, prejudicial any way to that which we hold? For the words of *Tertullian* as they are by them alledged, are two ways mis-understood; both in the former part, where that is extended generally to *all things* in the Neuter Gender, which he speaketh in the Feminine Gender of Womens persons; and in the latter, where, *received with hurt*, is put instead *of willful incurring that which is evil*. And so in sum, *Tertullian* doth neither mean nor say as is pretended, *Whatsoever pleaseth not the Lord, displeaseth him, and with hurt is received*; but, *Those women that please not the* Lord by their kinde of marrying, *do even thereby offend the Lord*,

Tertul. lib. de Monog. T. C. l. 2. p. 81. And in another place *Tertullian* saith, That the Scripture denieth that which it noteth not.

T. C. l. 2. p. 80. And that in indifferent things it is not enough that they be not against the Word, but that they be according to the Word, it may appear by other places, where he saith, That whatsoever pleaseth not the Lord, displeaseth him, and with hurt is received, *lib. 2. ad uxorem.*

Quæ Domino non placent, utiq; Dominum offendunt, utiq; malo se inferunt.

Lord, they do even thereby throw themſelves into evil: Somewhat more ſhew there is in a ſecond place of *Tertullian*, which notwithſtanding when we have examined, it will be found as the reſt are. The Roman Emperors cuſtom was at certain Solemn times to beſtow on his Souldiers a Donative; which Donative they received, wearing Garlands upon their heads. There were in the time of the Emperors *Severus* and *Antoninus*, many who being Souldiers had been converted unto Chriſt, and notwithſtanding continued ſtill in that Military courſe of life. In which number, one man there was amongſt all the reſt, who at ſuch a time coming to the Tribune of the Army to receive his Donative, came but with a Garland in his hand, and not in ſuch ſort as others did. The Tribune offended hereat, demanded what this great ſingularity would mean: To whom the Souldier, *Chriſtianus ſum, I am a Chriſtian.* Many there were ſo beſides him, which yet did otherwiſe at that time, whereupon grew a Queſtion, Whether a Chriſtian Souldier might herein do as the unchriſtian did, and wear as they wore. Many of them which were very ſound in Chriſtian belief, did rather commend the zeal of this man, then approve his action. *Tertullian* was at the ſame time a *Montaniſt*, and an enemy unto the Church for condemning that Prophetical Spirit, which *Montanus* and his followers did boaſt they had received; as if in them Chriſt had performed his laſt promiſe; as if to them he had ſent the Spirit that ſhould be their Perfecter and final Inſtructer in the myſteries of Chriſtian truth. Which exulceration of mind made him apt to take all occaſions of contradiction. Wherefore in honour of that action, and to gall their mindes who did not ſo much commend it, he wrote his Book *de Corona Militis*, not diſſembling the ſtomach wherewith he wrote it. For the firſt man he commended as one more conſtant then the reſt of his Brethren, *Who preſumed,* ſaith he, *that they might well enough ſerve two Lords.* Afterwards choler ſomewhat riſing within him, he addeth, *It doth even remain that they ſhould alſo deviſe how to rid themſelves of his Martyrdoms, towards the Prophecies of whoſe Holy Spirit they have already ſhewed their diſdain. They mutter that their good and long peace is now in hazard. I doubt not but ſome of them ſend the Scriptures before, truſs up bag and baggage, make themſelves in a readineſs, that they may fly from City to City; for that is the only point of the Goſpel, which they are careful not to forget. I know even their Paſtors very well what men they are; in peace Lions, Harts in time of trouble and fear:* Now theſe men, ſaith *Tertullian, They muſt be anſwered, Where do we finde it written in Scripture*, that a Chriſtian man may not wear a Garland? And as mens ſpeeches uttered in heat of diſtempered affection, have oftentimes much more eagerneſs then weight; ſo he that ſhall mark the Proofs alledged, and the Anſwers to things objected in that Book, will now and then perhaps eſpy the like imbecillity. Such is that Argument whereby they that wore on their heads Garlands, are charged as tranſgreſſors of Natures Law, and guilty of Sacriledge againſt God the Lord of Nature, inaſmuch as Flowers in ſuch ſort worn, can neither be ſmelt nor ſeen well by thoſe that wear them: And God made Flowers ſweet and beautiful, that being ſeen and ſmelt unto, they might ſo delight. Neither doth *Tertullian* bewray this weakneſs in ſtriking only, but alſo in repelling their ſtrokes with whom he contendeth. They ask, ſaith he, *What Scripture is there which doth teach that we ſhould not be crowned? And what Scripture is there which doth teach that we ſhould? For in requiring on the contrary part the aid of Scripture, they do give ſentence beforehand that their part ought alſo by Scripture to be aided:* Which anſwer is of no great force. There is no neceſſity, that if I confeſs I ought not to do that which the Scripture forbiddeth me, I ſhould thereby acknowledge my ſelf bound to do nothing which the Scripture commandeth me not. For many inducements beſide Scripture may lead me to that, which if Scripture be againſt, they all give place, and are of no value; yet otherwiſe are ſtrong and effectual to perſwade. Which thing himſelf well enough underſtanding, and being not ignorant that Scripture in many things doth neither command

T. C. l. 2. p. 81. And to come yet neerer, where he diſputeth againſt the wearing of crown or garland (which is indifferent in it ſelf) to thoſe which objecting asked, Where the Scripture ſaith, That a man might not wear a Crown? He anſwereth, by asking where the Scripture ſaith that they may wear? And unto them replying that it is permitted, which is not forbidden, He anſwereth, that it is forbidden, which is not permitted. Whereby appeareth, that the Argument of the Scriptures negatively, holdeth not only in the Doctrine and Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline, but even in matters arbitrary and variable by the advice of the Church. Where it is not enough that they be not forbidden, unleſs there be ſome Word which doth permit the uſe of them: It is not enough that the Scripture ſpeaketh not againſt them, unleſs it ſpeak for them; And finally, where it diſpleaſeth the Lord which pleaſeth him not, we muſt of neceſſity have the Word of his mouth to declare his pleaſure.

Tert. de Coron. Milit.

command nor forbid, but use silence; his resolution in fine, is, that in the Church a number of things are strictly observed, whereof no Law of Scripture maketh mention one way or other; that of things once received and confirmed by use, long usage is a Law sufficient; that in Civil affairs, when there is no other Law, custom it self doth stand for Law; that inasmuch as Law doth stand upon Reason, to alledge Reason serveth as well as to cite Scripture; that whatsoever is reasonable, the same is lawful, whosoever is the Author of it; that the authority of custom is great; finally, that the custom of Christians was then, and had been a long time, not to wear Garlands, and therefore that undoubtedly they did offend, who presumed to violate such a custom, by not observing that thing, the very inveterate Observation whereof was a Law sufficient to binde all men to observe it, unless they could shew some higher Law, some Law of Scripture to the contrary. This presupposed, it may stand then very well with strength and soundness of reason, even thus to answer, *Whereas they ask what Scripture forbiddeth them to wear a Garland? we are in this case rather to demand, What Scripture commandeth them? they cannot here alledge, that that is permitted which is not forbidden them: no, that is forbidden them which is not permitted.* For long received custom forbidding them to do as they did (if so be it did forbid them) there was no excuse in the world to justifie their act, unless in the Scripture they could shew some Law that did license them thus to break a received custom. Now whereas in all the Books of *Tertullian* besides, there is not so much found as in that one, to prove not only that we may do, but that we ought to do sundry things which the Scripture commandeth not; out of that very Book these Sentences are brought to make us believe that *Tertullian* was of a clean contrary mind. We cannot therefore hereupon yield; we cannot grant, that hereby is made manifest the Argument of Scripture negative to be of force, not only in Doctrine and Ecclesiastical Discipline, but even in matters arbitrary. For *Tertullian* doth plainly hold even in that Book, that neither the matter which he entreateth of was arbitrary, but necessary, inasmuch as the received custom of the Church did tie and binde them not to wear Garlands as the Heathens did; yea, and further also he reckoneth up particularly a number of things whereof he expressly concludeth, *Harum & aliarum ejusmodi disciplinarum si legem expostules Scripturarum, nullam invenies*; which is as much as if he had said in expres words, Many things there are which concern the Discipline of the Church, and the duties of men, which to abrogate and take away, the Scriptures negatively urged may not in any case perswade us, but they must be observed, yea, although no Scripture be found which requireth any such thing. *Tertullian* therefore undoubtedly doth not in this Book shew himself to be of the same minde with them, by whom his name is pretended.

6. But sith the sacred Scriptures themselves afford oftentimes such Arguments as are taken from Divine Authority both one way and other; *The Lord hath commanded, therefore it must be:* And again, in like sort, *He hath not, therefore it must not be*; some certainty concerning this point seemeth requisite to be set down: God himself can neither possibly err, nor lead into error. For this cause his Testimonies, whatsoever he affirmeth, are always truth, and most infallible certainty. Yea, further, because the things that proceed from him are perfect without any manner of defect or maim; it cannot be but that the words of his mouth are absolute, and lack nothing which they should

The first Assertion endeavoured to be confirmed by the Scriptures custom of disputing from Divine authority negatively, 1 *Joh.* 2. 5. God is light, and there is

[i]n him no darkness at all. *Hebr.* 6. 18. It is impossible that God should lie. *Num.* 23. 19. God is not as man, that he should lye. *T. C. l.* 2. *p.* 48. It is not hard to shew that the Prophets have reasoned Negatively. As when in the person of the Lord the Prophet saith, *Whereof I have not spoken*, Jer. 19. 5. *And which never entred into my heart*, Jer. 7 31, 32. And where he condemneth them, *because they have not asked counsel at the mouth of the Lord*, Isai. 30. 2. And it may be shewed, that the same kinde of Argument hath been used in things which are not of the substance of Salvation or Damnation, and whereof there was no Commandment to the contrary (as in the former there was, *Levit.* 18. 21. and 20. 3. *Deut.* 17. 16.) In *Joshua* the Children of *Israel* are charged by the Prophet, that they asked not counsel at the mouth of the Lord, when they entred into Covenant with the *Gibeonites*, *Joshua* 19. 14. And yet that Covenant was not made contrary unto any Commandment of God. Moreover, We read that when *David* had taken this counsel, to build a Temple unto the Lord, albeit the Lord had revealed before in his Word, that there should be such a standing place, where the Ark of the Covenant and the Service should have a certain abiding: And albeit there was no Word of God which forbad *David* to build the Temple; yet the Lord (with commendation of his good affection and zeal he had to the advancement of his glory) concludeth against *Davids* Resolution to build the Temple, with this Reason: Namely, That he had given no Commandment of this who should build it, 1 *Chron.* 17. 6.

have, for performance of that thing whereunto they tend. Whereupon it followeth, that the end being known whereunto he directeth his ſpeech, the Argument negatively is evermore ſtrong and forcible, concerning thoſe things that are apparently requiſite unto the ſame end. As for example, God intending to ſet down ſundry times that which in Angels is moſt excellent, hath not any where ſpoken ſo highly of them as he hath of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; therefore they are not in dignity equal unto him. It is the Apoſtle S. *Pauls* Argument. The purpoſe of God was to teach his people, both unto whom they ſhould offer ſacrifice, and what ſacrifice was to be offered. To burn their ſons in fire unto *Baal* he did not command them, he ſpake no ſuch thing, neither came it into his minde: therefore this they ought not to have done. Which Argument the Prophet *Jeremy* uſeth more then once, as being ſo effectual and ſtrong, that although the thing he reproveth were not only not commanded, but forbidden them, and that expreſly; yet the Prophet chooſeth rather to charge them with the fault of making a Law unto themſelves, than the crime of tranſgreſſing a Law which God had made. For when the Lord had once himſelf peciſely ſet down a form of executing that wherein we are to ſerve him, the fault appeareth greater to do that which we are not, then not to do that which we are commanded. In this we ſeem to charge the Law of God with hardneſs onely, in that with fooliſhneſs; in this we ſhew our ſelves weak and unapt to be doers of his Will, in that we take upon us to be Controllers of his Wiſdom: in this we fail to perform the thing which God ſeeth meet, convenient, and good; in that we preſume to ſee what is meet and convenient better then God himſelf. In thoſe actions therefore, the whole form whereof God hath of purpoſe ſet down to be obſerved, we may not otherwiſe do then exactly, as he hath preſcribed: In ſuch things Negative Arguments are ſtrong. Again, with a Negative Argument *David* is preſſed concerning the purpoſe he had to build a Temple unto the Lord: *Thus ſaith the Lord, Thou ſhalt not build me an Houſe to dwell in. Whereſoever I have walked with all Iſrael, ſpake I one word to any of the Judges of Iſrael, whom I commanded to feed my people, ſaying, Why have ye not built me an houſe?* The Jews urged with a negative argument touching the aid which they ſought at the hands of the King of *Egypt*; *Wo to thoſe rebellious children* (ſaith the Lord) *which walk forth to go down into Egypt, and have not asked counſel at my mouth, to ſtrengthen themſelves with the ſtrength of Pharaoh.* Finally, the league of *Joſhua* with the *Gibeonites* is likewiſe with a Negative Argument touched. It was not as it ſhould be: And why? the Lord gave them not that advice: *They ſought not counſel at the mouth of the Lord.* By the vertue of which examples, if any man ſhould ſuppoſe the force of Negative Arguments approved, when they are taken from Scripture, in ſuch ſort as we in this queſtion are preſſed therewith, they greatly deceive themſelves. For unto which of all theſe was it ſaid, that they had done amiſs in purpoſing to do, or in doing any thing at all which the Scripture commanded them not? Our Queſtion is, Whether all be ſin which is done without direction by Scripture, and not, whether the *Iſraelites* did at any time amiſs by following their own mindes, without asking counſel of God. No, it was that peoples ſingular priviledge, a favour which God vouchſafed them above the reſt of the world, that in the affairs of their eſtate, which were not determinable one way or other by the Scripture, himſelf gave them extraordinary direction and counſel, as oft as they ſought it at his hands. Thus God did firſt by ſpeech unto *Moſes*; after by *Urim* and *Thummim* unto Prieſts; laſtly, by dreams and viſions unto Prophets, from whom in ſuch caſes they were to receive the anſwer of God. Concerning *Joſhua* therefore, thus ſpake the Lord unto *Moſes* ſaying, *He ſhall ſtand before* Eleazer *the Prieſt, who ſhall ask counſel for him by the judgement of* Urim *before the Lord:* whereof had *Joſhua* been mindeful, the fraud of the *Gibeonites* could not ſo ſmoothly have paſt uneſpied till there was no help. The Jews had Prophets to have reſolved them from the mouth of God himſelf whether Egyptian aids ſhould profit them, yea, or no: but they thought themſelves wiſe enough, and him unworthy to be of their counſel. In this reſpect therefore was their reproof, though ſharp, yet juſt, albeit there had been no charge preciſely given them that they ſhould always take heed of *Egypt*. But as for *David*, to think that he did evil in determining to build God a Temple, becauſe there was in Scripture no Commandment that he ſhould build it, were very injurious: the purpoſe

Levit. 18. 21. and 2. 3. Deut. 28. 10.

1 Chron. 17. 6.

Iſai. 30. 1.

Joſh 9. 14.

Num. 27. 21.

of

of his heart was religious and godly, the act moſt worthy of honour and renown; neither could *Nathan* chuſe but admire his vertuous intent, exhort him to go forward, and beſeech God to proſper him therein. But God ſaw the endleſs troubles which *David* ſhould be ſubject unto, during the whole time of his Regiment, and therefore gave charge to defer ſo good a work till the days of tranquillity and peace, wherein it might without interruption be performed. *David* ſuppoſed that it could not ſtand with the duty which he owed unto God, to ſet himſelf in an houſe of Cedar-trees, and to behold the Ark of the Lords Covenant unſetled. This opinion the Lord abateth, by cauſing *Nathan* to ſhew him plainly, that it ſhould be no more imputed unto him for a fault, then it had been unto the Judges of *Iſrael* before him, his caſe being the ſame which theirs was, their times not more unquiet then his, nor more unfit for ſuch an action. Wherefore concerning the force of Negative Arguments ſo taken from the Authority of Scripture, as by us they are denied, there is in all this leſs then nothing. And touching that which unto this purpoſe is borrowed from the Controverſies ſometimes handled between Mr. *Harding* and the worthieſt Divine that Chriſtendom hath bred for the ſpace of ſome hundreds of years, who being brought up together in one Univerſity, it fell out in them which was ſpoken of two others, [a] *They learned in the ſame, that which in contrary Camps they did practice.* Of theſe two the one objecting that with us Arguments taken from Authority Negatively are over common; the Biſhops anſwer hereunto is, that *this kinde of Argument is thought to be good, whenſoever proof is taken of Gods Word; and is uſed not onely by us, but alſo by* S. Paul, *and by many of the Catholick Fathers.* *S.* Paul ſaith, *God ſaid not unto Abraham, In thy ſeeds all the Nations of the earth ſhall be bleſſed; but, In thy ſeed, which is Chriſt; and thereof he thought he made a good Argument.* *Likewiſe,* ſaith Origen, *The Bread which the Lord gave unto his Diſciples, ſaying unto them, Take and eat, he deferred not, nor commanded to be reſerved till the next day.* *Such Arguments* Origen *and other learned Fathers thought to ſtand for good, whatſoever miſliking Mr.* Harding *hath found in them.* *This kinde of proof is thought to hold in Gods Commandments, for that they be full and perfect: and God hath ſpecially charged us, that we ſhould neither put to them, nor take from them: and therefore it ſeemeth good unto them that have learned of Chriſt,* Unus eſt magiſter veſter Chriſtus, *and have heard the voice of God the Father from Heaven,* Ipſum audite. *But unto them that add to the Word of God what them liſteth, and make Gods will ſubject unto their will, and break Gods Commandments for their own traditions ſake, unto them it ſeemeth not good.* Again, the Engliſh Apologie alledging the example of the Greeks, how they have neither private Maſſes, nor mangled Sacraments, nor Purgatories, nor Pardons; it pleaſeth Mr. *Harding* to jeſt out the matter, to uſe the help of his wits where ſtrength of truth failed him, and to anſwer with ſcoffing at Negatives. The Biſhops defence in this caſe is, *The ancient learned Fathers having to deal with politick Hereticks, that in defence of their Errors avouched the judgement of all the old Biſhops and Doctors that had been before them, and the general conſent of the Primitive and whole univerſal Church, and that with as good regard of truth, and as faithfully as you do now; the better to diſcover the ſhameleſs boldneſs, and nakedneſs of their doctrine, were oftentimes likewiſe forced to uſe the negative, and ſo to drive the ſame Hereticks, as we do you, to prove their Affirmatives, which thing to do it was never poſſible.* *The ancient Father* Iræneus *thus ſtayed himſelf, as we do, by the Negative,* Hoc neq; Prophetæ prædicaverunt, neq; Dominus docuit, neq; Apoſtoli tradiderunt; *This thing neither did the Prophets publiſh, nor our Lord teach, nor the Apoſtles deliver.* *By a like Negative* Chryſoſtome *ſaith, This tree neither* Paul *planted, nor* Apollos *watered, nor God increaſed.* *In like ſort* Leo *ſaith, What needeth it to believe that thing that neither the Law hath taught, nor the Prophets have ſpoken, nor the Goſpel hath preached, nor the Apoſtles have delivered? And again, How are the new devices brought in that our Fathers never knew?* *S.* Auguſtine *having reckoned up a great number of the Biſhops of* Rome, *by a general Negative ſaith thus, In all this order of ſucceſſion of Biſhops, there is not one Biſhop found that was a Donatiſt.* *S.* Gregory *being himſelf*

1 Chron. 17. T. C. *l.* 2. *p.* 50. Mr. *Harding* reproached the Biſhop of *Salisbury* with this kinde of reaſoning: unto whom the Biſhop anſwereth, The Argument of Authority negatively, is taken to be good, whenſoever proof is taken of Gods Word, and is uſed not only by us, but alſo by many of the Catholick Fathers. A little after he ſheweth the Reaſon why the Argument of Authority of the Scripture negatively is good; namely, for that the Word of God is perfect. In another place unto M. *Harding*, caſting him in the teeth with Negative Arguments, he alledgeth places out of *Ireneus*, *Chryſoſtome*, *Leo*, which reaſoned Negatively of the Authority of the Scriptures. The places which he alledgeth be very full and plain in generality, without any ſuch reſtraints as the Anſwerer imagined, as they are there to be ſeen.

[a] *Vell. Paterc. Jugurtha ac Marius ſub eodem Africano militantes, in iiſdem caſtris didicêre quæ poſtea in contrariis facerent.*

Art. 1. *Diviſ.* 29. Gal. 3. *Orig in Levit. Hom.* 5.

Matth. 23. Matth. 17.

Defenſ. par. 5. *cd.* 15. *diviſ.*

Lib. 1. *cap.* 1.

De incomp. nat. Dei, hom. 3.

Epiſt. 93. *c.* 12.

Epiſt. 97. *c.* 3. *Epiſt.* 165.

Lib. 4. *Ep.* 38.

himself a Bishop of Rome, *and writing against the Title of Universal Bishop,* saith thus, *None of all my Predecessors ever consented to use this ungodly Title; No Bishop of* Rome *ever took upon him this name of singularity. By such Negatives, Mr.* Harding, *we reprove the vanity and novelty of your Religion; We tell you, none of the Catholick, ancient, learned Fathers, either Greek or Latine, ever used either your private Mass, or your half Communion, or your barbarous unknown prayers.* Paul *never planted them,* Apollos *never watered them, God never encreased them; they are of your selves, they are not of God.* In all this there is not a Syllable which any way crosseth us. For concerning Arguments Negative taken from Humane Authority, they are here proved to be in some cases very strong and forcible. They are not in our estimation idle reproofs, when the Authors of needless Innovations are opposed with such Negatives, as that of *Leo, How are these new devices brought in which our Fathers never knew?* When their grave and reverend Superiors do reckon up unto them, as *Augustin* did to the *Donatists,* large Catalogues of Fathers, wondred at for their wisdom, piety and learning, amongst whom for so many Ages before us, no one did ever so think of the Churches affairs, as now the World doth begin to be perswaded; surely by us they are not taught to take exception hereat, because such Arguments are Negative. Much less when the like are taken from the sacred authority of Scripture, if the matter it self do bear them. For in truth the question is not, Whether an Argument from Scripture negatively may be good, but whether it be so generally good, that in all actions men may urge it? The Fathers, I grant, do use very general and large terms, even as *Hiero* the King did in speaking of *Archimedes, From henceforward whatsoever* Archimedes *speaketh, it must be believed.* His meaning was not that *Archimedes* could simply in nothing be deceived, but that he had in such sort approved his skill, that he seemed worthy of credit for ever after in matters appertaining unto the science he was skilful in. In speaking thus largely it is presumed, that mens speeches will be taken according to the matter whereof they speak. Let any man therefore that carrieth indifferency of judgement, peruse the Bishops speeches, and consider well of those negatives concerning Scripture, which he produceth out of *Irenæus, Chrysostom* and *Leo,* which three are chosen from among the residue, because the sentences of the others (even as one of theirs also) do make for defence of negative Argments taken from humane Authority, and not from divine onely. They mention no more restraint in the one then in the other: yet I think themselves will not hereby judge, that the Fathers took both to be strong, without restraint unto any special kind of matter, wherein they held such Argument forcible. Nor doth the Bishop either say or prove any more, then that an Argument in some kinds of matter may be good, although taken negatively from Scripture.

Their opinion concerning the force of Arguments, taken from humane authority for the ordering of mens actions or perswasions.

7. An earnest desire to draw all things unto the determination of bare and naked Scripture, hath caused here much pains to be taken in abating the estimation and credit of man. Which if we labour to maintain as far as Truth and Reason will bear, let not any think that we travel about a matter not greatly needful. For the scope of all their pleading against mans Authority, is to overthrow such Orders, Laws, and Constitutions in the Church, as depending thereupon, if they should therefore be taken away, would peradventure leave neither face nor memory of Church to continue long in the world, the world especially being such as now it is. That which they have in this case spoken, I would for brevity sake let pass, but that the drift of their speech being so dangerous, their words are not to be neglected. Wherefore to say that simply an Argument taken from mans Authority, doth hold no way, neither Affirmatively nor Negatively, is hard. By a mans Authority we here understand the force which his word hath for the assurance of anothers mind that buildeth upon it; as the Apostle somewhat did upon their report of the house of *Chloe*; and the *Samaritans* in a matter of far greater moment, upon the report of a simple Woman. For so it is said in S. *Johns* Gospel, *Many of the Samaritans of that City believed in him for the saying of the woman, which testified, He hath told me all things that ever I did.* The strength of mans Authority is Affirmatively such, that the weightiest affairs in the world depend thereon.

T. C. l. 1 *p.* 25. When the question is of the authority of a man, it holdeth neither affirmatively nor negatively. The Reason is, because the infirmity of man can never attain to the perfection of any thing whereby he might speak all things that are to be spoken of it; neither yet be free from error in those things which he speaketh or giveth out. And therefore this argument neither affirmatively nor negatively compelleth the hearer, but only inducеth him to some liking or disliking of that for which it is brought, and is rather for an Orator to perswade the simpler sort, then for a Disputer to enforce him that is learned. 1 Cor. 1. 11. Joh. 4. 34.

In

In judgement and juſtice are not hereupon proceedings grounded? Saith not the Law, that *in the mouth of two or three Witneſſes every word ſhall be confirmed*? This the Law of God would not ſay, if there were in a mans teſtimony no force at all to prove any thing. Deut. 19. 15. Matth. 18. 16. And if it be admitted that in matter of Fact, there is ſome credit to be given to the teſtimony of man, but not in matter of opinion and judgment, we ſee the contrary both acknowledged and univerſally practiſed alſo throughout the world. The ſentences of wiſe and expert men were never but highly eſteemed. Let the title of a mans right be called in queſtion, are we not bold to relie and build upon the judgement of ſuch as are famous for their skill in the Laws of this Land? In matter of State, the weight many times of ſome one mans authority is thought reaſon ſufficient even to ſway over whole Nations. And this is not only with the ſimple ſort, but the learneder and wiſer we are, the more ſuch Arguments in ſome caſes prevail with us. The Reaſon why the ſimpler ſort are moved with Authority, is the conſcience of their own ignorance; whereby it cometh to paſs, that having learned men in admiration, they rather fear to diſlike them, then know wherefore they ſhould allow and follow their judgements. Contrariwiſe with them that are skilful, authority is much more ſtrong and forcible; becauſe they only are able to diſcern how juſt cauſe there is why to ſome mens Authority, ſo much ſhould be attributed. For which cauſe the name of *Hippocrates* (no doubt) were more effectual to perſwade even ſuch men as *Galen* himſelf, then to move a ſilly Emperick. So that the very ſelf-ſame Argument in this kind which doth but induce the vulgar ſort to like, may conſtrain the wiſer to yield. And therefore not Orators only with the people, but even the very profoundeſt Diſputers in all faculties have hereby often with the beſt learned prevailed moſt. As for Arguments taken from humane Authority, and that negatively, for example ſake, if we ſhould think the aſſembling of the people of God together by the ſound of a Bell, the preſenting of Infants at the Holy Font, by ſuch as we commonly call their Godfathers, or any other the like received cuſtom to be impious, becauſe ſome men of whom we think very reverently, have in their Books and Writings no where mentioned or taught that ſuch things ſhould be in the Church; this reaſoning were ſubject unto juſt reproof; it were but feeble, weak, and unſound. Notwithſtanding even negatively an Argument from humane Authority may be ſtrong; as namely thus: The Chronicles of *England* mention no more then only ſix Kings bearing the name of *Edward*, ſince the time of the laſt Conqueſt; therefore it cannot be there ſhould be more. So that if the queſtion be of the authority of a mans teſtimony, we cannot ſimply avouch, either that affirmatively, it doth not any way hold, or that it hath only force to induce the ſimpler ſort, and not to conſtrain men of underſtanding and ripe judgement to yield aſſent, or that negatively it hath in it no ſtrength at all. For unto every of theſe the contrary is moſt plain. Neither doth that which is alledged concerning the infirmity of men, overthrow or diſprove this. Men are blinded with ignorance and error; many things eſcape them, and in many things they may be deceived; yea, thoſe things which they do know, they may either forget, or upon ſundry indirect conſiderations let paſs, and although themſelves do not erre, yet may they through malice or vanity, even of purpoſe deceive others. Howbeit, infinite caſes there are wherein all theſe impediments and lets are ſo manifeſtly excluded, that there is no ſhew or colour whereby any ſuch Exception may be taken, but that the teſtimony of man will ſtand as a ground of infallible aſſurance. That there is a City of *Rome*, that *Pius Quintus* and *Gregory* the thirteenth, and others have been Popes of *Rome*, I ſuppoſe we are certainly enough perſwaded. The ground of our perſwaſion, who never ſaw the place nor perſons before named, can be nothing but mans teſtimony. Will any man here notwithſtanding alledge thoſe mentioned humane infirmities as Reaſons, why theſe things ſhould be miſtruſted or doubted of? yea, that which is more, utterly to infringe the force and ſtrength of mans teſtimony, were to ſhake the very Fortreſs of Gods truth. For whatſoever we believe concerning Salvation by Chriſt, although the Scripture be therein the ground of our belief; yet the authority of man is, if we mark it, the key which openeth the door of entrance into the knowledge of the Scripture. The Scripture doth not teach us the things that are of God, unleſs we did credit men who have taught us that the words of Scripture do ſignifie thoſe things. Some way therefore, notwithſtanding mans infirmity,

mity, yet his Authority may inforce assent. Upon better advice and deliberation so much is perceived, and at the length confest, that Arguments taken from the Authority of men, may not only so far forth as hath been declared, but further also be of some force in *Humane Sciences*; which force be it never so small, doth shew that they are not utterly naught. But in *Matters Divine* it is still maintained stifly that they have no manner force at all. Howbeit, the very self same reason, which causeth to yield that they are of some force in the one, will at the length constrain also to acknowledge that they are not in the other altogether unforcible. For if the natural strength of mans wit may by experience and studie attain unto such ripeness in the knowledge of things humane, that men in this respect may presume to build somewhat upon their judgement; what reason have we to think but that even in matters Divine, the like wits furnisht with necessary helps, exercised in Scripture with like diligence, and assisted with the grace of Almighty God, may grow unto so much perfection of knowledge, that men shall have just cause, when any thing pertinent unto Faith and Religion is doubted of, the more willingly to encline their mindes towards that which the sentence of so grave, wise, and learned in that faculty shall judge most sound? For the controversie is of the weight of such mens judgements. Let it therefore be suspected, let it be taken as gross, corrupt, repugnant unto the truth, whatsoever concerning things divine above nature shall at any time be spoken as out of the mouths of meer natural men, which have not the eyes wherewith heavenly things are discerned: For this we contend not. But whom God hath endued with principal gifts to aspire unto knowledge by; whose exercises, labours, and divine studies he hath so blest, that the World for their great and rare skill that way hath them in singular admiration; may we reject even their judgement likewise, as being utterly of no moment? For mine own part, I dare not so lightly esteem of the Church, and of the principal Pillars therein. The truth is, that the minde of man desireth evermore to know the truth, according to the most infallible certainty which the nature of things can yield. The greatest assurance generally with all men, is that which we have by plain aspect and intuitive beholding. Where we cannot attain unto this there, what appeareth to be true, by strong and invincible demonstration, such as wherein it is not by any way possible to be deceived, thereunto the minde doth necessarily assent, neither is it in the choice thereof to do otherwise. And in case these both do fail, then which way greatest probability leadeth, thither the minde doth evermore incline. Scripture with Christian men being received as the Word of God; that for which we have probable, yea, that which we have necessary reason for, yea, that which we see with our eyes, is not thought so sure as that which the Scripture of God teacheth; because we hold that his speech revealeth there what himself seeth, and therefore the strongest proof of all, and the most necessarily assented unto by us (which do thus receive the Scripture) is the Scripture. Now it is not required, nor can be exacted at our hands, that we should yield unto any thing other assent, then such as doth answer the evidence which is to be had of that we assent unto. For which cause even in matters Divine, concerning some things we may lawfuly doubt and suspend our judgement, enclining neither to one side or other; as namely, touching the time of the fall both of man and Angels; of some things we may very well retain an opinion that they are probable and not unlikely to be true, as when we hold that men have their souls rather by creation then propagation, or that the Mother of our Lord lived always in the state of Virginity as well after his birth as before (for of these two, the one, her virginity before, is a thing which of necessity we must believe; the other, her continuance in the same state always, hath more likelihood of truth then the contrary;) finally, in all things then are our Consciences best resolved, and in a most agreeable sort unto God and Nature setled, when they are so far perswaded as those grounds of per-

T.C. l.1. p. 10. Although that kinde of Argument of Authority of men is good neither in humane nor divine sciences; yet it hath some small force in humane sciences, for if such as naturally, and in that he is a man, he may come to some ripeness of judgement in those sciences, which in divine matters hath no force at all: as of him which naturally, and as he is a man, can no more judge of them then a blinde man of colours; yea, so far is it from drawing credit, if it be barely spoken, without Reason and Testimony of Scripture, that it carrieth also a suspition of untruth whatsoever proceedeth from him: which the Apostle did well note, when to signifie a thing corruptly spoken, and against the truth, he saith, that it is spoken according to man, *Rom.* 3. He saith not as a wicked and lying man, but simply as a man: And although this corruption be reformed in many, yet for so much as in whom the knowledge of the truth is most advanced, there remaineth both ignorance and disordered affections (whereof either of them turneth him from speaking of the truth) no mans authority, with the Church especially, and those that are called and perswaded of the Authority of the Word of God, can bring any assurance unto the Conscience.

perswasion which are to be had will bear. Which thing I do so much the rather set down, for that I see how a number of souls are, for want of right Information in this Point, oftentimes grievously vexed. When bare and unbuilded Conclusions are put into their mindes, they finding not themselves to have thereof any great certainty, imagine that this proceedeth only from lack of Faith, and that the Spirit of God doth not work in them, as it doth in true Believers; by this means their hearts are much troubled, they fall into anguish and perplexity: whereas the truth is, that how bold and confident soever we may be in words, when it cometh to the point of trial, such as the evidence is, which the Truth hath either in it self, or through proof, such is the hearts assent thereunto; neither can it be stronger, being grounded as it should be. I grant that proof derived from the authority of mans judgement, is not able to work that assurance which doth grow by a stronger proof; and therefore although ten thousand General Councils would set down one and the same definitive sentence concerning any Point of Religion whatsoever, yet one Demonstrative Reason alledged, or one Manifest Testimony cited from the mouth of God himself to the contrary, could not choose but over-weigh them all; inasmuch as for them to have been deceived, it is not impossible; it is, that demonstrative Reason or Testimony Divine should deceive. Howbeit, in defect of proof infallible, because the minde doth rather follow probable perswasions, then approve the things that have in them no likelihood of truth at all; surely if a Question concerning matter of Doctrine were proposed, and on the one side no kinde of proof appearing, there should on the other be alledged and shewed that so a number of the Learnedest Divines in the World have ever thought; although it did not appear what Reason or what Scripture led them to be of that judgement, yet to their very bare judgement somewhat a reasonable man would attribute, notwithstanding the common imbecillities which are incident unto our nature. And whereas it is thought, that especially with the Church, and those that are called, and perswaded of the Authority of the Word of God, mans authority with them especially should not prevail; it must and doth prevail even with them, yea, with them especially as far as equity requireth, and farther we maintain it not. For men to be tied and led by Authority, as it were with a kind of captivity of judgement, and though there be reason to the contrary not to listen unto it, but to follow like Beasts the first in the Herd, they know not, nor care not whither, this were brutish. Again, that authority of men should prevail with men either against or above Reason, is no part of our belief. Companies of learned men, be they never so great and reverend are to yield unto Reason, the weight whereof is no whit prejudiced by the simplicity of his person which doth alledge it, but being found to be sound and good, the bare opinion of men to the contrary, must of necessity stoop and give place. *Irenæus* writing against *Marcion*, which held one God Author of the Old-Testament, and another of the New; to prove that the Apostles preached the same God which was known before to the Jews, he copiously alledgeth sundry their Sermons and Speeches uttered concerning that matter, and recorded in Scripture. And lest any should be wearied with such store of Allegations, in the end he concludeth, *While we labour for these Demonstrations out of Scripture, and do summarily declare the things which many ways have been spoken, be contented quietly to hear, and do not think my speech tedious*: Quoniam ostensiones quæ sunt in Scripturis, non possunt ostendi nisi ex ipsis Scripturis, *Because demonstrations that are in Scripture may not otherwise be shewed, then by citing them out of the Scriptures themselves where they are.* Which words make so little unto the purpose, that they seem, as it were offended at him which hath called them

T.C. l.2.p.21. Of divers sentences of the Fathers themselves (whereby some have likened them to brute Beasts without Reason, which suffer themselves to be led by the judgement and authority of others, some have preferred the judgement of one simple rude man, alledging reason, unto companies of learned men) I will content my self at this time with two or three Sentences. *Irænus* saith, Whatsoever is to be shewed in the Scripture, cannot be shewed but out of the Scriptures themselves, *l. 3. cap. 12. Jerome* saith, No man, be he never so holy or eloquent, hath any authority after the Apostles, in *Psal. 85. Augustine* saith, That he will believe none, how godly and learned soever he be, unless he confirm his sentence by the Scriptures, or by some reason not contrary to them, *Ep. 18.* And in another place, Hear this, The Lord saith; hear not this, *Donatus* saith, *Rogatus* saith, *Vincentius* saith, *Hilarius* saith, *Ambrose* saith, *Augustine* saith, but hearken unto this, the Lord saith, *Ep 8.* And again, having to do with an Arrian, he affirmeth, that neither he ought to bring forth the Council of *Nice*, nor the other the Council of *Arimine*, thereby to bring prejudice each to other; neither ought the Arrian to be holden by the authority of the one, nor himself by the authority of the other, but by the Scriptures, which are witnesses proper to neither, but common to both, matter with matter, cause with cause, reason with reason ought to be debated, *Cont. Max. Arrian, p.14. cap.* And in another place against *Petil.* the Donatist, he saith, Let not these words be heard between us, I say; You say, let us hear this, Thus saith the Lord. And by and by speaking of the Scriptures he saith, There let us seek the Church, there let us try the cause. *De. unit. Eccles. cap. 3.* Hereby it is manifest, that the argument of the authority of man affirmatively is nothing worth.

thus ſolemnly forth to ſay nothing. And concerning the Verdict of S. *Ferome*, If no man, be he never ſo well learned, have after the Apoſtles any Authority to publiſh new Doctrine as from Heaven, and to require the Worlds aſſent as unto truth received by Prophetical Revelation; doth this prejudice the credit of learned mens judgements in opening that truth, which by being converſant in the Apoſtles Writings, they have themſelves from thence learned? S. *Auguſtine* exhorteth not to hear men, but to hearken what God ſpeaketh. His purpoſe is not (I think) that we ſhould ſtop our ears againſt his own exhortation, and therefore he cannot mean ſimply that audience ſhould altogether be denied unto men; but either that if men ſpeak one thing, and God himſelf teach another, then he, not they, to be obeyed; or if they both ſpeak the ſame thing, yet then alſo mans ſpeech unworthy of hearing, not ſimply, but in compariſon of that which proceedeth from the mouth of God. Yea, but we doubt what the will of God is. Are we in this caſe forbidden to hear what men of judgement think it to be? If not, then this Allegation alſo might very well have been ſpared. In that ancient ſtrife which was between the Catholick Fathers and *Arrians*, *Donatiſts*, and others, of like perverſe and froward diſpoſition, as long as to Fathers or Councils alledged on the one ſide, the like by the contrary ſide were oppoſed, impoſſible it was that ever the Queſtion ſhould by this mean grow unto any iſſue or end. The Scripture they both believed; the Scripture they knew could not give ſentence on both ſides; by Scripture the controverſie between them was ſuch as might be determined. In this caſe what madneſs was it with ſuch kindes of proofs to nouriſh their contention, when there were ſuch effectual means to end all controverſie that was between them? Hereby therefore it doth not as yet appear that an Argument of Authority of man affirmatively, is in matters Divine nothing worth. Which Opinion being once inſerted into the mindes of the vulgar ſort, what it may grow unto God knoweth. Thus much we ſee, it hath already made thouſands ſo headſtrong, even in groſs and palpable Errors, that a man whoſe capacity will ſcarce ſerve him to utter five words in ſenſible manner, bluſheth not in any doubt concerning matter of Scripture to think his own bare *Yea*, as good as the *Nay* of all the wiſe, grave and learned judgements that are in the whole world: Which inſolency muſt be repreſt, or it will be the very bane of Chriſtian Religion. Our Lords Diſciples marking what ſpeech he uttered unto them, and at the ſame time calling to minde a common opinion held by the Scribes, between which opinion and the words of their Maſter, it ſeemed unto them that there was ſome contradiction, which they could not themſelves anſwer, with full ſatisfaction of their own mindes; the doubt they propoſe to our Saviour, ſaying, *Why then ſay the Scribes that Elias muſt firſt come?* They knew that the Scribes did err greatly, and that many ways even in matters of their own profeſſion. They notwithſtanding thought the judgement of the very Scribes in matters Divine to be of ſome value; ſome probability they thought there was that *Elias* ſhould come, inaſmuch as the Scribes ſaid it. Now no truth can contradict any truth; deſirous therefore they were to be taught, how both might ſtand together; that which they knew could not be falſe, becauſe Chriſt ſpake it; and this which to them did ſeem true, only becauſe the Scribes had ſaid it. For the Scripture from whence the Scribes did gather it, ws not then in their heads. We do not finde that our Saviour reproved them of Error, for thinking the judgement of the Scribes to be worth the objecting, for eſteeming it to be of any moment or value, in matters concerning God. We cannot therefore be perſwaded that the will of God is, we ſhould ſo far reject the authority of men, as to reckon it nothing. No, it may be a queſtion, whether they that urge us unto this be themſelves ſo perſwaded indeed. Men do ſometimes bewray that by deeds, which to confeſs they are hardly drawn. Mark then if this be not general with all men for the moſt part. When the judgements of learned men are alledged againſt them, what do they but either elevate their credit, or oppoſe unto them the judgements of others as learned? Which thing doth argue that all men acknowledge in them ſome force and weight, for which they are loth the cauſe they maintain ſhould be ſo much weakned, as their Teſtimony is available. Again, what reaſon is there why alledging Teſtimonies as Proofs, men give them ſome title of credit, honour and eſtimation whom they alledge, unleſs beforehand it be ſufficiently known who they are? what reaſon hereof but onely a common engrafted perſwaſion,

Sacerdotal

Matth. 17. 10.

ſwaſion, that in ſome men there may be found ſuch qualities as are able to countervail thoſe exceptions which might be taken againſt them, and that ſuch mens authority is not lightly to be ſhaken off? Shall I add further, that the force of Arguments drawn from the Authority of Scripture it ſelf, as Scriptures commonly are alledged, ſhall (being ſifted) be found to depend upon the ſtrength of this ſo much deſpiſed and debaſed authority of man? Surely it doth, and that oftner then we are aware of. For although Scripture be of God, and therefore the proof which is taken from thence, muſt needs be of all other moſt invincible; yet this ſtrength it hath not, unleſs it avouch the ſelf-ſame thing, for which it is brought. If there be either undeniable apparence that ſo it doth, or reaſon ſuch as cannot deceive, then Scripture-proof (no doubt) in ſtrength and value exceedeth all. But for the moſt part, even ſuch as are readieſt to cite for one thing Five hundred ſentences of holy Scripture; what warrant have they, that any one of them doth mean the thing for which it is alledged? Is not their ſureſt ground moſt commonly, either ſome probable conjecture of their own, or the judgment of others taking thoſe Scriptures as they do? Which notwithſtanding to mean otherwiſe then they take them, it is not ſtill altogether impoſſible. So that now and then they ground themſelves on Humane authority, even when they moſt pretend Divine. Thus it fareth even clean throughout the whole controverſie about that Diſcipline which is ſo earneſtly urged and labored for. Scriptures are plentifully alledged to prove that the whole Chriſtian World for ever ought to embrace it. Hereupon men term it, *The Diſcipline of God.* Howbeit, examine, ſift, and reſolve their alledged proofs, till you come to the very root from whence they ſpring, the heart wherein their ſtrength lieth; and it ſhall clearly appear unto any man of judgment, that the moſt which can be inferred upon ſuch plenty of Divine Teſtimonies is onely this, That *ſome things* which they maintain as far as *ſome men* can *probably conjecture*, do *ſeem* to have been out of Scripture *not abſurdly* gathered. Is this a warrant ſufficient for any mans conſcience to build ſuch proceedings upon, as have been, and are put in ure for the eſtabliſhment of that cauſe? But to conclude, I would gladly underſtand how it cometh to paſs, that they which ſo peremptorily do maintain that Humane Authority is nothing worth, are in the cauſe which they favor ſo careful to have the common ſort of men perſwaded, that the wiſeſt, the godlieſt, and the beſt learned in all Chriſtendom are that way given, ſeeing they judge this to make nothing in the World for them? Again, how cometh it to paſs, they cannot abide that Authority ſhould be alledged on the other ſide, if there be no force at all in Authorities on one ſide or other? Wherefore labor they to ſtrip their Adverſaries of ſuch furniture as doth not help? Why take they ſuch needleſs pains to furniſh alſo their own cauſe with the like? If it be void and to no purpoſe, that the names of men are ſo frequent in their Books, what did move them to bring them in, or doth to ſuffer them there remaining? Ignorant I am not how this is ſalved, *They do it but after the truth made manifeſt, firſt by Reaſon, or by Scripture: They do it not, but to controul the enemies of truth, who bear themſelves bold upon Humane Authority, making not for them, but againſt them rather.* Which anſwers are nothing: For in what place, or upon what conſideration ſoever it be they do it, were it in their own opinion of no force being done, they would undoubtedly refrain to do it.

T.C. lib 2. 25. If at any time it hapned unto *Auguſtine* (as it did againſt the Donatiſts and others) to alledge the authority of the ancient Fathers, which had been before him; yet this was not done before he had laid a ſure foundation of his cauſe in the Scriptures, and that alſo being provoked by the adverſaries of the truth, who bare themſelves high of ſome Council, or of ſome man of name that had favored that parr.

8. But to the end it may more plainly appear, what we are to judge of their ſentences, and of the cauſe it ſelf wherein they are alledged; firſt, it may not well be denied, that all actions of men endued with the uſe of reaſon, are generally either good or evil. For although it be granted, that no action is properly termed good or evil, unleſs it be voluntarily; yet this can be no let to our former Aſſertion, That all actions of men endued with the uſe of reaſon, are generally either good or evil; becauſe even thoſe things are done voluntarily by us, which other Creatures do naturally, in as much as we might ſtay our doing of them if we would. Beaſts naturally do take their food and reſt, when it offereth it ſelf unto them. If men did ſo too, and could not do otherwiſe of themſelves, there were no place for any ſuch reproof as that of our Saviour Chriſt unto his Diſciples, *Could ye not watch with me one hour?* That which is voluntarily performed in things tending to the end, if it be well done, muſt needs be done with deliberate conſideration of ſome reaſonable cauſe, wherefore we rather ſhould do it then not. Whereupon it ſeemeth, that in ſuch actions

A Declaration what the truth is in this matter.

Matth. 26. 40.

onely thoſe are ſaid to be good or evil, which are capable of deliberation: So that many things being hourly done by men, wherein they need not uſe with themſelves any manner of conſultation at all, it may perhaps hereby ſeem that well or ill doing belongeth onely to our weightier affairs, and to thoſe deeds which are of ſo great importance that they require advice. But thus to determine were perillous, and peradventure unſound alſo. I do rather incline to think, that ſeeing all the unforced actions of men are voluntary; and all voluntary actions tending to the end have choice; and all choice preſuppoſeth the knowledge of ſome cauſe wherefore we make it; where the reaſonable cauſe of ſuch actions ſo readily offereth it ſelf, that it needeth not be ſought for; in thoſe things though we do not deliberate, yet they are of their nature apt to be deliberated on, in regard of the will which may encline either way, and would not any one way bend it ſelf, if there were not ſome apparent motive to lead it. Deliberation actual we uſe, when there is doubt what we ſhould encline our wills unto. Where no doubt is, deliberation is not excluded as impertinent unto the thing, but as needleſs in regard of the Agent, which ſeeth already what to reſolve upon. It hath no apparent abſurdity therefore in it to think, that all actions of men endued with the uſe of reaſon, are generally either good or evil. Whatſoever is good, the ſame is alſo approved of God; and according unto the ſundry degrees of goodneſs, the kinds of Divine approbation are in like ſort multiplied. Some things are good, yet in ſo mean a degree of goodneſs, that men are onely not diſproved nor diſallowed of God for them. *No man hateth his own fleſh.* If ye do good unto them that do ſo to you, the very *Publicans* themſelves do as much: They are worſe then Infidels that have no care to provide for their own. In actions of this ſort, the very light of nature alone may diſcover that which is ſo farre forth in the ſight of God allowable. Some things in ſuch ſort are allowed, that they be alſo required as neceſſary unto ſalvation, by way of direct, immediate and proper neceſſity final; ſo that without performance of them we cannot by ordinary courſe be ſaved, nor by any means be excluded from life obſerving them. In actions of this kind our chiefeſt direction is from Scripture; for Nature is no ſufficient Teacher what we ſhould do that we may attain unto life everlaſting. The unſufficiency of the light of nature, is by the light of Scripture ſo fully and ſo perfectly herein ſupplied, that further light then this hath added, there doth not need unto that end.

Ephes. 5. 29. Matth. 5. 46. 1 Tim. 5. 8.

Finally, ſome things although not ſo required of neceſſity, that to leave them undone excludeth from Salvation, are notwithſtanding of ſo great dignity and acceptation with God, that moſt ample reward in Heaven is laid up for them. Hereof we have no Commandment either in Nature or Scripture which doth exact them at our hands; yet thoſe Motives there are in both, which draw moſt effectually our minds unto them: In this kind there is not the leaſt action, but it doth ſomewhat make to the acceſſory augmentation of our bliſs. For which cauſe our Saviour doth plainly witneſs, that there ſhall not be as much as a cup of cold water beſtowed for his ſake without reward. Hereupon dependeth whatſoever difference there is between the ſtates of Saints in glory: hither we refer whatſoever belongeth unto the higheſt perfection of man by way of ſervice towards God: Hereunto that fervour and firſt love of Chriſtians did bend it ſelf, cauſing them to ſell their poſſeſſions, and lay down the price at the bleſſed Apoſtles feet. Hereat S. *Paul* undoubtedly did aim, in ſo far abridging his own liberty; and exceeding that which the bond of neceſſary and enjoyned duty tied him unto. Wherefore ſeeing that in all theſe ſeveral kinds of actions, there can be nothing poſſibly evil which God approveth; and that he approveth much more then he doth command; and that his very Commandments in ſome kinde, as namely, his Precepts comprehended in the Law of Nature, may be otherwiſe known then onely by Scripture; and that to do them, howſoever we know them, muſt needs be acceptable in his ſight: Let them with whom we have hitherto diſputed, conſider well, how it can ſtand with Reaſon to make the bare mandate of Sacred Scripture the onely Rule of all good and evil in the actions of mortal men. The teſtimonies of God are true, the Teſtimonies of God are perfect, the Teſtimonies of God are all-ſufficient unto that end for which they were given. Therefore accordingly we do receive them, we do not think that in them God hath omitted any thing needful unto his purpoſe, and left his intent to be accompliſhed by our deviſings. What

Matth. 10. 42.

Acts 4. 31. 1 Theſ. 2. 7, 9.

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the Scripture purpoſeth, the ſame in all points it doth perform. Howbeit, that here we ſwerve not in judgement, one thing eſpecially we muſt obſerve, namely, That the abſolute perfection of Scripture is ſeen by relation unto that end whereto it tendeth. And even hereby it cometh to paſs, that firſt ſuch as imagine the general and main drift of the body of ſacred Scripture not to be ſo large as it is, nor that God did thereby intend to deliver, as in truth he doth, a full inſtruction in all things unto ſalvation neceſſary, the knowledge whereof man by nature could not otherwiſe in this life attain unto: they are by this very mean induced, either ſtill to look for new Revelations from Heaven, or elſe dangerouſly to add to the Word of God uncertain Tradition, that ſo the Doctrine of mans Salvation may be compleat; which Doctrine we conſtantly hold in all reſpects without any ſuch thing added to be ſo compleat, that we utterly refuſe as much as once to acquaint our ſelves with any thing further. Whatſoever, to make up the Doctrine of mans Salvation, is added as in ſupply of the Scriptures unſufficiency, we reject it: Scripture purpoſing this, hath perfectly and fully done it. Again, the ſcope and purpoſe of God in delivering the Holy Scripture, ſuch as do take more largely then behoveth, they on the contrary ſide racking and ſtretching it further then by him was meant, are drawn into ſundry as great inconveniences. Theſe pretending the Scriptures perfection, infer thereupon, That in Scripture all things lawful to be done muſt needs be contained. We count thoſe things perfect which want nothing requiſite for the end whereto they were inſtituted: As therefore God created every part and particle of man exactly perfect, that is to ſay, in all points ſufficient unto that uſe for which he appointed it; ſo the Scripture, yea, every ſentence thereof is perfect, and wanteth nothing requiſite unto that purpoſe for which God delivered the ſame. So that if hereupon we conclude, that becauſe the Scripture is perfect, therefore all things lawful to be done are comprehended in the Scripture; we may even as well conclude ſo of every ſentence, as of the whole ſum and body thereof, unleſs we firſt of all prove that it was the drift, ſcope and purpoſe of Almighty God in holy Scripture, to comprize all things which man may practiſe. But admit this, and mark, I beſeech you, what would follow. God in delivering Scripture to his Church, ſhould clean have abrogated amongſt them the Law of Nature, which is an infallible knowledge imprinted in the minds of all the children of men, whereby both general principles for directing of humane actions are comprehended, and concluſions derived from them; upon which concluſions groweth in particularity the choice of good and evil in the daily affairs of this life. Admit this, and what ſhall the Scripture be but a ſnare and a torment to weak Conſciences, filling them with infinite perplexities, ſcrupuloſities, doubts inſoluble, and extreme deſpairs? Not that the Scripture it ſelf doth cauſe any ſuch thing (for it tendeth to the clean contrary, and the fruit thereof is reſolute aſſurance and certainty in that it teacheth:) but the neceſſities of this life urging men to do that which the light of Nature, common diſcretion, and judgement of it ſelf directeth them unto; on the other ſide, this Doctrine teaching them that ſo to do were to ſin againſt their own ſouls, and that they put forth their hands to iniquity, whatſoever they go about, and have not firſt the ſacred Scripture of God for direction; how can it chuſe but bring the ſimple a thouſand times to their wits end, how can it chuſe but vex and amaze them? For in every action of common life to finde out ſome ſentence clearly and infallibly ſetting before our eyes what we ought to do (ſeem we in Scripture never ſo expert) would trouble us more then we are aware. In weak and tender minds we little know what miſery this ſtrict opinion would breed, beſides the ſtops it would make in the whole courſe of all mens lives and actions; make all things ſin which we do by direction of Natures light, and by the rule of common diſcretion without thinking at all upon Scripture. Admit this Poſition, and Parents ſhall cauſe their chidren to ſin, as oft as they cauſe them to do any thing before they come to years of capacity and be ripe for Knowledge in the Scripture. Admit this, and it ſhall not be with Maſters as it was with him him in the Goſpel; but ſervants being commanded to go, ſhall ſtand ſtill, till they have their errand warranted unto them by Scripture. Which as it ſtandeth with Chriſtian duty in ſome caſes, ſo in common affairs to require it, were moſt unfit. Two opinions therefore there are concerning ſufficiency of holy Scripture, each extreamly oppoſit unto the other, and both repugnant unto truth. The

T. C. lib. p. 6. Where this Doctrine is accuſed of bringing men to deſpair, it hath wrong. For when doubting is the way to deſpair, againſt which this Doctrine offereth the remedy; it muſt needs be that it bringeth comfort and joy to the Conſcience of man.

Luke 7. 8.

Schools

Schools of *Rome* teach Scripture to be unſufficient, as if, except Traditions were added, it did not contain all revealed and ſupernatural Truth, which abſolutely is neceſſary for the children of men in this life to know, that they may in the next be ſaved. Others juſtly condemning this opinion, grow likewiſe unto a dangerous extremity, as if Scripture did not only contain all things in that kinde neceſſary, but all things ſimply, and in ſuch ſort, that to do any thing according to any other Law, were not only unneceſſary, but even oppoſite unto ſalvation, unlawful and ſinful. Whatſoever is ſpoken of God, or things appertaining to God, otherwiſe then as the truth is, though it ſeem an honour, it is an injury. And as incredible praiſes given unto men, do often abate and impair the credit of their deſerved commendation; ſo we muſt likewiſe take great heed, leſt in attributing unto Scripture more then it can have, the incredibility of that, do cauſe even thoſe things which indeed it hath moſt abundantly, to be leſs reverendly eſteemed. I therefore leave it to themſelves to conſider, Whether they have in this Firſt Point overſhot themſelves, or not; which, God doth know, is quickly done, even when our meaning is moſt ſincere, as I am verily perſwaded, theirs in this caſe was.

OF

OF THE LAWS OF Ecclesiastical Polity.

Book III.

Concerning their Second Assertion, That in Scripture there must be of necessity contained a Form of Church Polity, the Laws whereof may in no wise be altered.

The Matter contained in this Third Book.

1. *What the Church is, and in what respect Laws of Polity are thereunto necessarily required.*
2. *Whether it be necessary that some particular Form of Church Polity be set down in Scripture, sith the things that belong particularly to any such Form are not of necessity to salvation.*
3. *That matters of Church Polity are different from matters of Faith and Salvation, and that they themselves so teach, which are our Reprovers for so teaching.*
4. *That hereby we take not from Scripture any thing, which thereunto with the soundness of truth may be given.*
5. *Their meaning who first urged against the Polity of the Church of* England, *that nothing ought to be established in the Church more then is commanded by the Word of God.*
6. *How great injury men by so thinking should offer unto all the Churches of God.*
7. *A shift notwithstanding to maintain it, by interpreting* Commanded, *as though it were meant that greater things onely ought to be found set down in Scripture particularly, and lesser framed by the general Rules of Scripture.*
8. *Another Device to defend the same, by expounding* Commanded, *as if it did signifie* grounded *on Scripture, and were opposed to things found out by the light of natural reason onely.*
9. *How Laws for the Polity of the Church may be made by the advice of men, and how those being not repugnant to the Word of God, are approved in his sight.*
10. *That neither Gods being the Author of Laws, nor yet his committing of them to Scripture, is any Reason sufficient to prove that they admit no addition or change.*
11. *Whether Christ must needs intend Laws unchangeable altogether, or have forbidden any where to make any other Law then himself did deliver.*

ALbeit the substance of those Controversies whereinto we have begun to wade, be rather of outward things appertaining to the Church of Christ, then of any thing wherein the nature and being of the Church consisteth: yet because the Subject or Matter which this Position concerneth, is, *A Form of Church Government, or Church-Polity*; It therefore behoveth us so far forth to consider the nature of the Church, as is requisite

What the Church is, and in what respect Laws of Polity are thereunto necessarily required.

site for mens more clear and plain understanding, in what respect Laws of Polity or Government are necessary thereunto. That Church of Christ, which we properly term his body Mystical, can be but one; neither can that one be sensibly discerned by any man, inasmuch as the parts thereof are some in Heaven already with Christ, and the rest that are on earth (albeit their natural persons be visible) we do not discern under this property whereby they are truly and infallibly of that body. Only our minds by intellectual conceit are able to apprehend, that such a real body there is, a body collective, because it containeth an huge multitude; a body mystical, because the mystery of their conjunction is removed altogether from sense. Whatsoever we read in Scripture, concerning the endless love, and the saving mercy, which God sheweth towards his Church, the only proper subject thereof is this Church. Concerning this Flock it is that our Lord and Saviour hath promised, *I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of my hands.* They who are of this Society have such Marks and Notes of distinction from all others, as are not objects unto our sense; only unto God who seeth their hearts, and understandeth all their secret cogitations, unto him they are clear and manifest. All men knew *Nathaniel* to be an *Israelite*. But our Saviour piercing deeper, giveth further Testimony of him then men could have done with such certainty as he did, *Behold indeed an Israelite, in whom there is no guile.* If we profess as *Peter* did, that we love the Lord, and profess it in the hearing of men; charity is prone to believe all things, and therefore charitable men are likely to think we do so, as long as they see no proof to the contrary. But that our love is sound and sincere, that it cometh from *a pure heart, a good conscience, and a faith unfeigned*, who can pronounce, saving only the searcher of all mens hearts, who alone intuitively doth know in this kind who are his? And as those everlasting promises of Love, Mercy, and Blessedness, belong to the mystical Church; even so on the other side, when we read of any duty which the Church of God is bound unto, the Church whom this doth concern is a sensible known company. And this Visible Church in like sort is but one, continued from the first beginning of the World to the last end. Which company being divided into two moyeties, the one before the other since the coming of Christ, that part which since the coming of Christ, partly hath embraced, and partly shall hereafter embrace the Christian Religion, we term as by a more proper name the Church of Christ. And therefore the Apostle affirmeth plainly of all men Christian, that be they Jew or Gentiles, bond or free, they are all incorporated into one company, they all make but (*a*) *one body*. The unity of which visible body and Church of Christ, consisteth in that Uniformity which all several persons thereunto belonging have, by reason of that *one Lord*, whose servants they all profess themselves; that *one Faith* which they all acknowledge, that *one Baptism*, wherewith they are all initiated. The visible Church of Jesus Christ is therefore one, in outward profession of those things which supernaturally appertain to the very Essence of Christianity, and are necessarily required in every particular Christian man. *Let all the house of Israel know for certainty*, saith *Peter*, *that God hath made him both Lord and Christ, even this Jesus whom ye have crucified.* Christians therefore they are not, which call not him their Master and Lord. And from hence it came, that first at *Antioch*, and afterward throughout the whole world, all that were of the Church visible were called Christians, even amongst the Heathen: which name unto them was precious and glorious; but in the estimation of the rest of the world, even Christ Jesus himself was (*b*) execrable, for whose sake all men were so likewise which did acknowledge him to be their Lord. This himself did foresee, and therefore armed his Church to the end they might sustain it without discomfort. *All these things they will do unto you for my names sake; yea, the time shall come, that whosoever killeth you will think that he doth God good service. These things I tell you, that when the hour shall come ye may then call to minde how I told you before-hand of them.* But our naming of Jesus Christ the Lord is not enough to prove us Christians, unless we also embrace that Faith, which Christ hath published unto the World. To shew that the

John 10. 28.

and 1. 47.

and 21. 15.

1 Tim. 1. 5.

(*a*) Ephes. 2. 16. That he might reconcile both unto God in one body.

Ephes. 3. 16. That the Gentiles should be inheritors also, and of the same body.

Vide T. *p.* 3. *q.* 7. *art.* 3: 1 Cor. 12. 13. Ephes. 4. 5.

Acts 2. 36.

John 13. 13. Col. 3. 24. and 2. 1.

(*b*) 1 Cor. 1. 23. *Vide & Tacitum lib. Anal.* 15. *Nero quæsitissimis pœnis afficit, quos per flagitia invitos vulgus Christianos appellabat. Auctor nominis ejus Christus qui Tiberio imperitat ante per procuratorem Pontium Pilatum supplicio affectus erat. Repressáq; in presens exitiabilis superstitio rursus erumpebat, non modo per Judæam, originem ejus mali, sed per urbem etiam, quò cuncta undique atrocia aut pudenda confluunt celebranturque.* John 15. 21. and 16. 2, 4.

Angel

Angel of *Pergamus* continued in Christianity, behold how the Spirit of Christ speaketh, *Thou keepest my Name, and thou hast not denied my Faith.* Concerning which Faith, *The rule thereof,* saith *Tertullian, is one alone, immoveable, and no way possible to be better framed anew.* What rule that is he sheweth by rehearsing those few Articles of Christian belief. And before *Tertullian, Ireney*; *The Church though scattered through the whole World, unto the uttermost borders of the Earth, hath from the Apostles and their Disciples received Belief.* The parts of which Belief, he also reciteth in substance the very same with *Tertullian,* and thereupon inferreth, *This Faith the Church being spread far and wide, preserveth as if one House did contain them: These things it equally embraceth, as though it had even one Soul, one Heart, and no more: It publisheth, teacheth, and delivereth these things with Uniform consent, as if God had given it but one onely Tongue wherewith to speak. He which amongst the Guides of the Church is best able to speak, uttereth no more then this; and less then this, the most simple do not utter, when they make Profession of their Faith.* Now although we know the Christian Faith, and allow of it, yet in this respect we are but entring; entred we are not into the Visible Church, before our admittance by the door of Baptism. Wherefore immediately upon the acknowledgment of Christian Faith, the Eunuch (we see) was baptized by *Philip, Paul* by *Ananias,* by *Peter* a huge multitude containing Three thousand Souls; which being once Baptized, were reckoned in the number of Souls added to the Visible Church. As for those Vertues that belong unto Moral Righteousness, and honesty of life, we do not mention them, because they are not proper unto Christian Men, as they are Christian, but do concern them as they are Men. True it is, the want of these Vertues excludeth from Salvation. So doth much more the absence of inward belief of heart; so doth despair and lack of Hope; so emptiness of Christian Love and Charity. But we speak now of the Visible Church, whose Children are signed with this mark, *One Lord, one Faith, one Baptism.* In whomsoever these things are, the Church doth acknowledge them for her Children; them onely she holdeth for Aliens and Strangers, in whom these things are not found. For want of these it is, that Saracens, Jews, and Infidels, are excluded out of the bounds of the Church: Others we may not deny to be of the Visible Church, as long as these things are not wanting in them. For apparent it is, that all Men are of necessity either Christians, or not Christians. If by External Profession they be Christians, then are they of the Visible Church of Christ; and Christians by External Profession they are all, whose mark of Recognisance hath in it those things which we have mentioned, yea, although they be impious Idolaters, wicked Hereticks, Persons excommunicable, yea, and cast out for notorious improbity. Such withal we deny not to be the Imps and Limbs of Satan, even as long as they continue such. Is it then possible, that the self-same men should belong both to the Synagogue of Satan, and to the Church of Jesus Christ? Unto that Church which is his Mystical Body, not possible; because that Body consisteth of none but onely true *Israelites,* true Sons of *Abraham,* true Servants and Saints of God. Howbeit of the Visible Body and Church of Jesus Christ, those may be, and oftentimes are, in respect of the main parts of their outward Profession, who in regard of their inward disposition of minde, yea, of External Conversation, yea, even of some parts of their very Profession, are most worthily both hateful in the sight of God himself, and in the eyes of the sounder part of the Visible Church, most execrable. Our Saviour therefore compareth the Kingdom of Heaven to a Net, whereunto all which cometh, neither is, nor seemeth Fish: His Church he compareth unto a Field, where Tares manifestly known and seen by all Men, do grow intermingled with good Corn; and even so shall continue till the final consummation of the World. God hath had ever, and ever shall have some Church Visible upon Earth. When the People of God worshipped the Calf in the Wilderness; when they adored the Brazen Serpent; when they served the gods of Nations; when they bowed their knees to *Baal*; when they burnt Incense and offered Sacrifice unto Idols: True it is, the wrath of God was most fiercely inflamed against them, their Prophets justly condemned them, as an adulterous seed and a wicked generation of Miscreants, which had forsaken the living God; and of him were likewise forsaken, in respect of that singular Mercy wherewith he kindly and lovingly embraceth his faithful Children. Howbeit retaining the Law of God, and the holy Seal of his Covenant, the Sheep of his Visible Flock they continued even in the depth of their

Apoc. 2. 13. *Tertul.* de Virgin. Veland.

Iren. Advers. Hæres. lib. 1. cap. 2. &c.

Acts 8. 38. & 22. 16. & 2. 41.

Matth. 13. 47. & 13. 24.

Exod. 23. Psa. 106. 19, 20. 2 Kings 18. 4. Jere. 11. 14. 2 Kings 22. 17. Isai. 57. 3. & 1. 4. & 60. 15.

Jere. 13. 11.

1 Kings 19. 8. Jere. 13. 11. 1 Kings 19. 18.

Diſobedience and Rebellion. Wherefore not onely amongſt them God always had his Church, becauſe he had thouſands which never bowed their knees to *Baal*; but whoſe knees were bowed unto *Baal*, even they were alſo of the Viſible Church of God. Nor did the Prophet ſo complain, as if that Church had been quite and clean extinguiſhed; but he took it as though there had not been remaining in the World any beſides himſelf, that carried a true and an upright heart towards God, with care to ſerve him according unto his holy Will. For lack of diligent obſerving the difference, firſt, between the Church of God, Myſtical and Viſible, then between the Viſible ſound and corrupted, ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs; the overſights are neither few nor light, that have been committed. This deceiveth them, and nothing elſe, who think that in the time of the firſt World, the Family of *Noah* did contain all that were of the Viſible Church of God. From hence it grew, and from no other cauſe in the World, that the *African* Biſhops in the Council of *Carthage*, knowing how the Adminiſtration of Baptiſm belongeth onely to the Church of Chriſt; and ſuppoſing that Hereticks, which were apparently ſevered from the ſound believing Church, could not poſſibly be of the Church of Jeſus Chriſt; thought it utterly againſt Reaſon, That Baptiſm adminiſtred by men of corrupt belief, ſhould be accounted as a Sacrament. And therefore in maintenance of Rebaptization, their Arguments are built upon the fore-alledged ground, *That Hereticks are not at all any part of the Church of Chriſt. Our Saviour founded his Church on a Rock, and not upon Hereſie; Power of Baptizing he gave to his Apoſtles, unto Hereticks he gave it not. Wherefore they that are without the Church, and oppoſe themſelves againſt Chriſt, do but ſcatter his Sheep and Flock. Without the Church, Baptize they cannot.* Again, *Are Hereticks Chriſtians, or are they not? If they be Chriſtians, wherefore remain they not in Gods Church? If they be no Chriſtians, how make they Chriſtians? Or to what purpoſe ſhall thoſe words of the Lord ſerve? He which is not with me, is againſt me:* And, *He which gathereth not with me, ſcattereth. Wherefore evident it is, that upon miſbegotten Children, and the brood of Antichriſt, without Rebaptization the Holy Ghoſt cannot deſcend.* But none in this caſe ſo earneſt as *Cyprian: I know no Baptiſm but one, and that in the Church onely; none without the Church, where he that doth caſt out the Devil, hath the Devil: He doth examine about Belief, whoſe lips and words do breathe forth a Canker: The faithleſs doth offer the Articles of Faith, a wicked Creature forgiveth wickedneſs; in the Name of Chriſt, Antichriſt ſigneth; he which is curſed of God, bleſſeth; a dead carrion promiſeth life; a man unpeaceable, giveth peace; a blaſphemer calleth upon the Name of God; a prophane perſon doth exerciſe Prieſthood; a Sacrilegious wretch doth prepare the Altar; and in the neck of all theſe that evil alſo cometh, the Euchariſt, a very Biſhop of the Devil doth preſume to conſecrate.* All this was true, but not ſufficient to prove, that Hereticks were in no ſort any part of the Viſible Church of Chriſt, and conſequently their Baptiſm no Baptiſm. This opinion therefore was afterwards both condemned by a better adviſed Council, and alſo revoked by the chiefeſt of the Authors thereof themſelves. What is it but onely the ſelf-ſame error and miſconceit, wherewith others being at this day likewiſe poſſeſt; they ask us where our Church did lurk, in what Cave of the Earth it ſlept for ſo many hundreds of years together, before the birth of *Martin Luther?* As if we were of opinion, that *Luther* did erect a new Church of Chriſt. No, the Church of Chriſt which was from the beginning, is, and continueth unto the end. Of which Church, all parts have not been always equally ſincere and ſound. In the days of *Abia*, it plainly appeareth, that *Judah* was by many degrees more free from pollution then *Iſrael*, as that ſolemn Oration ſheweth, wherein he pleadeth for the one againſt the other in this wiſe. *O Jeroboam, and all Iſrael, hear you me: Have ye not driven away the Prieſts of the Lord, the Sons of* Aaron, *and the Levites, and have made you Prieſts like the people of Nations? Whoſoever cometh to conſecrate with a young Bullock, and ſeven Rams, the ſame may be a Prieſt of them that are no gods. But we belong unto the Lord our God, and have not forſaken him; and the Prieſts the ſons of* Aaron *miniſter unto the Lord every morning, and every evening, Burnt-offerings, and ſweet Incenſe; and the Bread is ſet in order upon the pure Table, and the Candleſtick of Gold with the Lamps thereof, to burn every evening; for we keep the watch of the Lord our God, but ye have forſaken him.* In St. *Pauls* time, the integrity of *Rome* was famous; *Corinth* many ways reproved; they of *Galatia* much more out of ſquare. In St. *Johns* time, *Epheſus* and *Smyrna* in far better ſtate then *Thyatira* and *Pergamus* were. We hope therefore,

Fortunat. in Concil. Car. Matth. 7. 24. & 16. 18. & 28. 19.

Secundinus in eodem Concil. Matth. 12. 30.

In Concilio Niceno. Vide Hieron. Dial. Adverſ. Luciferia.

2 Chro. 13.

fore, that to reform our selves, if at any time we have done amiss, is not to sever our selves from the Church we were of before. In the Church we were, and we are so still. Other difference between our estate before and now, we know none, but onely such as we see in *Judah*; which having sometime been Idolatrous, became afterwards more soundly religious, by renouncing Idolatry and Superstition. *If* Ephraim *be joyned to Idols*, the counsel of the Prophet is, *Let him alone. If* Israel *play the Harlot, let not* Judah *sin.* If it seem evil unto you, saith *Joshua*, to serve the Lord, *chuse you this day whom you will serve; whether the gods whom your Fathers served beyond the flood, or the gods of the Amorites, in whose Land ye dwell: But I and mine house will serve the Lord.* The indisposition therefore of the Church of *Rome* to reform her self, must be no stay unto us from performing our duty to God; even as desire of retaining Conformity with them, could be no excuse, if we did not perform that duty. Notwithstanding so far as lawfully we may, we have held and do hold Fellowship with them. For even as the Apostle doth say of *Israel*, that they are in one respect enemies, but in another beloved of God: In like sort with *Rome*, we dare not communicate concerning sundry her gross and grievous abominations; yet touching these main parts of Christian truth wherein they constantly still persist, we gladly acknowledge them to be of the Family of Jesus Christ; and our hearty prayer unto God Almighty is, that being conjoyned so far forth with them, they may at the length (if it be his will) so yield to frame and reform themselves, that no distraction remain in any thing, but that we all may with one heart and one mouth, glorifie God the Father of our Lord and Saviour, whose Church we are. As there are which make the Church of *Rome* utterly no Church at all, by reason of so many, so grievous Errors in their Doctrines: So we have them amongst us, who under pretence of imagined corruptions in our Discipline, do give even as hard a judgment of the Church of *England* it self. But whatsoever either the one sort or the other teach, we must acknowledge even Hereticks themselves to be, though a maimed part, yet a part of the Visible Church. If an Infidel should pursue to death an Heretick professing Christianity, onely for Christian Profession sake, could we deny unto him the honor of Martyrdom? Yet this honor all men know to be proper unto the Church. Hereticks therefore are not utterly cut off from the Visible Curch of Christ. If the Fathers do any where, as oftentimes they do, make the true Visible Church of Christ, and Heretical companies opposite; they are to be construed as Separating Hereticks, not altogether from the company of Believers, but from the fellowship of sound Believers. For where profest unbelief is, there can be no Visible Church of Christ; there may be, where sound belief wanteth. Infidels being clean without the Church, deny directly, and utterly reject the very Principles of Christianity; which Hereticks embrace, and err onely by misconstruction: Whereupon their opinions, although repugnant indeed to the Principles of Christian Faith, are notwithstanding by them held otherwise, and maintained as most consonant thereunto. Wherefore being Christians in regard of the general Truth of Christ which they openly profess; yet they are by the Fathers every where spoken of, as men clean excluded out of the right believing Church, by reason of their particular Errors, for which all that are of a sound belief must needs condemn them. In this consideration, the answer of *Calvin* unto *Farell*, concerning the children of Popish Parents doth seem crazed. *Whereas*, saith he, *you ask our judgment about a matter, whereof there is doubt amongst you, whether Ministers of our Order, professing the pure Doctrine of the Gospel, may lawfully admit unto Baptism an Infant whose Father is a stranger unto our Churches, and whose Mother hath faln from us unto the Papacy, so that both the Parents are Popish. Thus we have thought good to answer; namely, that it is an absurd thing for us to baptize them which cannot be reckoned Members of our Body. And sith Papists children are such, we see not how it should be lawful to Minister Baptism unto them.* Sounder a great deal is the answer of the Ecclesiastical Colledge of *Geneva* unto *Knox*, who having signified unto them, that himself did not think it lawful to Baptize bastards, or the children of Idolaters (he meaneth Papists) or of Persons Excommunicate, till either the Parents had by repentance submitted themselves unto the Church, or else their children being grown unto the years of understanding, should come and sue for their own Baptism. *For thus thinking*, saith he, *I am thought to be over severe, and that not onely by them which are Popish; but even in their judgments also who think themselves Maintainers of the Truth.* Master *Knox*'s over-

Hos. 14. 15, & 17.

Josh. 24. 15.

Rom. 11. 28.

Calvin. Epist. 1.

Epist. 283.

Epist. 285.

ſight herein they controuled. Their Sentence was, *Whereſoever the Profeſsion of Chriſtianity hath not utterly periſhed and been extinct, Infants are beguiled of their right, if the Common Seal be denied them.* Which concluſion in it ſelf is ſound, although it ſeemeth the ground is but weak whereupon they build it: For the reaſon which they yield of their Sentence, is this; *The promiſe which God doth make to the faithful concerning their Seed, reacheth unto a thouſand Generations; it reſteth not onely in the firſt degree of Deſcent. Infants therefore whoſe Great Grandfathers have been holy and godly, do in that reſpect belong to the Body of the Church, although the Fathers and Grandfathers of whom they deſcend, have been Apoſtates: Becauſe the tenure of the Grace of God which did adopt them Three hundred years ago, and more in their Ancient Predeceſſors, cannot with juſtice be defeated and broken off by their Parents impiety coming between.* By which reaſon of theirs, although it ſeem that all the World may be baptized, in as much as no man living is a thouſand deſcents removed from *Adam* himſelf; yet we mean not at this time, either to uphold, or to overthrow it; onely their alledged concluſion we embrace, ſo it be conſtrued in this ſort: *That for as much as men remain in the Viſible Church, till they utterly renounce the Profeſsion of Chriſtianity, we may not deny unto Infants their right, by withholding from them the publick ſign of holy Baptiſm, if they be born where the outward acknowledgment of Chriſtianity is not clean gone and extinguiſhed.* For being in ſuch ſort born, their Parents are within the Church, and therefore their birth doth give them intereſt and right in Baptiſm. Albeit not every Error and Fault, yet Hereſies and Crimes which are not actually repented of, and forſaken, exclude quite and clean from that Salvation which belongeth unto the Myſtical Body of Chriſt; yea, they alſo make a Separation from the Viſible ſound Church of Chriſt; altogether from the Viſible Church, neither the one nor the other doth ſever. As for the Act of Excommunication, it neither ſhutteth out from the Myſtical, nor clean from the Viſible; but onely from Fellowſhip with the Viſible in holy duties. With what congruity then doth the Church of *Rome* deny, that her enemies, whom ſhe holdeth always for Hereticks, do at all appertain to the Church of Chriſt; when her own do freely grant, that albeit the Pope (as they ſay) cannot teach Hereſie, nor propound Error, he may notwithſtanding himſelf worſhip Idols, think amiſs concerning matters of Faith, yea, give himſelf unto Acts Diabolical, even being Pope? How exclude they us from being any part of the Church of Chriſt, under the colour and pretence of Hereſie, when they cannot but grant it poſſible, even for him to be as touching his own perſonal perſwaſion Heretical, who in their opinion not onely is of the Church, but holdeth the chiefeſt place of Authority over the ſame? But of theſe things we are not now to diſpute. That which already we have ſet down, is for our preſent purpoſe ſufficient. By the Church therefore, in this queſtion, we underſtand no other then onely the Viſible Church. For preſervation of Chriſtianity there is not any thing more needful, then that ſuch as are of the Viſible Church, have mutual Fellowſhip and Society one with another. In which conſideration, as the main Body of the Sea being one, yet within divers Precincts hath divers names; ſo the Catholick Church is in like ſort divided into a number of diſtinct Societies, every of which is termed a Church within it ſelf. In this ſenſe the Church is always a Viſible Society of Men; not an Aſſembly, but a Society. For although the name of the Church be given unto Chriſtian Aſſemblies, although any number of Chriſtian men congregated, may be termed by the name of a Church, yet Aſſemblies properly are rather things that belong to a Church. Men are aſſembled for performance of Publick Actions; which Actions being ended, the Aſſembly diſſolveth it ſelf, and is no longer in being; whereas the Church which was aſſembled, doth no leſs continue afterwards, then before. *Where but three are, and they of the Laity alſo,* ſaith *Tertullian, yet there is a Church*; that is to ſay, a Chriſtian Aſſembly. But a Church, as now we are to underſtand it, is a Society, that is, a number of men belonging unto ſome Chriſtian Fellowſhip, the place and limits whereof are certain. That wherein they have communion, is the Publick Exerciſe of ſuch duties as thoſe mentioned in the Apoſtles Acts, *Inſtruction, Breaking of Bread, and Prayer.* As therefore they that are of the Myſtical Body of Chriſt, have thoſe inward Graces and Vertues, whereby they differ from all others which are not of the ſame Body: Again, whoſoever appertain to the Viſible Body of the Church, they have alſo the notes of External Profeſſion, whereby the World knoweth what they are: After the ſame manner,

a Church is a Society not Aſſembly.

Tertul. Exhort. ad Caſtit. Ubi tres, Eccleſia eſt, licet laici.

Acts 2. 47.

manner, even the several Societies of Christian men, unto every of which the name of a Church is given, with addition betokening severally, as the Church of *Rome, Corinth, Ephesus, England,* and so the rest, must be endued with correspondent general properties belonging unto them, as they are Publick Christian Societies. And of such properties common unto all Societies Christian, it may not be denied, that one of the very cheifest is Ecclesiastical Polity. Which word I therefore the rather use, because the name of Government, as commonly men understand it in ordinary speech, doth not comprise the largeness of that whereunto in this question it is applied. For when we speak of Government, what doth the greatest part conceive thereby, but onely the exercise of Superiority peculiar unto Rulers and Guides of others? To our purpose therefore the name of Church-Polity will better serve, because it containeth both Government, and also whatsoever besides belongeth to the ordering of the Church in publick. Neither is any thing in this degree more necessary then Church-Polity, which is a Form of ordering the Publick Spiritual Affairs of the Church of God.

2. But we must note, that he which affirmeth speech to be necessary amongst all men throughout the World, doth not thereby import, that all men must necessarily speak one kinde of Language; even so the necessity of Polity, and Regiment in all Churches may be held, without holding any one certain form to be necessary in them all, nor is it possible that any Form of Polity, much less of Polity Ecclesiastical, should be good, unless God himself be Author of it. *Those things that are not of God* (saith *Tertullian) they can have no other then Gods Adversary for their Author.* Be it whatsoever in the Church of God, if it be not of God, we hate it. Of God it must be; either as those things sometimes were, which God supernaturally revealed, and so delivered them unto *Moses* for Government of the Commonwealth of *Israel*; or else as those things which men finde out by help of that light, which God hath given them unto that end. The very Law of Nature it self, which no man can deny but God hath instituted, is not of God, unless that be of God, whereof God is the Author as well this latter way as the former. But forasmuch as no form of Church-Polity is thought by them to be lawful, or to be of God, unless God be so the Author of it, that it be also set down in Scripture; they should tell us plainly, whether their meaning be that it must be there set down in whole, or in part. For if wholly, let them shew what one form of Polity ever was so. Their own to be so taken out of Scripture, they will not affirm; neither deny they that in part, even this which they so much oppugn is also from thence taken. Again, they should tell us, whether onely that be taken out of Scripture, which is actually and particularly there set down; or else that also, which the general Principles and Rules of Scripture potentially contain. The one way they cannot so much as pretend, that all the parts of their own Discipline are in Scripture; and the other way their mouths are stopped, when they would plead against all other Forms besides their own; seeing the general Principles are such, as do not particularly prescribe any one, but sundry may equally be consonant unto the general Axioms of the Scripture. But to give them some larger scope, and not to close them up in these streights: Let their Allegations be considered, wherewith they earnestly bend themselves against all, which deny it necessary that any one compleat Form of Church-Polity should be in Scripture. First therefore, whereas it hath been told them, that matters of Faith, and in general, matters necessary unto Salvation, are of a different nature from Ceremonies, Order, and the kinde of Church Government; and that the one is necessary to be expresly contained in the Word of God, or else manifestly collected out of the same, the other not so; that it is necessary not to receive the one, unless there be something in Scripture for them; the other free, if nothing against them may thence be alledged. Although there do not appear any just or reasonable cause to reject or dislike of this; nevertheless, as it is not easie to speak to the contentation of mindes exulcerated in themselves, but that somewhat there will be always which displeaseth; so herein for two things we are reproved. * The first is, *Misdistinguishing,* because matters of Discipline and Church-Government are (as they say) matters necessary to Salvation, and of Faith, whereas we put a difference betwixt the one and the other. Our second fault is *Injurious dealing* with the Scripture of God, as if it contained onely the Principal Points of Religion, some rude and unfashioned matter of Building the Church, but had left out that which

Whether it be necessary that some particular Form of Church Polity be set down in Scripture, sith the things that belong particularly unto any such Form, are not of necessity to Salvation.

Tertul. de habitu mul. Æmuli sint necesse est, quæ Dei non sunt. Rom. 2. 15. *Lact.* lib. 6. c. 8. Ille legis hujus inventor, disceptator, lator. Cic. 3. de Repub.

allq to be done is expressly or potentially contained in Script.

* Two things misliked; the one, that we distinguish matters of Discipline or Church-Go-

vernment from matters of Faith, and neceſſary unto Salvation: The other, that we are injurious to

which belongeth unto the form and faſhion of it; as if there were in the Scripture no more then onely to cover the Churches nakedneſs, and not Chains, Bracelets, Rings, Jewels to adorn her; ſufficient to quench her thirſt, to kill her hunger, but not to miniſter a more liberal, and (as it were) a more delicous and dainty diet. In which caſe our Apology ſhall not need to be very long.

the Scripture of God, in abridging the large and rich Contents thereof. Their words are theſe: You which diſtinguiſh between theſe, and ſay, that matters of Faith and neceſſary unto Salvation, may not be tolerated in the Church, unleſs they be expreſly contained in the Word of God, or manifeſtly gathered; but that Ceremonies, Order, Diſcipline, Government in the Church, may not be received againſt the Word of God, and conſequently may be received if there be no word againſt them, although there be none for them. You (I ſay) diſtinguiſhing or dividing after this ſort, do prove your ſelf an evil divider. As though matters of Diſcipline and kinde of Government, were not matters neceſſary to Salvation, and of Faith. It is no ſmall injury which you do unto the Word of God, to pin it in ſo narrow room, as that it ſhould be able to direct us but in the Principal Points of our Religion; or as though the Subſtance of Religion, or ſome rude and unfaſhioned matter of Building of the Church were uttered in them; and thoſe things were left out that ſhould pertain to the Form and Faſhion of it; or, as if there were in the Scriptures onely to cover the Churches nakedneſs, and not alſo Chains, and Bracelets, and Rings, and other Jewels to adorn her and ſet her out: or that, to conclude, There were ſufficient to quench her thirſt, and kill her hunger, but not to miniſter unto her a more liberal, and (as it were) a more delicious and dainty diet. Theſe things you ſeem to ſay, when you ſay, that matters neceſſary to Salvation, and of Faith, are contained in Scripture, eſpecially when you oppoſe theſe things to Ceremonies, Order, Diſcipline, and Government. *T. C.* lib. 1. pag. 26.

That Matters of Diſcipline are different from Matters of Faith and Salvation; and that they themſelves ſo teach which are our Reprovers.

3. The mixture of thoſe things by ſpeech, which by Nature are divided, is the Mother of all Error. To take away therefore that Error which Confuſion breedeth, diſtinction is requiſite. Rightly to diſtinguiſh, is by conceit of minde to ſever things different in Nature, and to diſcern wherein they differ. So that if we imagine a difference where there is none, becauſe we diſtinguiſh where we ſhould not, it may not be denied that we miſdiſtinguiſh. The only trial whether we do ſo, yea or no, dependeth upon compariſon between our conceit, and the nature of things conceived. Touching matters belonging to the Church of Chriſt, this we conceive, that they are not of one ſute. Some things are meerly of Faith, which things it doth ſuffice, that we know and believe; ſome things not onely to be known, but done, becauſe they concern the actions of men. Articles about the Trinity, are matters of meer Faith, and muſt be believed. Precepts concerning the Works of Charity, are matters of Action; which to know, unleſs they be practiſed, is not enough. This being ſo clear to all mens underſtanding, I ſomewhat marvel that they eſpecially ſhould think it abſurd to oppoſe Church-Government, a plain matter of Action, unto matters of Faith, who know that themſelves divide the Goſpel into Doctrine and Diſcipline. For if matters of Diſcipline be rightly by them diſtinguiſhed from matters of Doctrine, why not matters of Government by us as reaſonably ſet againſt matters of Faith? Do not they under Doctrine comprehend the ſame, which we intend by matters of Faith? Do not they under Diſcipline, compriſe the Regiment of the Church? When they blame that in us, which themſelves follow, they give men great cauſe to doubt, that ſome other thing then judgment doth guide their ſpeech. What the Church of God ſtandeth bound to know or do, the ſame in part Nature teacheth. And becauſe Nature can teach them but onely in part, neither ſo fully as is requiſite for mans ſalvation; nor ſo eaſily, as to make the way plain and expedite enough, that many may come to the knowledge of it, and ſo be ſaved; therefore in Scripture hath God both collected the moſt neceſſary things, that the School of Nature teacheth unto that end; and revealeth alſo whatſoever we neither could with ſafety be ignorant of, nor at all be inſtructed in, but by Supernatural Revelation from him. So that Scripture containing all things that are in this kinde any way needful for the Church, and the principal of the other ſort: This is the next thing wherewith we are charged as with an Error. We teach, that whatſoever is unto Salvation termed *neceſſary* by way of excellency; whatſoever it ſtandeth all men upon to know or do, that they may be ſaved; whatſoever there is, whereof it may truly be ſaid, *This not to believe, is eternal death and damnation*; or, *This every ſoul that will live, muſt duly obſerve*: Of which ſort the Articles of Chriſtian Faith, and the Sacraments of the Church of Chriſt are. All ſuch things, if Scripture did not comprehend, the Church of God ſhould not be able to meaſure out the length and the breadth of that way wherein for ever ſhe is to walk: Hereticks and Schiſmaticks never ceaſing, ſome to abridge, ſome to enlarge, all to pervert and obſcure the ſame. But as for thoſe things that are acceſſary hereunto,

T. C. lib. 2. pag. 1. We offer to ſhew the Diſcipline to be a part of the Goſpel. And again, *p.* 5. I ſpeak of the Diſcipline as of a part of the Goſpel. If the Diſcipline be one part of the Goſpel, what other part can they aſſign but Doctrine, to anſwer in Diviſion to the Diſcipline?

thoſe

thoſe things that ſo belong to the way of Salvation, as to alter them, is no otherwiſe to change that way, then a path is changed by altering onely the uppermoſt face thereof; which be it laid with Gravel, or ſet with Graſs, or paved with ſtones, remaineth ſtill the ſame path: In ſuch things, becauſe diſcretion may teach the Church what is convenient, we hold not the Church further tied herein unto Scripture, then that againſt Scripture nothing be admitted in the Church, leſt that path which ought always to be kept even, do thereby come to be overgrown with Brambles and Thorns. If this be unſound, wherein doth the point of unſoundneſs lie? Is it not that we make ſome things neceſſary, ſome things acceſſory and appendent onely? For our Lord and Saviour himſelf doth make that difference, by terming Judgment, and Mercy, and Fidelity, with other things of like nature, *The greater and weightier matters of the Law.* Is it then in that we account Ceremonies, (wherein we do not compriſe Sacraments, or any other the like ſubſtantial duties in the exerciſe of Religion, but onely ſuch External Rites as are uſually annexed unto Church actions) is it an overſight, that we reckon theſe things and * matters of Government in the number of things acceſſory, not things neceſſary in ſuch ſort as hath been declared? Let them which therefore think us blameable, conſider well their own words. Do they not plainly compare the one unto Garments, which cover the Body of the Church; the other unto Rings, Bracelets, and Jewels, that onely adorn it? The one to that Food which the Church doth live by, the other to that which maketh her Diet liberal, dainty, and more delicious? Is dainty fare a thing neceſſary to the ſuſtenance, or to the cloathing of the Body rich attire? If not, how can they urge the neceſſity of that which themſelves reſemble by things not neceſſary? Or by what conſtruction ſhall any man living be able to make thoſe compariſons true, holding that diſtinction untrue, which putteth a difference between things of External Regiment in the Church, and things neceſſary unto Salvation?

Matth. 23. 23.

* The Government of the Church of Chriſt granted by *Fenner* himſelf, to be thought a matter of great moment, yet not of the ſubſtance of Religion. Againſt Doctor *Bridges*, p. 121. if it be *Fenner* which was the Author of that Book.

4. Now as it can be to Nature no injury, that of her we ſay the ſame which diligent beholders of her works have obſerved; namely, that ſhe provideth for all living Creatures nouriſhment which may ſuffice; that ſhe bringeth forth no kinde of Creature whereto ſhe is wanting in that which is needful: Although we do not ſo far magnifie her exceeding bounty, as to affirm, that ſhe bringeth into the World the Sons of Men adorned with gorgeous attire, or maketh coſtly buildings to ſpring up out of the Earth for them: So I truſt that to mention what the Scripture of God leaveth unto the Churches diſcretion in ſome things, is not in any thing to impair the honor which the Church of God yieldeth to the ſacred Scriptures perfection. Wherein ſeeing that no more is by us maintained, then onely that Scripture muſt needs teach the Church whatſoever is in ſuch ſort neceſſary, as hath been ſet down; and that it is no more diſgrace for Scripture to have left a number of other things free to be ordered at the diſcretion of the Church, then for Nature to have left it unto the wit of man to deviſe his own attire, and not to look for it as the Beaſts of the field have theirs. If neither this can import, nor any other proof ſufficient be brought forth, that we either will at any time, or ever did affirm the ſacred Scripture to comprehend no more then onely thoſe bare neceſſaries; if we acknowledge that as well for particular application to ſpecial occaſions, as alſo in other manifold reſpects, infinite Treaſures of Wiſdom are over and beſides abundantly to be found in the holy Scripture; yea, that ſcarcely there is any noble part of knowledge, worthy the minde of man, but from thence it may have ſome direction and light; yea, that although there be no neceſſity it ſhould of purpoſe preſcribe any one particular form of Church-Government; yet touching the manner of governing in general, the Precepts that Scripture ſetteth down are not few, and the examples many which it propoſeth for all Church-Governors, even in particularities to follow; yea, that thoſe things, finally, which are of principal weight in the very particular Form of Church-Polity (although not that Form which they imagine, but that which we againſt them uphold) are in the ſelf-ſame Scriptures contained: If all this be willingly granted by us, which are accuſed to pin the Word of God in ſo narrow room, as that it ſhould be able to direct us but in principal points of our Religion; or as though the ſubſtance of Religion, or ſome rude and unfaſhioned matter of building the Church were uttered in them, and thoſe things left out that ſhould pertain to the form and faſhion

That we do not take from Scripture any thing which may be thereunto given with ſoundneſs of Truth. *Ariſt.* Pol. lib. 1. cap. 8. & *Plato* in *Menex.* *Ariſt.* lib. 3. de Anima, c. 45.

2

3

fashion of it: Let the cause of the Accused, be referred to the Accusers own conscience, and let that judge whether this accusation be deserved where it hath been laid.

Their meaning who first did plead against the Polity of the Church of *England*, urging that, *Nothing ought to be established in the Church, which is not commanded by the Word of God*; and what Scripture they thought they might ground this Assertion upon

Deut. 4. 2. & 12. 32. Whatsoever I command you, take heed you do it. Thou shalt put nothing thereto, nor take ought therefrom.

5. But so easie it is for every man living to err, and so hard to wrest from any mans mouth the plain acknowledgment of Error, that what hath been once inconsiderately defended, the same is commonly persisted in, as long as wit by whetting it self, is able to finde out any shift, be it never so sleight, whereby to escape out of the hands of present contradiction. So that it cometh herein to pass with men unadvisedly faln into Error, as with them whose state hath no ground to uphold it, but onely the help which by subtil conveyance they draw out of casual events arising from day to day, till at length they be clean spent. They which first gave out, *That nothing ought to be established in the Church, which is not commanded by the Word of God*, thought this principle plainly warranted by the manifest words of the Law, *Ye shall put nothing unto the Word which I command you, neither shall ye take ought therefrom, that ye may keep the Commandments of the Lord your God, which I command you.* Wherefore having an eye to a number of Rites and Orders in the Church of *England*, as marrying with a Ring, Crossing in the one Sacrament, Kneeling at the other, observing of Festival days more then onely that which is called the Lords day, enjoyning Abstinence at certain times from some kindes of Meat, Churching of Women after Childe-birth, Degrees taken by Divines in Universities, sundry Church Offices, Dignities, and Callings; for which they found no Commandment in the holy Scripture, they thought by the one onely stroke of that Axiom to have cut them off. But that which they took for an Oracle, being sifted, was repeal'd. True it is concerning the Word of God, whether it be by misconstruction of the sense, or by falsification of the words, wittingly to endeavor that any thing may seem Divine which is not, or any thing not seem which is, were plainly to abuse, and even to falsifie Divine Evidence; which injury offered but unto men, is most worthily counted heinous. Which point I wish they did well observe, with whom nothing is more familiar then to plead in these causes, *The Law of God, the Word of the Lord:* Who notwithstanding, when they come to alledge what Word, and what Law they mean, their common ordinary practice is, to quote by-speeches in some Historical Narration, or other, and to urge them as if they were written in most exact form of Law. What is to add to the Law of God, if this be not? When that which the Word of God doth but deliver Historically, we construe without any warrant, as if it were legally meant, and so urge it further then we can prove that it was intended; do we not add to the Laws of God, and make them in number seem more then they are? It standeth us upon to be careful in this case. For the sentence of God is heavy against them, that wittingly shall presume thus to use the Scripture.

The same Assertion we cannot hold, without doing wrong unto all Churches.

6. But let that which they do hereby intend be granted them; let it once stand as consonant to Reason, That because we are forbidden to add to the Law of God any thing, or to take ought from it; therefore we may not for matters of the Church, make any Law more then is already set down in Scripture: Who seeth not what sentence it shall enforce us to give against all Churches in the World, in as much as there is not one, but hath had many things established in it, which though the Scripture did never command, yet for us to condemn were rashness? Let the Church of God, even in the time of our Saviour Christ serve for example unto all the rest. In their Domestical celebration of the Passover, which Supper they divided (as it were) into two courses; what Scripture did give commandment, that between the first and the second; he that was chief, should put off the residue of his Garments, and keeping on his Feast-robe onely, wash the feet of them that were with him? What Scripture did command them never to lift up their hands unwasht in Prayer unto God, which custom *Aristæus* (be the credit of the Author more or less) sheweth wherefore they did so religiously observe? What Scripture did command the Jews every Festival day to fast till the sixth hour? The custom both mentioned by *Josephus* in the History of his own life, and by the words of *Peter* signified. Tedious it were to rip up all such things, as were in that Church established, yea, by Christ himself, and by his Apostles observed, though not commanded any where in Scripture.

John 13: *Cœnatorium: de quo Matth.* 22. 12. *Ibi de Cœnatorio Nuptiali.*

Acts 2.

7. Well,

7. Well, yet a gloſs there is to colour that Paradox, and notwithſtanding all this, ſtill to make it appear in ſhew not to be altogether unreaſonable: And therefore till further reply come, the cauſe is held by a feeble diſtinction; that the Commandments of God being either general or ſpecial, although there be no expreſs word for every thing in ſpecialty, yet there are general Commandments for all things, to the end, that even ſuch caſes as are not in Scripture particularly mentioned, might not be left to any to order at their pleaſure, onely with Caution, That nothing be done againſt the Word of God; and that for this cauſe the Apoſtle hath ſet down in Scripture four general Rules, requiring ſuch things alone to be received in the Church, as do beſt and neareſt agree with the ſame Rules, that ſo all things in the Church may be appointed, not onely *not againſt*, but *by* and *according* to the Word of God. The Rules are theſe, *Nothing ſcandalous* or offenſive unto any, eſpecially unto the Church of God; *All things* in order and with ſeemlineſs; *All unto edification*; finally, *All to the glory of God.* Of which kinde, how many might be gathered out of the Scripture, if it were neceſſary to take ſo much pains? Which Rules they that urge, minding thereby to prove, that nothing may be done in the Church, but what Scripture commandeth, muſt needs hold that they tie the Church of Chriſt no otherwiſe, then onely becauſe we finde them there ſet down by the Finger of the Holy Ghoſt. So that unleſs the Apoſtle by writing had delivered thoſe Rules to the Church, we ſhould by obſerving them, have ſinned, as now by not obſerving them. In the Church of the Jews, is it not granted, *That the appointment of the hour for daily Sacrifices*; the building of *Synagogues* throughout the Land, to hear the Word of God, and to pray in, when they came not up to *Jeruſalem*; the erecting of *Pulpits* and *Chairs* to teach in; the order of *Burial*; the *Rites of Marriage*, with ſuch like, being matters appertaining to the Church; yet are not any where preſcribed in the Law, but were by the Churches diſcretion inſtituted? What then ſhall we think? Did they hereby add to the Law, and ſo diſpleaſe God by that which they did? None ſo hardly perſwaded of them. Doth their Law deliver unto them the ſelf-ſame general Rules of the Apoſtle, that framing thereby their Orders, they might in that reſpect clear themſelves from doing amiſs? St. *Paul* would then of likelihood have cited them out of the Law, which we ſee he doth not. The truth is, they are Rules and Canons of that Law which is written in all mens hearts; the Church had for ever no leſs then now ſtood bound to obſerve them, whether the Apoſtle had mentioned them, or no. Seeing therefore thoſe Canons do binde as they are Edicts of Nature, which the Jews obſerving as yet unwritten, and thereby framing ſuch Church Orders as in their Law were not preſcribed, are notwithſtanding in that reſpect unculpable: It followeth, that ſundry things may be lawfully done in the Church, ſo as they be not done againſt the Scripture, although no Scripture do command them; but the Church onely following the Light of Reaſon, judge them to be in diſcretion meet. Secondly, unto our purpoſe, and for the queſtion in hand, Whether the Commandments of God in Scripture, be general or ſpecial, it skilleth not? For if being particularly applied, they have in regard of ſuch particulars, a force conſtraining us to take ſome one certain thing of many, and to leave the reſt; whereby it would come to paſs, that any other particular, but that one being eſtabliſhed, the general Rules themſelves in that caſe would be broken; then is it utterly impoſſible, that God ſhould leave any thing great or ſmall free for the Church to eſtabliſh, or not. Thirdly, if ſo be they ſhall grant, as they cannot otherwiſe do, that theſe Rules are no ſuch Laws as require any one particular thing to be done, but ſerve rather to direct the Church in all things which ſhe doth; ſo that free and lawful it is to deviſe any Ceremony, to receive any Order, and to authoriſe any kinde of Regiment, no ſpecial Commandment being thereby violated; and the ſame being thought ſuch by them to whom the judgment thereof appertaineth; as that it is not ſcandalous, but decent, tending unto edification, and ſetting forth the glory of God; that is to ſay, agreeable unto the general Rules of holy Scripture; this doth them no good in the World, for the furtherance of their purpoſe. That which ſhould make for them, muſt prove, that men ought not to make Laws for Church Regiment, but onely keep thoſe Laws which in Scripture they finde made. The plain intent of the Books of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline is to ſhew, that men may not deviſe Laws of Church Government; but

A ſhift to maintain, that Nothing ought to be eſtabliſhed in the Church, which is not commanded in the Word of God, namely, That Commandments are of two ſorts; and that all things lawful in the Church are commanded, if not by ſpecial Precepts; yet by general Rules in the Word.
1 Cor. 10. 32. & 14. 40. & 14. 26. Rom. 14. 6, 7. T. C. l. 1. p 35.

are bound for ever to uſe and to execute onely thoſe, which God himſelf hath already deviſed and delivered in the Scripture. The ſelf-ſame drift the Admonitioners alſo had, in urging, that nothing ought to be done in the Church, according unto any Law of Mans deviſing, but all according to that which God in his Word hath commanded. Which not remembring, they gather out of Scripture General Rules to be followed in making Laws; and ſo in effect they plainly grant, that we our ſelves may lawfully make Laws for the Church, and are not bound out of Scripture onely to take Laws already made, as they meant who firſt alledged that principle whereof we ſpeak. One particular Plat-form it is which they reſpected, and which they labored thereby to force upon all Churches; whereas theſe general Rules do not let, but that there may well enough be ſundry. It is the particular Order eſtabliſhed in the Church of *England*, which thereby they did intend to alter, as being not commanded of God; whereas unto thoſe general Rules they know, we do not defend, that we may hold any thing unconformable. Obſcure it is not what meaning they had, who firſt gave out that grand Axiom; and according unto that meaning, it doth prevail far and wide with the Favorers of that part. Demand of them, wherefore they conform not themſelves unto the Order of our Church? and in every particular, their anſwer for the moſt part is, *We finde no ſuch thing commanded in the Word.* Whereby they plainly require ſome ſpecial Commandment for that which is exacted at their hands; neither are they content to have matters of the Church examined by general Rules and Canons. As therefore in controverſies between us and the Church of *Rome*, that which they practiſe, is many times even according to the very groſsneſs of that which the vulgar ſort conceiveth; when that which they teach, to maintain it, is ſo nice and ſubtil, that hold can very hardly be taken thereupon: In which caſes we ſhould do the Church of God ſmall benefit, by diſputing with them according unto the fineſt points of their dark conveyances, and ſuffering that ſenſe of their Doctrine to go uncontrouled, wherein by the common ſort, it is ordinarily received and practiſed. So conſidering what diſturbance hath grown in the Church amongſt our ſelves, and how the Authors thereof do commonly build altogether on this as a ſure Foundation, *Nothing ought to be eſtabliſhed in the Church, which in the Word of God is not commanded:* Were it reaſon, that we ſhould ſuffer the ſame to paſs without controulment, in that current meaning whereby every where it prevaileth, and ſtay till ſome ſtrange conſtruction were made thereof, which no man would lightly have thought on, but being driven thereunto for a ſhift?

Another Anſwer in defence of the former Aſſertion, whereby the meaning thereof is opened in this ſort. All Church Orders muſt be commanded in the Word, that is to ſay, Grounded upon the Word, and made according, at the leaſtwiſe unto the general Rules of holy Scripture. As for ſuch things as are found out by any Star or Light of Reaſon, and are in that reſpect received, ſo they be not againſt the Word of God, all ſuch things it holdeth unlawfully received.

8. The laſt refuge in maintaining this Poſition, is thus to conſtrue it, *Nothing ought to be eſtabliſhed in the Church, but that which is commanded in the Word of God*; that is to ſay, All Church Orders muſt be *grounded upon the Word of God*, in ſuch ſort grounded upon the Word, not, that being found out by ſome *Star, or Light of Reaſon, or Learning, or other help*, they may be received, ſo they be not againſt the Word of God, but according at leaſtwiſe unto the general Rules of Scripture they muſt be made. Which is in effect as much as to ſay, *We know not what to ſay well in defence of this Poſition: And therefore leſt we ſhould ſay it is falſe, there is no remedy but to ſay, that in ſome ſenſe or other it may be true, if we could tell how.* Firſt, that *Scholy* had need of a very favorable Reader, and a tractable, that ſhould think it plain conſtruction, when to be *commanded in the Word*, and *grounded upon the Word*, are made all one. If when a man may live in the ſtate of Matrimony, ſeeking that good thereby which Nature principally deſireth, he make rather choice of a contrary life in regard of St. *Pauls* judgment *: That which he doth, is manifeſtly *grounded* upon the Word of God, yet *not commanded* in his Word, becauſe without breach of any Commandment he might do otherwiſe. Secondly, whereas no man in Juſtice and Reaſon, can be reproved for thoſe actions which are framed according unto that known Will of God, whereby they are to be judged; and the Will of God which we are to judge our actions by, no ſound Divine in the World ever denied to be in part made manifeſt even by the Light of Nature, and not by Scripture alone: If the Church being directed by the former of theſe two (which God hath given, who gave the other, that man might in different ſort be guided by them both) if the Church, I ſay, do approve and eſtabliſh that which thereby it judgeth

Ariſt. Polit. 1.
* 1 Cor. 7.

judgeth meet, and findeth not repugnant to any word or syllable of holy Scripture, who shall warrant our presumptuous boldness, controuling herein the Church of Christ? But so it is, the name of the Light of Nature is made hateful with men; the *Star of Reason and Learning*, and all other such like helps, beginneth no otherwise to be thought of, then if it were an unlucky Comet; or as if God had so accursed it, that it should never shine or give light in things concerning our duty any way towards him, but be esteemed as that *Star* in the *Revelation*, called *Wormwood*; which being faln from Heaven, maketh Rivers and Waters in which it falleth, so bitter, that men tasting them, die thereof. A number there are, who think they cannot admire as they ought, the power and authority of the Word of God, if in things Divine they should attribute any force to Mans reason. For which cause they never use reason so willingly as to disgrace Reason. Their usual and common Discourses are unto this effect. First, *The Natural Man perceiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: For they are foolishness unto him, neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned.* Secondly, It is not for nothing that St. *Paul* giveth charge to *beware of Philosophy*, that is to say, such knowledge as Men by Natural Reason attain unto. Thirdly, Consider them that have from time to time opposed themselves against the Gospel of Christ, and most troubled the Church with Heresie. Have they not always been great admirers of Humane Reason? Hath their deep and profound skill in Secular Learning, made them the more obedient to the Truth, and not armed them rather against it? Fourthly, They that fear God will remember how heavy his sentences are in this case: *I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will cast away the Understanding of the Prudent. Where is the Wise? Where is the Scribe? Where is the Disputer of this World? Hath not God made the Wisdom of this World foolishness? Seeing the World by Wisdom know not God: In the Wisdom of God, it pleased God by the foolishness of Preaching to save Believers.* Fifthly, The Word of God in it self is absolute, exact, and perfect. The Word of God is a two-edged sword; as for the Weapons of Natural Reason, they are as the Armor of *Saul*, rather cumbersome about the Soldier of Christ, then needful. They are not of force to do that, which the Apostles of Christ did by the power of the Holy Ghost, *My Preaching*, therefore saith *Paul, hath not been in the inticing speech of Mans wisdom, but in plain evidence of the Spirit of Power; that your Faith might not be in the Wisdom of men, but in the Power of God.* Sixthly, If I believe the Gospel, there needeth no reasoning about it to perswade me: If I do not believe, it must be the Spirit of God, and not the Reason of Man that shall convert my heart unto him. By these and the like Disputes, an opinion hath spred it self very far in the World; as if the way to be ripe in Faith, were to be raw in Wit and Judgment; as if Reason were an enemy unto Religion, childish simplicity the Mother of Ghostly and Divine Wisdom. The cause why such Declamations prevail so greatly, is, For that men suffer themselves in two respects to be deluded; one is, that the Wisdom of Man being debased, either in comparison with that of God, or in regard of some special thing, exceeding the reach and compass thereof, it seemeth to them (not marking so much) as if simply it were condemned; another, That Learning, Knowledge, or Wisdom, falsly so termed, usurping a name whereof they are not worthy; and being under that name controuled, their reproof is by so much the more easily misapplied, and through equivocation, wrested against those things, whereunto so precious names do properly and of right belong. This duly observed, doth to the former Allegations it self make sufficient answer. Howbeit, for all Mens plainer and fuller satisfaction; First, Concerning the inability of Reason, to search out, and to judge of things Divine, if they be such as those properties of God, and those duties of Men towards him, which may be conceived by attentive consideration of Heaven and Earth; We know that of meer Natural Men, the Apostle testifieth, *How they knew both God, and the Law of God.* Other things of God there be, which are neither so found, nor though they be shewed, can ever be approved without the special operation of Gods good Grace and Spirit. Of such things sometime spake the Apostle St. *Paul*, declaring how Christ had called him to be a Witness of his Death and Resurrection from the Dead, according to that which the Prophets and *Moses* had foreshewed. *Festus*, a meer Natural man, an Infidel, a *Roman*; one whose ears were unacquainted with such matter, heard him, but could

1 Cor. 2. 14.

Col. 2. 8.

1 Cor. 1. 19.

1 Cor. 2. 4.

Reason

I.

Rom. 1. 21, 31.

Acts 25. 19.

Acts 26. 24. not reach unto that whereof he ſpake; the ſuffering, and the riſing of Chriſt from the dead, he rejected as idle ſuperſtitious fancies, not worth the hearing. The Apoſtle
1 Cor. 2. 14 that knew them by the Spirit, and ſpake of them with Power of the Holy Ghoſt, ſeemed in his eyes but learnedly mad. Which example maketh manifeſt what elſ-
where the ſame Apoſtle teacheth, namely, that Nature hath need of Grace, where-
II. unto I hope we are not oppoſit, by holding, that Grace hath uſe of Nature. Secondly,
Bad philosophy th pretends to reason but has none. Philoſophy we are warned to take heed of; not that Philoſophy, which is true and ſound Knowledge, attained by Natural diſcourſe of Reaſon; but that Philoſophy, which to bolſter Hereſie or Error, caſteth a fraudulent ſhew of Reaſon upon things which are indeed unreaſonable; and by that mean, as by a ſtratagem, ſpoileth the
Col. 2. 8. ſimple which are not able to withſtand ſuch cunning: *Take heed leſt any ſpoil you through Philoſophy, and vain deceit.* He that exhorteth to beware of an enemies policy, doth not give counſel to be impolitick; but rather to uſe all prudent foreſight and circum-
ſpection, leſt our ſimplicity be over-reached by cunning ſleights. The way not to be inveighled by them that are ſo guileful through skill, is throughly to be inſtructed in that which maketh skilful againſt guile, and to be armed with that true and ſincere
III. Philoſophy, which doth teach againſt that deceitful and vain, which ſpoileth. Third-
ly, But many great Philoſophers have been very unſound in belief; and many ſound in belief, have been alſo great Philoſophers. Could Secular Knowledge bring the one ſort unto the love of Chriſtian Faith? Nor Chriſtian Faith, the other ſort out of love with Secular Knowledge. The harm that Hereticks did, they did it unto ſuch as were unable to diſcern between ſound and deceitful reaſoning; and the remedy againſt it, was ever the skill which the Ancient Fathers had to diſcry and diſcover ſuch deceit. Inſomuch, that *Creſconius* the Heretick complained greatly of St. *Auguſtine*, as being too full of Logical ſubtilties. Hereſie prevaileth onely by a counterfeit ſhew of Reaſon; whereby notwithſtanding it becometh invincible, unleſs it be convicted of Fraud by manifeſt Remonſtrance, clearly true, and unable to be withſtood. When
Tit. 1. 9, 11. therefore the Apoſtle requireth hability to convict Hereticks, can we think he judgeth it a thing unlawful, and not rather needful to uſe the Principal Inſtrument of their Conviction, the Light of Reaſon? It may not be denied, but that in the Fathers writings, there are ſundry ſharp invectives againſt Hereticks, even for their very Phi-
loſophical reaſonings. The cauſe whereof *Tertullian* confeſſeth, not to have been
Tert. de Reſur. Carnis. any diſlike conceived againſt the kinde of ſuch reaſonings, but the end. *We may* (ſaith he) *even in matters of God, be made wiſer by Reaſons drawn from the Publick Perſwaſions which are grafted in Mens mindes; ſo they be uſed to further the Truth, not to bolſter Error; ſo they make with, not againſt that which God hath determined. For there are ſome things even known by Nature, as the Immortality of the Soul to many, our God unto all. I will therefore my ſelf alſo, uſe the ſentence of ſome ſuch as* Plato, *pronouncing every Soul Immortal. I my ſelf too will uſe the ſecret acknowledgment of the communalty, bearing Record of the God of gods: But when I hear men alledge, That which is dead, is dead; and, While thou art alive, be alive; and, After death an end of all, even of death it ſelf: Then will I call to minde both, that the heart of the people with God is accounted duſt, and that the very Wiſdom of the World, is pronounced Folly. If then an Heretick flie alſo unto ſuch vicious, popular, and ſecular conceits, my anſwer unto him ſhall be; Thou Heretick, avoid the Heathen; although in this ye be one, that ye both belie God; yet thou that doſt this under the Name of Chriſt, differeſt from the Heathen, in that thou ſeemeſt to thy ſelf a Chriſtian. Leave him therefore his conceits, ſeeing that neither will he learn thine. Why doſt thou, having ſight, truſt to a blind guide? Thou which haſt put on Chriſt, take raiment of him that is naked? If the Apoſtle have armed thee, why doſt thou borrow a ſtrangers ſhield? Let him rather learn of thee to acknowledge, then thou of him to renounce the Reſurrection of the Fleſh.* In a word, the Catholick Fathers did good unto all by that Knowledge, whereby Hereticks hindering the Truth in many, might have furthered therewith themſelves; but that obſtinately following their own ambitious, or otherwiſe corrupted affections, inſtead of framing their wills to maintain that which Reaſon taught, they bent their wits to finde how Reaſon might ſeem to teach that which their Wills were ſet to maintain. For which cauſe the Apoſtle ſaith
Tit. 3. 11. of them juſtly, that they are for the moſt part αὐτοκατάκριτοι, men condemned even in, and of themſelves. For though they be not all perſwaded, that it is truth which

they

they withſtand; yet that to be error which they uphold, they might undoubtedly the ſooner a great deal attain to know, but that their ſtudy is more to defend what once they have ſtood in, then to finde out ſincerely and ſimply, what truth they ought to perſiſt in for ever. Fourthly, there is in the World no kinde of knowledge, where- IV.
by any part of Truth is ſeen, but we juſtly account it precious; yea, that Principal Truth, in compariſon whereof, all other knowledge is vile, may receive from it ſome kinde of light; whether it be that *Egyptian* and *Caldean* wiſdom, Mathematical, where-
with *Moſes* and *Daniel* were furniſhed; or that Natural, Moral, and Civil wiſdom Acts 7. 22.
wherewith *Solomon* excelled all Men; or that Rational and Oratorial wiſdom of the Dan. 1. 17.
Grecians, which the Apoſtle St. *Paul* brought from *Tarſus*; or that Judaical, which 1 Kings 4. 29, 30.
he learned in *Jeruſalem*, ſitting at the feet of *Gamaliel*: To detract from the dignity Acts 22. 13.
thereof, were to injure even God himſelf, who being that Light which none can approach unto, hath ſent out theſe lights whereof we are capable, even as ſo many ſparkles reſembling the Bright Fountain from which they riſe. But there are that bear the title of Wiſemen, and Scribes, and great Diſputers of the World, and are nothing indeed leſs then what in ſhew they moſt appear. Theſe being wholly addicted unto their own wills, uſe their wit, their learning, and all the wiſdom they have, to maintain that which their obſtinate hearts are delighted with, eſteeming in the frantick error of their mindes, the greateſt madneſs in the World to be Wiſdom, and the higheſt Wiſdom fooliſhneſs. Such were both Jews and Grecians which profeſſed, the one ſort Legal, and the other Secular skill, neither enduring to be taught the Myſtery of Chriſt: Unto the glory of whoſe moſt bleſſed Name, who ſo ſtudy to uſe both their Reaſon, and all other Gifts, as well which Nature, as which Grace hath endued them with; let them never doubt, but that the ſame God, who is to deſtroy and confound utterly that wiſdom falſly ſo named in others, doth make reckoning of them as of true Scribes; Scribes by Wiſdom inſtructed to the Kingdom of Heaven; Matth. 13. 52.
Scribes againſt that Kingdom, hardned in a vain opinion of Wiſdom; which in the end being proved folly, muſt needs periſh; true Underſtanding, Knowledge, Judgment, and Reaſon, continuing for evermore. Fifthly, Unto the Word of God, be- V.
ing in reſpect of that end for which God ordained it, perfect, exact, and abſolute in it ſelf, we do not add Reaſon as a Supplement of any maim or defect therein, but as a neceſſary Inſtrument, without which, we could not reap by the Scriptures perfection, that fruit and benefit which it yieldeth. The Word of God is a two-edged ſword, put Heb. 4. 12.
in the hands of reaſonable men; and Reaſon as the weapon that ſlew *Goliah*, if they be as *David* was that uſe it. Touching the Apoſtles, he which gave them from above ſuch Power for miraculous confirmation of that which they taught, endued them alſo with Wiſdom from above, to teach that which they ſo did confirm. Our Saviour made choice of Twelve ſimple and unlearned Men, that the greater their lack of Natural wiſdom was, the more admirable that might appear which God ſupernaturally endued them with from Heaven. Such therefore as knew the poor and ſilly eſtate wherein they had lived, could not but wonder to hear the Wiſdom of their ſpeech, and be ſo much the more attentive unto their teaching. They ſtudied for no Tongue they ſpake withal; of themſelves they were rude, and knew not ſo much as how to premeditate; the Spirit gave them ſpeech and eloquent utterance: But becauſe with St. *Paul* it was otherwiſe, then with the reſt, in as much as he never converſed with Chriſt upon Earth as they did; and his education had been ſcholaſtical altogether, which theirs was not: Hereby occaſion was taken by certain Malignants, ſecretly to undermine his great Authority in the Church of Chriſt, as though the Goſpel had been taught him by others, then by Chriſt himſelf, and as if the cauſe of the Gentiles converſion and belief, through his means, had been the learning and skill which he had by being converſant in their Books, which thing made them ſo willing to hear him, and him ſo able to perſwade them; whereas the reſt of the Apoſtles prevailed, becauſe God was with them, and by a miracle from Heaven confirmed his Word in their mouths. They were mighty in deeds: As for him, being abſent, his Writings had ſome force; in preſence, his Power not like unto theirs. In ſum, concerning his Preaching, their very by-word was λόγος ἐξουθενημένος, *addle ſpeech*, 2 Cor. 10. 10.
empty talk. His Writings full of great words, but in the Power of miraculous Operations; His preſence, not like the reſt of the Apoſtles. Hereupon it ariſeth, that

St. *Paul*

St. *Paul* was so often driven to make his Apologies. Hereupon it ariseth, that whatsoever time he had spent in the study of Humane Learning, he maketh earnest protestation to them of *Corinth*, that the Gospel which he had preached amongst them, did not by other means prevail with them, then with others the same Gospel taught
1 Cor. 2. 4. by the rest of the Apostles of Christ. *My Preaching*, saith he, *hath not been in the perswasive speeches of Humane Wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of Power; that your faith may not be in the wisdom of men, but in the Power of God.* What is it which the Apostle doth here deny? Is it denied that his speech amongst them had been *per-*
Acts 18. 4, 11. *swasive?* No; for of him the sacred History plainly testifieth, that for the space of a year and a half, he spake in their Synagogue every Sabbath, and *perswaded* both Jews and Grecians. How then is the speech of men made perswasive? Surely there can be but two ways to bring this to pass, the one Humane, the other Divine. Either St. *Paul* did onely by art and natural industry cause his own speech to be credited; or else God by miracle did authorise it, and so bring credit thereunto, as to the speech of the rest of the Apostles. Of which two, the former he utterly denieth. For why? If the Preaching of the rest had been effectual by miracle, his onely by force of his own learning; so great inequality between him and the other Apostles in this thing, had been enough to subvert their Faith. For might they not with reason have thought, that if he were sent of God, as well as they, God would not have furnished them and not him, with the power of the Holy Ghost? Might not a great part of them, being simple haply have feared, lest their assent had been cunningly gotten unto his doctrine, rather through the weakness of their own wits, then the certainty of that Truth which he had taught them? How unequal had it been, that all Believers through the Preaching of other Apostles, should have their Faith strongly built upon the evidence of Gods own miraculous approbation; and they whom he had converted, should have their perswasion built onely upon his skill and wisdom who perswaded them? As therefore calling from men may authorise us to teach, although it could not authorise him to teach as other Apostles did: So although the wisdom of man had not been sufficient to enable him such a Teacher as the rest of the Apostles were, unless Gods miracles had strengthned both the one and the others Doctrine; yet unto our ability, both of teaching and learning the Truth of Christ, as we are but meer Christian men, it is not a
V.I. little which the wisdom of man may add. Sixthly, Yea, whatsoever our hearts be to God and to his Truth, believe we, or be we as yet faithless, for our Conversion or Confirmation, the force of Natural Reason is great. The force whereof unto those effects, is nothing without grace. What then? To our purpose it is sufficient, that whosoever doth serve, honor, and obey God, whosoever believeth in him; that man would no more do this then innocents and infants do, but for the Light of Natural Reason that shineth in him, and maketh him apt to apprehend those things of God, which being by grace discovered, are effectual to perswade reasonable mindes, and none other, that honor, obedience, and credit, belong aright unto God. No man
Heb. 11. 16. cometh unto God to offer him Sacrifice, to pour out Supplications and Prayers before him, or to do him any service, which doth not first believe him both to be, and to be a rewarder of them who in such sort seek unto him. Let men be taught this either by Revelation from Heaven, or by Instruction upon Earth; by Labor, Study, and Meditation, or by the onely secret Inspiration of the Holy Ghost; whatsoever the mean be they know it by, if the knowledge thereof were possible without discourse of Natural Reason; why should none be found capable thereof but onely men, nor men till such time as they come unto ripe and full ability to work by reasonable understanding? The whole drift of the Scripture of God, what is it, but onely to teach Theology? Theology, what is it, but the Science of things Divine? What Science can be at-
1 Cor. 10. 15. tained unto, without the help of Natural Discourse and Reason? *Judge you of that which I speak*, saith the Apostle. In vain it were to speak any thing of God, but that by Reason, Men are able somewhat to judge of that they hear, and by discourse to discern how consonant it is to Truth. Scripture indeed teacheth things above Nature, things which our Reason by it self could not reach unto. Yet those things also we believe, knowing by Reason, that the Scripture is the Word of God. In the presence of *Festus*, a *Roman*, and of King *Agrippa*, a Jew, St. *Paul* omitting the one, who neither knew the Jews Religion, nor the Books whereby they were taught it, speaks

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unto the other of things foreshewed by *Moses*, and the Prophets, and performed in Jesus Christ, intending thereby to prove himself so unjustly accused, that unless his Judges did condemn both *Moses* and the Prophets, him they could not chuse but acquit, who taught onely that fulfilled, which they so long since had foretold. His cause was easie to be discerned; what was done, their eyes were witnesses; what *Moses* and the Prophets did speak, their Books could quickly shew: It was no hard thing for him to compare them, which knew the one, and believed the other. *King* Agrippa, *believest thou the Prophets? I know thou dost.* The question is, how the Books of the Prophets came to be credited of King *Agrippa*. For what with him did authorise the Prophets, the like with us doth cause the rest of the Scripture of God to be of credit. Because we maintain, That in Scripture we are taught all things necessary unto Salvation; hereupon very childishly it is by some demanded, What Scripture can teach us the Sacred Authority of the Scripture, upon the knowledge whereof our whole Faith and Salvation dependeth? As though there were any kinde of Science in the World, which leadeth men unto knowledge, without presupposing a number of things already known. No Science doth make known the first Principles whereon it buildeth; but they are always either taken as plain and manifest in themselves, or as proved and granted already, some former knowledge having made them evident. Scripture teacheth all supernaturally revealed Truth; without the knowledge whereof, Salvation cannot be attained. The main principal whereupon, our belief of all things therein contained, dependeth, is, That the Scriptures are the Oracles of God himself. This in it self we cannot say is evident. For then all men that hear it, would acknowledge it in heart, as they do when they hear that *every whole is more then any part of that whole*, because this in it self is evident. The other we know, that all do not acknowledge when they hear it. There must be therefore some former knowledge presupposed, which doth herein assure the hearts of all Believers. Scripture teacheth us that saving Truth which God hath discovered unto the World by Revelation; and it presumeth us taught otherwise, that it self is Divine and Sacred. The question then being, By what means we are taught this: some answer, That to learn it we have no other way then onely Tradition; as namely, that so we believe, because both we from our Predecessors, and they from theirs have so received. But is this enough? That which all mens experience teacheth them, may not in any wise be denied. And by experience we all know, that the first outward Motive leading men so to esteem of the Scripture, is the authority of Gods Church. For when we know the whole Church of God hath that opinion of the Scripture, we judge it even at the first an impudent thing for any man bred and brought up in the Church, to be of a contrary minde without cause. Afterwards the more we bestow our labor in reading or hearing the Mysteries thereof, the more we finde that the thing it self doth answer our received opinion concerning it. So that the former enducement prevailing somewhat with us before, doth now much more prevail, when the very thing hath Ministred further Reason. If Infidels or Atheists chance at any time to call it in question, this giveth us occasion to sift what reason there is, whereby the testimony of the Church concerning Scripture, and our own perswasion which Scripture it self hath confirmed, may be proved a truth infallible. In which case the ancient Fathers being often constrained to shew, what warrant they had so much to relie upon the Scriptures, endeavored still to maintain the authority of the Books of God by Arguments, such as unbelievers themselves must needs think reasonable, if they judged thereof as they should. Neither is it a thing impossible, or greatly heard, even by such kinde of proofs so to manifest and clear that point, that no man living shall be able to deny it, without denying some apparent Principle, such as all men acknowledge to be true. Wherefore if I believe the Gospel, yet is reason of singular use, for that it confirmeth me in this my belief the more: If I do not as yet believe, nevertheless to bring me into the number of Believers, except Reason did somewhat help, and were an Instrument which God doth use unto such purposes, what should it boot to dispute with Infidels, or godless persons for their conversion and perswasion in that point? Neither can I think that, when grave and learned men do sometime hold, that of this Principle there is no proof but by the testimony of the Spirit, which assureth our hearts therein, it is their meaning to exclude utterly all force which any kinde of Reason may have in that behalf; but I rather incline to interpret such their

Acts 26 22.

their ſpeeches, as if they had more expreſly ſet down, that other motives and enducements, be they never ſo ſtrong and conſonant unto Reaſon, are notwithſtanding ineffectual of themſelves to work Faith concerning this Principle, if the ſpecial Grace of the Holy Ghoſt concur not to the enlightning of our mindes. For otherwiſe, I doubt not but men of wiſdom and judgment will grant, That the Church in this point eſpecially is furniſhed with Reaſon, to ſtop the mouths of her impious Adverſaries; and that, as it were altogether bootleſs to alledge againſt them, what the Spirit hath taught us, ſo likewiſe, that even to our own ſelves it needeth Caution and Explication, how the teſtimony of the Spirit may be diſcerned, by what means it may be known, leſt men think that the Spirit of God doth teſtifie thoſe things which the ſpirit of error ſuggeſteth. The operations of the Spirit, eſpecially theſe ordinary which be common unto all true Chriſtian men, are, as we know, things ſecret and undiſcernable even to the very ſoul where they are, becauſe their nature is of another, and an higher kinde, then that they can be by us perceived in this life. Wherefore albeit the Spirit lead us into all truth, and direct us in all goodneſs; yet becauſe theſe workings of the Spirit in us, are ſo privy and ſecret, we therefore ſtand on a plainer ground, when we gather by Reaſon from the quality of things believed or done, that the Spirit of God hath directed us in both, then if we ſettle our ſelves to believe, or to do any certain particular thing, as being moved thereto by the Spirit. But of this enough. To go from the Books of Scripture, to the ſenſe and meaning thereof, becauſe the Sentences which are by the Apoſtles recited out of the *Pſalms*, to prove the Reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt, did not prove it, if ſo be the Prophet *David* meant them of himſelf: This Expoſition therefore they plainly diſprove, and ſhew by manifeſt Reaſon, that of *David* the words of *David* could not poſſibly be meant. Exclude the uſe of Natural reaſoning about the ſenſe of holy Scripture, concerning the Articles of our Faith, and then that the Scripture doth concern the Articles of our Faith, who can aſſure us? That which by right Expoſition buildeth up Chriſtian Faith, being miſconſtrued breedeth Error; between true and falſe conſtruction, the difference Reaſon muſt ſhew. Can Chriſtian men perform that which *Peter* requireth at their hands? Is it poſſible they ſhould both believe, and be able without the uſe of Reaſon, to render a Reaſon of their belief, a Reaſon ſound and ſufficient to anſwer them that demand it, be they of the ſame Faith with us, or enemies thereunto? May we cauſe our Faith without Reaſon, to appear reaſonable in the eyes of men? This being required even of Learners in the School of Chriſt, the duty of their Teachers in bringing them unto ſuch ripeneſs, muſt needs be ſomewhat more then onely to read the Sentences of Scripture, and then Paraphraſtically to ſcholy them, to vary them with ſundry Forms of ſpeech, without arguing or diſputing about any thing which they contain. This method of teaching, may commend it ſelf unto the World, by that eaſineſs and facility which is in it; but a Law or a Pattern it is not, as ſome do imagine, for all men to follow, that will do good in the Church of Chriſt. Our Lord and Saviour himſelf did hope by diſputation to do ſome good, yea, by diſputation not onely of, but againſt the truth, albeit with purpoſe for the truth. That Chriſt ſhould be the Son of *David*, was truth, yet againſt this truth, our Lord in the Goſpel objecteth, If Chriſt be the Son of *David*, how doth *David* call him Lord? There is as yet no way known how to diſpute, or to determine of things diſputed, without the uſe of Natural Reaſon. If we pleaſe to adde unto Chriſt their example, who followed him as near in all things as they could, the Sermon of *Paul* and *Barnabas*, ſet down in the *Acts*, where the people would have offered unto them Sacrifice; in that Sermon, what is there, but onely Natural Reaſon to diſprove their act? *O men, why do ye theſe things? We are men even ſubject to the ſelf-ſame Paſſions with you: We Preach unto you to leave theſe Vanities, and to turn to the living God, the God that hath not left himſelf without witneſs, in that he hath done good to the World, giving rain and fruitful Seaſons, filling our hearts with joy and gladneſs.* Neither did they onely uſe Reaſon in winning ſuch unto a Chriſtian belief, as were yet thereto unconverted, but with Believers themſelves they followed the ſelf-ſame courſe. In that great and ſolemn Aſſembly of Believing Jews, how doth *Peter* prove, that the Gentiles were partakers of the Grace of God, as well as they, but by Reaſon drawn from thoſe effects, which were apparently known amongſt them? *God which knoweth the hearts, hath born them witneſs in giving unto them the Holy Ghoſt*

Acts 13. 36. & 2. 34.

1 Pet. 3. 15.

Matth. 22. 43.

Acts 14. 15.

Acts 15.

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as unto you. The light therefore, which the Star of Natural Reaſon and Wiſdom caſteth, is too bright to be obſcured by the miſt of a word or two, uttered to diminiſh that opinion which juſtly hath been received concerning the force and vertue thereof, even in matters that touch moſt nearly the principal duties of men, and the glory of the Eternal God. In all which hitherto hath been ſpoken, touching the force and uſe of Mans Reaſon in things Divine, I muſt crave, that I be not ſo underſtood or conſtrued, as if any ſuch thing, by vertue thereof, could be done without the aid and aſſiſtance of Gods moſt bleſſed Spirit. The thing we have handled according to the queſtion moved about it; which queſtion is, Whether the Light of Reaſon be ſo pernicious, that in deviſing Laws for the Church, men ought not by it to ſearch what may be fit and convenient? For this cauſe therefore we have endeavored to make it appear, how in the Nature of Reaſon it ſelf, there is no impediment, but that the ſelf-ſame Spirit which revealeth the things that God hath ſet down in his Law, may alſo be thought to aid and direct men in finding out by the Light of Reaſon, what Laws are expedient to be made for the guiding of his Church, over and beſides them that are in Scripture. Herein therefore we agree with thoſe men, by whom Humane Laws are defined to be Ordinances, which ſuch as have lawful Authority given them for that purpoſe, do probably draw from the Laws of Nature and God, by diſcourſe of Reaſon, aided with the influence of Divine Grace: And for that cauſe, it is not ſaid amiſs touching Eccleſiaſtical Canons, *That by inſtinct of the Holy Ghoſt they have been made, and conſecrated by the reverend acceptation of the World.* *Violatores*, cap. 25. q 1.

9. Laws for the Church are not made as they ſhould be, unleſs the Makers follow ſuch direction as they ought to be guided by: Wherein that Scripture ſtandeth not the Church of God in any ſtead, or ſerveth nothing at all to direct, but may be let paſs as needleſs to be conſulted with, we judge it prophane, impious, and irreligious to think. For although it were in vain to make Laws which the Scripture hath already made, becauſe what we are already there commanded to do, on our parts there reſteth nothing but onely that it be executed; yet becauſe both in that which we are commanded, it concerneth the duty of the Church by Law to provide, that the looſneſs and ſlackneſs of men may not cauſe the Commandments of God to be unexecuted; and a number of things there are, for which the Scripture hath not provided by any Law, but left them unto the careful diſcretion of the Church; we are to ſearch how the Church in theſe caſes may be well directed, to make that proviſion by Laws which is moſt convenient and fit. And what is ſo in theſe caſes, partly Scripture, and partly Reaſon muſt teach to diſcern. Scripture comprehending Examples and Laws; Laws, ſome Natural, and ſome Poſitive; Examples neither are there for all caſes which require Laws to be made, and when they are, they can but direct as Precedents onely. Natural Laws direct in ſuch ſort, that in all things we muſt for ever do according unto them; Poſitive ſo, that againſt them, in no caſe, we may do any thing, as long as the Will of God is, that they ſhould remain in force. Howbeit, when Scripture doth yield us Precedents, how far forth they are to be followed; when it giveth Natural Laws, what particular order is thereunto moſt agreeable; when Poſitive, which way to make Laws unrepugnant unto them; yea, though all theſe ſhould want, yet what kinde of Ordinances would be moſt for that good of the Church which is aimed at, all this muſt be by Reaſon found out. And therefore, *To refuſe the conduct of the Light of Nature*, ſaith St. *Auguſtine*, *is not Folly alone, but accompanied with Impiety.* The greateſt amongſt the School Divines ſtudying how to ſet down by exact definition, the Nature of an Humane Law, (of which nature all the Churches Conſtitutions are) found not which way better to do it, then in theſe words: *Out of the Precepts of the Law of Nature, as out of certain common and undemonſtrable Principles, Mans Reaſon doth neceſſarily proceed unto certain more particular determinations: Which particular determinations being found out according unto the Reaſon of Man, they have the names of Humane Laws, ſo that ſuch other conditions be therein kept as the making of Laws doth require*, that is, If they whoſe Authority is thereunto required, do eſtabliſh and publiſh them as Laws. And the truth is, that all our controverſie in this cauſe concerning the Orders of the Church,

How Laws for the Regiment of the Church may be made by the advice of men, following therein the Light of Reaſon, and how thoſe Laws being not repugnant to the Word of God, are approved in his ſight.

Luminis naturalis dictatum repellere, non modo ſtultum eſt, ſed & impium, *Auguſt.* lib. 4. de Trin. cap. 6. *Tho. Aqui.* 2. q. 21. art. 3. Ex præceptis Legis naturalis, quaſi ex quibuſdam principiis communibus, & indemonſtrabilibus, neceſſe eſt quod ratio humana procedat ad aliqua magis particulariter diſponenda. Et iſtæ particulares diſpoſitiones adinventæ ſecundum rationem humanam, dicuntur leges humanæ, obſervatis aliis conditionibus quæ pertinent ad rationem legis.

is, What particulars the Church may appoint. That which doth finde them out, is the force of Mans Reaſon. That which doth guide and direct his Reaſon, is firſt, the general Law of Nature; which Law of Nature, and the Moral Law of Scripture, are in the ſubſtance of Law all one. But becauſe there are alſo in Scripture a number of Laws particular and poſitive, which being in force, may not by any Law of Man be violated, we are in making Laws to have thereunto an eſpecial eye. As for example, it might perhaps ſeem reaſonable unto the Church of God, following the general Laws concerning the nature of Marriage, to ordain in particular that Coſin-Germans ſhall not marry. Which Law notwithſtanding ought not to be received in the Church, if there ſhould be in the Scripture a Law particular to the contrary, forbidding utterly the Bonds of Marriage to be ſo far forth abridged. The ſame *Thomas* therefore, whoſe definition of Humane Laws we mentioned before, doth add thereunto this Caution concerning the Rule and Canon whereby to make them: *Humane Laws are Meaſures* in reſpect of Men, whoſe actions they muſt direct; howbeit ſuch Measures they are, as have alſo their higher Rules to be meaſured by, *Which Rules are two, the Law of God, and the Law of Nature.* So that Laws Humane muſt be made according to the General Laws of Nature, and without contradiction unto any Poſitive Law in Scripture; otherwiſe they are ill made. Unto Laws thus made and received by a whole Church, they which live within the boſom of that Church, muſt not think it a matter indifferent, either to yield, or not to yield obedience. Is it a ſmall offence to deſpiſe the Church of God? *My Son keep thy Fathers Commandment,* ſaith *Solomon, and forget not thy Mothers inſtruction, binde them both always about thine heart.* It doth not ſtand with the duty which we ow to our Heavenly Father, that to the Ordinances of our Mother the Church, we ſhould ſhew our ſelves diſobedient. Let us not ſay we keep the Commandments of the one, when we break the Law of the other: For unleſs we obſerve both, we obey neither. And what doth let, but that we may obſerve both, when they are not the one to the other in any ſort repugnant? For of ſuch Laws onely we ſpeak, as being made in form and manner already declared, can have in them no contradiction unto the Laws of Almighty God. Yea, that which is more, the Laws thus made, God himſelf doth in ſuch ſort authorize; that to deſpiſe them, is to deſpiſe in them him. It is a looſe and licentious opinion which the Anabaptiſts have embraced, holding, That a Chriſtian Mans liberty is loſt, and the Soul which Chriſt hath redeemed unto himſelf, injuriouſly drawn into ſervitude under the yoke of Humane Power, if any Law be now impoſed beſides the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt: In obedience whereunto the Spirit of God, and not the conſtraint of man is to lead us, according to that of the bleſſed Apoſtle, *Such as are led by the Spirit of God, are the Sons of God,* and not ſuch as live in thraldom unto men. Their judgment is therefore, that the Church of Chriſt ſhould admit no Law-Makers, but the Evangeliſts. The Author of that which cauſeth another thing to be, is Author of that thing alſo which thereby is cauſed. The light of Natural Underſtanding, Wit, and Reaſon, is from God; he it is which thereby doth illuminate every man entring into the World. If there proceed from us any thing afterwards corrupt and naught, the Mother thereof is our own darkneſs, neither doth it proceed from any ſuch cauſe whereof God is the Author. He is the Author of all that we think or do, by vertue of that Light which himſelf hath given: And therefore the Laws which the very Heathens did gather to direct their actions by, ſo far forth as they proceed from the Light of Nature, God himſelf doth acknowledge to have proceeded even from himſelf, and that he was the Writer of them in the Tables of their Hearts. How much more then is he the Author of thoſe Laws which have been made by his Saints, endued further with the Heavenly Grace of his Spirit, and directed as much as might be with ſuch inſtructions as his Sacred Word doth yield? Surely, if we have unto thoſe Laws, that dutiful regard which their Dignity doth require, it will not greatly need, that we ſhould be exhorted to live in obedience unto them. If they have God himſelf for their Author, contempt which is offered unto them cannot chuſe but redound unto him. The ſafeſt, and unto God the moſt acceptable way of framing our lives therefore, is with all Humility, Lowlineſs, and Singleneſs of Heart, to ſtudy which way our willing Obedience, both unto God and Man, may be yielded, even to the utmoſt of that which is due.

1. 2. Queſt 95. Art. 3.

indifferent i-

1 Cor. 11. 22. Prov. 6. 20.

Rom 8, 14.

John 1. 5.

Rom. 1. 9. & 2. 15.

10. Touch-

10. Touching the Mutability of Laws that concern the Regiment and Polity of the Church, changed they are, when either altogether abrogated, or in part repealed, or augmented with farther additions. Wherein we are to note, that this question about the changing of Laws, concerneth onely such Laws as are Positive, and do make that now good or evil, by being commanded or forbidden, which otherwise, of it self were not simply, the one or the other. Unto such Laws it is expresly sometimes added, how long they are to continue in force. If this be no where expresst, then have we no light to direct our judgments, concerning the changeableness or immutability of them, but by considering the nature and quality of such Laws. The nature of every Law must be judged of by the end for which it was made, and by the aptness of things therein prescribed unto the same end. It may so fall out, that the reason why some Laws of God were given, is neither opened, nor possible to be gathered by the Wit of Man. As why God should forbid *Adam* that one Tree, there was no way for *Adam* ever to have certainly understood. And at *Adams* ignorance of this point Satan took advantage, urging the more securely a false cause, because the true was unto *Adam* unknown. Why the Jews were forbidden to Plough their Ground with an Ox and an Ass; why to cloath themselves with mingled attire of Wooll and Linnen, it was both unto them, and to us it remaineth obscure. Such Laws perhaps cannot be abrogated, saving onely by whom they were made; because the intent of them being known unto none but the Author, he alone can judge how long it is requisite they should endure. But if the reason why things were instituted may be known, and being known, do appear manifestly to be of perpetual necessity; then are those things also perpetual, unless they cease to be effectual unto that purpose, for which they were at the first instituted. Because when a thing doth cease to be available unto the end which gave it being, the continuance of it must then of necessity appear superfluous. And of this we cannot be ignorant, how sometimes that hath done great good, which afterwards when time hath changed the ancient course of things, doth grow to be either very hurtful, or not so greatly profitable and necessary. If therefore, the end for which a Law provideth, be perpetually necessary, and the way whereby it provideth perpetually also most apt, no doubt but that every such Law ought for ever to remain unchangeable. Whether God be the Author of Laws, by authorising that power of men whereby they are made, or by delivering them made immediately from himself, by word onely, or in writing also, or howsoever; notwithstanding the Authority of their Maker, the mutability of that end for which they are made, maketh them also changeable. The Law of Ceremonies came from God. *Moses* had commandment to commit it unto the Sacred Records of Scripture, where it continueth even unto this very day and hour, in force still as the Jew surmiseth, because God himself was Author of it; and for us to abolish what he hath established, were presumption most intolerable. But (that which they in the blindness of their obdurate hearts are not able to discern) sith the end for which that Law was ordained, is now fulfilled, past, and gone; how should it but cease any longer to be, which hath no longer any cause of being in force as before? *That which necessity of some special time doth cause to be enjoyned, bindeth no longer, then during that time, but doth afterward become free.* Which thing is also plain, even by that Law which the Apostles assembled at the Council of *Jerusalem*, did from thence deliver unto the Church of Christ; the Preface whereof to authorise it, was, *To the Holy Ghost, and to us it hath seemed good:* Which style they did not use as matching themselves in Power with the Holy Ghost, but as testifying the Holy Ghost to be the Author, and themselves, but onely Utterers of that Decree. This Law therefore to have proceeded from God as the Author thereof, no faithful man will deny. It was of God, not onely because God gave them the power whereby they might make Laws, but for that it proceeded even from the holy Motion and Suggestion of that secret Divine Spirit, whose sentence they did but onely pronounce. Notwithstanding, as the Law of Ceremonies delivered unto the Jews, so this very Law which the Gentiles received from the Mouth of the Holy Ghost, is in like respect abrogated by decease of the end for which it was given. But such as do not stick at this point, such as grant that what hath been instituted upon any special cause, needeth not to be observed, that cause ceasing, do notwithstanding herein fail; they judge the Laws of God onely by the Author and main end for which they were made, so that for us to change that which he hath established, they hold it execrable pride and presumption, if so be the end and purpose for which God by that

That neither Gods being the Author of Laws, nor his committing them to Scripture, nor the continuance of the end for which they were instituted, is any reason sufficient to prove that they are unchangeable.

Deut. 22. 10, 11.

Quod pro necessitate temporis statutum est, cessante necessitate debet cessare pariter quod urgebat. 1. q. 1.

Quod pro necessit. Acts 15.

Counterp. p. 8.

mean provideth, be permanent. And upon this they ground those ample Disputes concerning Orders and Offices, which being by him appointed for the Government of his Church, if it be necessary always that the Church of Christ be governed, then doth the end for which God provided, remain still; and therefore in those means which he by Law did establish as being fittest unto that end, for us to alter any thing, is to lift up our selves against God, and as it were to countermand him. Wherein they mark not, that Laws are Instruments to rule by, and that Instruments are not onely to be framed according unto the general end for which they are provided, but even according unto that very particular which riseth out of the matter whereon they have to work. The end wherefore Laws were made may be permanent, and those Laws nevertheless require some alteration, if there be any unfitness in the means which they prescribe as tending unto that end and purpose. As for example, a Law that to bridle theft, doth punish Theeves with a quadruple restitution, hath an end which will continue as long as the World it self continueth. Theft will be always, and will always need to be bridled. But that the mean which this Law provideth for that end, namely, the punishment of quadruple restitution, that this will be always sufficient to bridle and restrain that kinde of enormity, no man can warrant. Insufficiency of Laws doth sometimes come by want of judgment in the Makers. Which cause cannot fall into any Law termed properly and immediately Divine, as it may and doth into Humane Laws often. But that which hath been once most sufficient, may wax otherwise by alteration of time and place; that punishment which hath been sometimes forcible to bridle sin, may grow afterwards too week and feeble. In a word, we plainly perceive by the difference of those three Laws which the Jews received at the hands of God, the Moral, Ceremonial, and Judicial, that if the end for which, and the matter according whereunto God maketh his Laws, continue always one and the same, his Laws also do the like, for which cause the Moral Law cannot be altered. Secondly, That whether the Matter whereon Laws are made, continue or continue not, if their end have once ceased, they cease also to be of force; as in the Law Ceremonial it fareth. Finally, That albeit the end continue, as in that Law of Theft specified, and in a great part of those ancient Judicials it doth; yet for as much as there is not in all respects the same subject or matter remaining, for which they were first instituted, even this is sufficient cause of change. And therefore Laws, though both ordained of God himself, and the end for which they were ordained, continuing, may notwithstanding cease, if by alteration of persons or times, they be found unsufficient to attain unto that end. In which respect, why may we not presume, that God doth even call for such change or alteration, as the very condition of things themselves doth make necessary? They which do therefore plead the Authority of the Law-maker, as an argument wherefore it should not be lawful to change that which he hath instituted, and will have this the cause why all the Ordinances of our Saviour are immutable; they which urge the Wisdom of God as a proof, that whatsoever Laws he hath made, they ought to stand, unless himself from Heaven proclaim them disannulled, because it is not in man to correct the Ordinance of God; may know, if it please them to take notice thereof, that we are far from presuming to think that men can better any thing which God hath done, even as we are from thinking that men should presume to undo some things of men, which God doth know they cannot better. God never ordained any thing that could be bettered. Yet many things he hath, that have been changed, and that for the better. That which succeedeth as better now when change is requisite, had been worse, when that which now is changed was instituted. Otherwise God had not then left this to chuse that, neither would now reject that to chuse this, were it not for some new-grown occasion, making that which hath been better worse. In this case therefore men do not presume to change Gods Ordinance, but they yield thereunto, requiring it self to be changed. Against this it is objected, that to abrogate or innovate the Gospel of Christ, if Men or Angels should attempt, it were most heinous and cursed sacriledge. And the Gospel, as they say, containeth not onely doctrine instructing men how they should believe, but also Precepts concerning the Regiment of the Church. Discipline therefore is a part of the Gospel, and God being the Author of the whole Gospel, as well of Discipline as of Doctrine, it cannot be but that both of them

We offer to shew the Discipline to be a part of the Gospel, and therefore to have a Common Cause; so that in the repulse of the Discipline, the Gospel receives a check.

And again, I speak of the Discipline as of a part of the Gospel; and therefore neither under nor above the Gospel, but the Gospel. *T. C.* l. 1. p. 14. *Tert.* De Veland. Virg. Marr. n. 1. Sam. 14. Acts 15.

have

have a Common Cause. So that as we are to believe for ever the Articles of Evangelical Doctrine, so the Precepts of Discipline we are in like sort bound for ever to observe. Touching Points of Doctrine, as for example, the Unity of God, the Trinity of Persons, Salvation by Christ, the Resurrection of the Body, Life Everlasting, the Judgment to come, and such like, they have been since the first hour that there was a Church in the World, and till the last they must be believed: But as for Matters of Regiment, they are for the most part of another nature. To make new Articles of Faith and Doctrine, no Man thinketh it lawful; new Laws of Government, what Commonwealth or Church is there which maketh not either at one time or another? *The Rule of Faith,* saith *Tertullian, is but one, and that alone immoveable, and impossible to be framed or cast a new.* The Law of outward Order and Polity not so. There is no reason in the World wherefore we should esteem it as necessary always to do, as always to believe the same things; seeing every man knoweth, that the Matter of Faith is constant, the Matter contrariwise of Action daily changeable, especially the Matter of Action belonging unto Church Polity. Neither can I finde that Men of soundest judgment have any otherwise taught, then that Articles of Belief, and things which all men must of necessity do, to the end they may be saved, are either expressly set down in Scripture, or else plainly thereby to be gathered. But touching things which belong to Discipline and outward Polity, the Church hath Authority to make Canons, Laws, and Decrees, even as we read, that in the Apostles times it did. Which Acts 15. kinde of Laws (for as much as they are not in themselves necessary to Salvation) may after they are made, be also changed as the difference of times or places shall require. Yea, it is not denied, I am sure, by themselves, that certain things in Discipline are of that nature, as they may be varied by times, places, persons, and other the like circumstances. Whereupon I demand, are those changeable Points of Discipline commanded in the Word of God, or no? If they be not commanded, and yet may be received in the Church, how can their former Position stand, condemning all things in the Church, which in the Word are not commanded? If they be commanded, and yet may suffer change: How can this latter stand, affirming all things immutable which are commanded of God? Their distinction touching Matters of Substance and of Circumstance, though true, will not serve. For be they great things, or be they small, if God have commanded them in the Gospel, and his commanding them in the Gospel do make them unchangeable, there is no reason we should more change the one, then we may the other. If the Authority of the Maker do prove unchangeableness in the Laws which God hath made, then must all Laws which he hath made, be necessarily for ever permanent, though they be but of Circumstance onely, and not of Substance. I therefore conclude, that neither Gods being Author of Laws for Government of his Church, nor his committing them unto Scripture, is any reason sufficient, wherefore all Churches should for ever be bound to keep them without change. But of one thing we are here to give them warning by the way: For whereas in this Discourse, we have oftentimes profest, that many parts of Discipline or Church Polity are delivered in Scripture, they may perhaps imagine that we are driven to confess their Discipline to be delivered in Scripture; and that having no other means to avoid it, we are fain to argue for the changeableness of Laws ordained even by God himself, as if otherwise theirs of necessity should take place, and that under which we live be abandoned. There is no remedy therefore, but to abate this Error in them, and directly to let them know, that if they fall into any such conceit, they do but a little flatter their own cause. As for us, we think in no respect so highly of it. Our perswasion is, that no age ever had knowledge of it, but onely ours; that they which defend it, devised it; that neither Christ nor his Apostles, at any time taught it, but the contrary. If therefore we did seek to maintain that which most advantageth our own cause, the very best way for us, and the strongest against them, were to hold even as they do, that in Scripture there must needs be found some particular Form of Church Polity which God hath instituted, and which * for that very cause belongeth to all Churches, to all times. But with any such partial eye to respect our selves, and by cunning, to make those things seem the truest, which are the fittest to serve our purpose, is a thing which we neither like

C. pol. in script.

* Disciplina est Christianæ Ecclesiæ Politia, à Deo ejus rectè Administrandæ causâ constituta, ac propterea ex ejus verbo petenda, & ob eandem causam omnium Ecclesiarum communis & omnium temporum. Lib. 3. de Eccles. Discip. in Anala.

nor

nor mean to follow. Wherefore, that which we take to be generally true concerning the Mutability of Laws, the ſame we have plainly delivered, as being perſwaded of nothing more then we are of this; * That whether it be in Matter of Speculation or of Practice, no untruth can poſſibly avail the Patron and Defender long, and that things moſt truly, are like moſt behovefully ſpoken.

* Εοίκασιν ὖν οἱ ἀληθεῖς τῷ λόγῳ, ἐ μόνον πρὸς τὸ εἰδέναι χρήσιμώτατοι εἶ), ἀλλὰ κὴ πρὸς τ βίον. Συνοδοὶ γὰ ὄντες ἔργοις, πιςεύομ), *Arist.* Ethic. lib. 10. cap. 1.

Whether Christ have forbidden all change of those Laws which are set down in Scripture.

11. This we hold and grant for Truth, that those very Laws which of their own nature are changeable, be notwithstanding uncapable of change, if he which gave them, being of Authority so to do, forbid absolutely to change them; neither may they admit alteration against the Will of such a Law-maker. Albeit therefore we do not finde any cause, why of right there should be necessarily an Immutable Form set down in holy Scripture; nevertheless, if indeed there have been at any time a Church Polity so set down, the change whereof the sacred Scripture doth forbid; surely for Men to alter those Laws which God for perpetuity hath established, were presumption most intolerable. To prove therefore, that the Will of Christ was to establish Laws so Permanent and Immutable, that in any sort to alter them, cannot but highly offend God. Thus they reason; First, [a] If *Moses* being but a servant in the House of God, did therein establish Laws of Government for a perpetuity; Laws, which they that were of the Houshold, might not alter: Shall we admit into our thoughts, that the Son of God hath in providing for this his Houshold, declared himself less faithful then *Moses*; *Moses* delivering unto the Jews such Laws as were durable, if those be changeable which Christ hath delivered unto us, we are not able to avoid it, but (that which to think were heinous impiety) we of necessity must confess, even the Son of God himself to have been less faithful then *Moses*? Which Argument shall need no Touchstone to try it by, but some other of the like making. *Moses* erected in the Wilderness a Tabernacle, which was moveable from place to place: *Solomon* a sumptuous and stately Temple, which was not moveable; therefore *Solomon* was faithfuller then *Moses*, which no man endued with reason will think. And yet by this reason it doth plainly follow. He that will see how faithful the one or other was, must compare the things which they both did, unto the charge which God gave each of them. The Apostle in making comparison between our Saviour and *Moses*, attributeth faithfulness unto both, and maketh this difference between them; *Moses in*, but *Christ over* the House of God; *Moses* in that House which was *his by charge and commission*, though to govern it, yet to govern it *as a servant*; but *Christ* over this House, as being *his own intire possession*. Our Lord and Saviour doth make Protestation, [b] *I have given unto them the words which thou gavest me*. Faithful therefore he was, and concealed not any part of his Fathers will. But did any part of that will require the Immutability of Laws concerning Church Polity? They answer, Yea; for else God should less favor us then the Jews. God would not have their Churches guided by any Laws but his own. And seeing this did so continue even till Christ; now to ease God of that care, or rather to deprive the Church of his Patronage, what reason have we? Surely none, to derogate any thing from the ancient love which God hath borne to his Church. An Heathen Philosopher there is, who considering how many things Beasts have, which Men have not, how naked in comparison of them, how impotent, and how much less able we are to shift for our selves a long time after we enter into this World, repiningly concluded hereupon, that Nature being a careful Mother for them, is towards us a hard-hearted Step-dame. No, we may not measure the affection of our gracious God towards his by such differences. For even herein shineth his Wisdom, that though the ways of his Providence be many, yet the end which he bringeth all at the length unto, is one and the self-same. But if such kinde of reasoning were good, might we not even as directly conclude the very same, concerning Laws of Secular Regiment? Their own words are these; [c] *In the ancient Church of the Jews, God did command, and* Moses *commit unto writing, all things pertinent, as well to the Civil as to the Ecclesiastical State*. God gave them Laws of Civil Regiment, and would not permit their Commonweal to be governed by any other Laws

[a] Heb. 3. 6. Either that commendation of the Son, before the servant is a false testimony, or the Son ordained a Permanent Government in the Church. If Permanent, then not to be chang'd. What then do they that hold it may be changed at the Magistrates pleasure, but advise the Magistrate by his Positive Laws, to proclaim, That it is his will; that if there shall be a Church within his Dominions, he will maim and deform the same? *M. M.* pag 16. He that was as faithful as *Moses*, left as clear instruction for the Government of the Church: But Christ was as faithful as *Moses*. *Ergo*, *Demonstr. of Discip. cap.* 1.

[b] John 17. Either God hath left a Prescript Form of Government now, or else he is less careful under the New Testament, then under the Old. *Demonst. of Disc. cap.* 1. [c] *Ecclesiast. Disc. lib.* 1.

then

then his own. Doth God leſs regard our Temporal eſtate in this World, or provide for it worſe then theirs? To us notwithſtanding, he hath not as to them, delivered any particular Form of Temporal Regiment, unleſs perhaps, we think as ſome do, that the grafting of the Gentiles, and their incorporating into *Iſrael*, doth import, that we ought to be ſubject unto the Rites and Laws of their whole Polity. We ſee then how weak ſuch Diſputes are, and how ſmally they make to this purpoſe. That Chriſt did not mean to ſet down particular Poſitive Laws for all things, in ſuch ſort as *Moſes* did, the very different manner of delivering the Laws of *Moſes*, and the Laws of Chriſt, doth plainly ſhew. *Moſes* had Commandment to gather the Ordinances of God together diſtinctly, and orderly to ſet them down according unto their ſeveral kindes, for each Publick Duty and Office, the Laws that belong thereto, as appeareth in the Books themſelves written of purpoſe for that end. Contrariwiſe the Laws of Chriſt, we finde rather mentioned by occaſion in the writings of the Apoſtles, then any ſolemn thing directly written to comprehend them in legal ſort. Again, the Poſitive Laws which *Moſes* gave, they were given for the greateſt part, with reſtraint to the Land of *Jury*: *Behold*, ſaith *Moſes*, *I have taught you Ordinances and Laws, as the Lord my God commanded me, that ye ſhould do ſo even within the Land whither ye go to poſſeſs it.* Which Laws and Ordinances Poſitive, he plainly diſtinguiſhed afterward from the Laws of the Two Tables which were Moral. *The Lord ſpake unto you out of the midſt of the fire; ye heard the voice of the words, but ſaw no ſimilitude, onely a voice. Then he declared unto you his Covenant which he commanded you to do, the Ten Commandments, and wrote them upon Two Tables of Stone. And the Lord commanded me that ſame time, that I ſhould teach you Ordinances and Laws which ye ſhould obſerve in the Land, whither ye go to poſſeſs it.* The ſame difference is again ſet down in the next Chapter following. For rehearſal being made of the Ten Commandments, it followeth immediately: *Theſe words the Lord ſpake unto all your multitude in the Mount, out of the midſt of the fire, the cloud and the darkneſs, with a great voice, and added no more, and wrote them upon two Tables of Stone, and delivered them unto me.* But concerning other Laws, the people give their conſent to receive them at the hands of *Moſes*. *Go thou nearer, and hear all that the Lord our God ſaith, and declare thou unto us all that the Lord our God ſaith unto thee, and we will hear it, and do it.* The peoples alacrity herein God highly commendeth with moſt effectual and hearty ſpeech; *I have heard the voice of the words of this people; they have ſpoken well. O that there were ſuch an heart in them to fear me, and to keep all my Commandments always; that it might go well with them, and with their Children for ever! Go, ſay unto them, Return you to your Tents: But ſtand thou here with me, and I will tell thee all the Commandments and the Ordinances, and the Laws which thou ſhalt teach them, that they may do them in the Land which I have given them to poſſeſs.* From this latter kinde the former are plainly diſtinguiſhed in many things. They were not both at one time delivered, neither both after one ſort, nor to one end. The former uttered by the voice of God himſelf in the hearing of Six hundred thouſand men; the former written with the Finger of God; the former termed by the name of a Covenant; the former given to be kept without either mention of time how long, or of place where. On the other ſide, the latter given after, and neither written by God himſelf, nor given unto the whole multitude immediately from God, but unto *Moſes*, and from him to them both by word and writing; Finally, The latter termed Ceremonies, Judgments, Ordinances, but no where Covenants. The obſervation of the latter reſtrained unto the Land where God would eſtabliſh them to inhabite. The Laws Poſitive are not framed without regard had to the place and perſons, for the which they are made. If therefore Almighty God in framing their Laws, had an eye unto the nature of that people, and to the Countrey where they were to dwell; if theſe peculiar and proper conſiderations were reſpected in the making of their Laws, and muſt be alſo regarded in the Poſitive Laws of all other Nations beſides; then ſeeing that Nations are not all alike, ſurely the giving of one kinde of Poſitive Laws unto one onely people, without any liberty to alter them, is but a ſlender proof, that therefore one kinde ſhould in like ſort be given to ſerve everlaſtingly for all. But that which moſt of all maketh for the clearing of this point, is, * That the Jews who had Laws, ſo particularly determining and ſo fully inſtructing

Rom 11 17. Epheſ. 2. 12, 16.

Deut. 4. 5.

Verſ. 12, 13, 14.

Deut. 5. 22.

Verſ. 27.

Verſ. 28, 29, 30, 31.

* *T. C.* lib. 1. p. 35. Whereas you ſay, That they (the Jews) had nothing, but was determined by the Law, and we have many things undetermined and left to the Order of the Church. I will offer for one that you ſhall bring that we have left to the Order of the Church, to ſhew you they that had twenty which were undecided of by the expreſs Word of God.

them

them in all affairs what to do, were notwithstanding continually inured with causes exorbitant, and such as their Laws had not provided for. And in this point much more is granted us then we ask, namely, that for one thing which we have left to the Order of the Church, they had twenty which were undecided by the expres Word of God; and that as their Ceremonies and Sacraments were multiplied above ours, even so grew the number of those cases which were not determined by any expres word. So that if we may devise one Law, they by this reason might devise twenty; and if their devising so many, were not forbidden, shall their example prove us forbidden to devise as much as one Law for the ordering of the Church? We might not devise, no not one, if their example did prove, that our Saviour hath utterly forbidden all alteration of his Laws, in as much as there can be no Law devised; but needs it must either take away from his, or add thereunto more or less, and so make some kinde of alteration: But of this so large a grant, we are content not to take advantage. Men are oftentimes in a sudden passion more liberal, then they would be, if they had leisure to take advice: And therefore so bountiful words of course and frank speeches, we are contented to let pass, without turning them to advantage with too much rigor. It may be they had rather be listned unto, when they commend the Kings of *Israel*, which attempted nothing in the Government of the Church, without the expres Word of God; and when they urge, that God left nothing in his Word undescribed, whether it concerned the Worship of God, or outward Polity, nothing unset down; and therefore charged them strictly to keep themselves unto that, without any alteration. Howbeit seeing it cannot be denied, but that many things there did belong unto the course of their Publick Affairs, wherein they had no expres word at all; to shew precisely what they should do; the difference between their condition and ours in these cases, will bring some light unto the truth of this present Controversie. Before the fact of the son of *Shelomith*, there was no Law which did appoint any certain punishment for Blasphemers: That wretched creature being therefore deprehended in that impiety, was held in Ward, till the minde of the Lord was known concerning his case. The like practice is also mentioned upon occasion of a breach of the Sabbath day. They finde a poor silly creature gathering sticks in the Wilderness; they bring him unto *Moses* and *Aaron*, and all the Congregation; they lay him in hold, because it was not declared what should be done with him, till God had said unto *Moses*, *This man shall die the death*. The Law requireth to keep the Sabbath day; but for the breach of the Sabbath what punishment should be inflicted, it did not appoint. Such occasions as these, are rare: And for such things as do fall scarce once in many ages of men, it did suffice to take such order as was requisite when they fell. But if the case were such, as being not already determined by Law, were notwithstanding likely oftentimes to come into question; it gave occasion of adding Laws that were not before. Thus it fell out in the case of those men polluted, and of the daughters of *Zelophehad*, whose causes *Moses* having brought before the Lord, received Laws to serve for the like in time to come. The Jews to this end had the Oracle of God, they had the Prophets. And by such means, God himself instructed them from Heaven, what to do in all things that did greatly concern their state, and were not already set down in the Law. Shall we then hereupon argue even against our own experience and knowledge? Shall we seek to perswade men, that of necessity it is with us, as it was with them, that because God is ours in all respects, as much as theirs, therefore either no such way of direction hath been at any time; or if it hath been, it doth still continue in the Church; or if the same do not continue, that yet it must be at the least supplied by some such mean as pleaseth us to account of equal force? A more dutiful and religious way for us, were to admire the Wisdom of God, which shineth in the beautiful variety of all things? But most in the manifold and yet harmonious dissimilitude of those ways, whereby his Church upon Earth is guided from age to age throughout all Generations of Men. The Jews were necessarily to continue till the coming of Christ in the flesh, and the gathering of Nations unto him. So much the Promise made unto *Abraham* did import. So much the Prophesie of *Jacob* at the hour of his death did foreshew. Upon the safety therefore of their very outward state and condition for so long, the after good of the whole World, and the Salvation of all did depend. Unto their so long safety, for two things it was necessary to provide, namely, the preservation of their state against foreign resistance, and the

T. C. In the Table to his Second Book. *T. C.* lib. 1. p. 446. If he will needs separate the Worship of God from the External Polity; yet as the Lord set forth the one, so he left nothing undescribed in the other.

Levit. 24. 31.

Numb. 15. 34.

Numb. 9. Numb. 27.

Gen. 18. 18.

Gen. 48. 19.

the continuance of their peace within themſelves. Touching the one, as they received the Promiſe of God to be the Rock of their Defence, againſt which, who ſo did violently ruſh, ſhould but bruiſe and batter themſelves; ſo likewiſe they had his Commandment in all their affairs that way, to ſeek direction and counſel from him. Mens Conſultations are always perillous. And it falleth out many times, that after long deliberation, thoſe things are by their wit even reſolved on, which by trial are found moſt oppoſite to publick ſafety. It is no impoſſible thing for States, be they never ſo well eſtabliſhed, yet by over-ſight in ſome one act or treaty between them, and their potent oppoſites, utterly to caſt away themſelves for ever. Wherefore leſt it ſhould ſo fall out to them, upon whom ſo much did depend; they were not permitted to enter into War, nor conclude any League of Peace, nor to wade through any act of moment between them and foreign States, unleſs the Oracle of God, or his Prophets, were firſt conſulted with. And leſt domeſtical diſturbance ſhould waſte them within themſelves, becauſe there was nothing unto this purpoſe more effectual, then if the Authority of their Laws and Governors were ſuch, as none might preſume to take exception againſt it, or to ſhew diſobedience unto it, without incurring the hatred and deteſtation of all men that had any ſpark of the fear of God; therefore he gave them even their Poſitive Laws from Heaven, and as oft as occaſion required, choſe in like ſort Rulers alſo to lead and govern them. Notwithſtanding ſome deſperately impious there were, which adventured to try what harm it could bring upon them, if they did attempt to be Authors of Confuſion, and to reſiſt both Governors and Laws. Againſt ſuch Monſters God maintained his own, by fearful execution of extraordinary judgment upon them. By which means it came to paſs, that although they were a people infeſted and mightily hated of all others throughout the World, although by Nature hard-hearted, querulous, wrathful, and impatient of reſt and quietneſs; yet was there nothing of force, either one way or other, to work the ruine and ſubverſion of their State, till the time before mentioned was expired. Thus we ſee that there was no cauſe of diſſimilitude in theſe things, between that one onely People before Chriſt, and the Kingdoms of the World ſince. And whereas it is further alledged, *That albeit in Civil Matters and things pertaining to this preſent life, God hath uſed a greater particularity with them, then amongſt us, framing Laws according to the quality of that People and Countrey; yet the leaving of us at greater liberty in things civil, is ſo far from proving the like liberty in things pertaining to the Kingdom of Heaven, that it rather proves a ſtraiter bond. For even as when the Lord would have his favor more appear by Temporal Bleſſings of this life, towards the people under the Law, then towards us, he gave alſo Politick Laws moſt exactly, whereby they might both moſt eaſily come into, and moſt ſtedfaſtly remain in poſſeſſion of thoſe earthly benefits: Even ſo at this time, wherein he would not have his favor ſo much eſteemed by thoſe outward commodities, it is required, That as his care in preſcribing Laws for that purpoſe hath ſomewhat faln, in leaving them to mens Conſultations, which may be deceived; ſo his care for Conduct and Government of the life to come, ſhould (if it were poſſible) riſe, in leaving leſs to the order of men then in times paſt.* T. C. lib. 2. p. 449. Theſe are but weak and feeble Diſputes for the Inference of that Concluſion which is intended. For ſaving onely in ſuch conſideration as hath been ſhewed, there is no cauſe wherefore we ſhould think God more deſirous to manifeſt his favor by Temporal Bleſſings towards them, then towards us. Godlineſs had unto them, and it hath alſo unto us, the promiſes both of this life, and the life to come. That the care of God hath faln in earthly things, and therefore ſhould riſe as much in Heavenly; that more is left unto mens conſultations in the one, and therefore leſs muſt be granted in the other; that God having uſed a greater particularity with them then with us, for matters pertaining unto this life, is to make us amends by the more exact delivery of Laws for Government of the life to come. Theſe are proportions, whereof if there be any rule, we muſt plainly confeſs that which truth is, we know it not. God which ſpake unto them by his Prophets, hath unto us by his onely begotten Son; thoſe Myſteries of Grace and Salvation which were but darkly diſcloſed unto them, have unto us more clearly ſhined. Such differences between them and us, the Apoſtles of Chriſt have well acquainted us withal. But as for matter belonging to the outward Conduct or Government of the Church; ſeeing that even in ſenſe it is manifeſt, that our Lord and Saviour hath not by Poſitive Laws deſcended ſo far into particularities with us, as *Moſes* with them; neither doth by

extraordinary Means, Oracles, and Prophets, direct us, as them he did, in those things which rising daily by new occasions, are of necessity to be provided for; doth it not hereupon rather follow, that although not to them, yet to us there should be freedom and liberty granted to make Laws? Yea, but the Apostle St. *Paul* doth fearfully charge
1 Tim. 6. 14. Joh. 18. 37. *Timothy, Even in the sight of God who quickneth all, and of Christ Jesus who witnessed that famous Confession before* Pontius Pilate, *to keep what was commanded him, safe and sound till the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ.* This doth exclude all liberty of changing the Laws of Christ, whether by abrogation or addition, or howsoever: For in *Timothy* the whole Church of Christ receiveth charge concerning her duty. And that charge is to keep the Apostles Commandment; and his Commandment did contain the Laws that concerned Church Government: And those Laws he straightly requireth to be observed without breach or blame, till the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ. In Scripture we grant every one Mans lesson, to be the common instruction of all men, so far forth as their cases are like, and that religiously to keep the Apostles Commandments in whatsoever they may concern us, we all stand bound. But touching that Commandment which *Timothy* was charged with, we swerve undoubtedly from the Apostles precise meaning, if we extend it so largely that the Arms thereof shall reach unto all things which were commanded him by the Apostle. The very words themselves do restrain themselves unto some special Commandment among many. And therefore it is not said, *Keep the Ordinances, Laws, and Constitutions which thou hast received; but* τὴν ἐντολὴν, *that great Commandment, which doth principally concern thee and thy calling:*
Joh. 21. 15. Acts 20. 28. That Commandment which Christ did so often inculcate unto *Peter*; that Commandment unto the careful discharge whereof they of *Ephesus* are exhorted, *Attend to your selves, and to all the flock, wherein the Holy Ghost hath placed you Bishops, to Feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased by his own blood:* Finally, that Commandment which unto the same *Timothy* is by the same Apostle, even in the same form and manner
2 Tim 4. 1. afterwards again urged, *I charge thee in the sight of God and the Lord Jesus Christ, which will judge the quick and dead at his appearance, and in his Kingdom, Preach the Word of God.* When *Timothy* was instituted in that Office, then was the credit and trust of this
1 Tim. 6. 20. τὴν παραθήκην. duty committed unto his faithful care. The Doctrine of the Gospel was then given him, *As the precious Talent or Treasure of Jesus Christ*; then received he for performance of this duty, *The special Gift of the Holy Ghost.* To keep this Commandment immaculate and blameless, *Was to teach the Gospel of Christ without mixture of corrupt and unsound Doctrine*; such as a number, even in those times, intermingled with the Mysteries of Christian Belief. *Till the appearance of Christ to keep it so,* doth not import the time wherein it should be kept, but rather the time whereunto the final reward for
1 Tim. 4. 24. keeping it was reserved; according to that of St. *Paul* concerning himself,
2 Tim. 4. 7. *I have kept the Faith; for the residue, there is laid up for me a Crown of Righteousness, which the Lord the righteous Judge, shall in that day render unto me.* If they that labor in this Harvest, should respect but the present fruit of their painful Travel, a poor encouragement it were unto them, to continue therein all the days of their life. But their reward is great in Heaven; the Crown of Righteousness which shall be given them in that day, is honorable. The fruit of their industry then shall they reap with full contentment and satisfaction, but not till then. Wherein the greatness of their reward is abundantly sufficient to countervail the tediousness of their expectation. Wherefore till then, they that are in labor, must rest in hope. O *Timothy*, keep that which is committed unto thy charge; that great Commandment which thou hast received, keep, till the appearance of our Lord Jesus Christ. In which sense, although we judge the Apostles words to have been uttered; yet hereunto we do not require them to yield, that think any other construction more sound. If therefore it be rejected, and theirs esteemed more probable, which hold, That the last words do import perpetual observation of the Apostles Commandment, imposed necessarily for ever upon the Militant Church of Christ: Let them withal consider, That then his Commandment cannot so largely be taken, to comprehend whatsoever the Apostle did command *Timothy*. For themselves do not all binde the Church unto some things, whereof *Timothy* received charge, as namely, unto that Precept concerning the choice of Widows. So as they cannot hereby maintain, that all things positively commanded concerning the affairs of the Church, were commanded for perpetuity. And we do not deny that certain things were commanded

to be, though positive, yet perpetual in the Church. They should not therefore urge against us places that seem to forbid change, but rather such as set down some measure of alteration; which measure, if we have exceeded, then might they therewith charge us justly: Whereas now they themselves both granting, and also using liberty to change, cannot in reason dispute absolutely against all change. Christ delivered no inconvenient, or unmeet Laws: Sundry of ours they hold inconvenient. Therefore such Laws they cannot possibly hold to be Christs. Being not his, they must of necessity grant them added unto his. Yet certain of those very Laws so added, they themselves do not judge unlawful; as they plainly confess, both in matter of Prescript Attire, and of Rites appertaining to Burial. Their own Protestations are, that they plead against the inconvenience, not the unlawfulness of Popish Apparel; and against the inconvenience, not the unlawfulness of Ceremonies in Burial. Therefore they hold it a thing not unlawful to add to the Laws of Jesus Christ; and so consequently they yield, That no Law of Christ forbiddeth Addition unto Church Laws. The Judgment of *Calvin* being alledged against them, to whom, of all men, they attribute most; whereas his words be plain, That for Ceremonies and External Discipline, the Church hath power to make Laws: The answer which hereunto they make, is, That indefinitely the speech is true, and that so it was meant by him; namely, That some things belonging unto External Discipline and Ceremonies, are in the Power and Arbitrement of the Church; but neither was it meant, neither is it true generally, That all External Discipline, and all Ceremonies, are left to the Order of the Church, in as much as the Sacraments of Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord are Ceremonies, which yet the Church may not therefore abrogate. Again, Excommunication is a part of External Discipline, which might also be cast away; if all External Discipline were Arbitrary, and in the choice of the Church. By which their answer it doth appear, that touching the names of Ceremony and External Discipline, they gladly would have us so understood, as if we did herein contain a great deal more then we do. The fault which we finde with them, is, That they over-much abridge the Church of her power in these things. Whereupon they recharge us, as if in these things we gave the Church a liberty, which hath no limits or bounds; as if all things which the name of Discipline containeth, were at the Churches free choice. So that we might either have Church Governors and Government, or want them; either retain or reject Church Censures as we list. They wonder at us as at men which think it so indifferent what the Church doth in Matter of Ceremonies, that it may be feared lest we judge the very Sacraments themselves to be held at the Churches pleasure. No, the name of Ceremonies we do not use in so large a meaning, as to bring Sacraments within the compass and reach thereof; although things belonging unto the outward form and seemly Administration of them, are contained in that name, even as we use it. For the name of Ceremonies we use as they themselves do, when they speak after this sort: *The Doctrine and Discipline of the Church, as the weightiest things, ought especially to be looked unto; but the Ceremonies also, as Mint and Cummin, ought not to be neglected.* Besides, in the Matter of External Discipline, or Regiment it self, we do not deny but there are some things whereto the Church is bound till the Worlds end. So as the question is onely, how far the bounds of the Churches Liberty do reach. We hold, that the power which the Church hath lawfully to make Laws and Orders for it self, doth extend unto sundry things of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and such other Matters, whereto their opinion is, That the Churches Authority and Power doth not reach. Whereas therefore in Disputing against us about this point, they take their compass a great deal wider then the truth of things can afford, producing Reasons and Arguments by way of generality, to prove, that Christ hath set down all things belonging any way unto the Form of ordering his Church, and hath absolutely forbidden change by Ad-

T. C. lib. 3. p. 241. My Reasons do never conclude the unlawfulness of these Ceremonies of Burial, but the inconvenience and inexpedience of them. *And in the Table.* Of the inconvenience, nor of the unlawfulness of Popish Apparel and Ceremonies in Burial. *T. C.* lib. 1. pag. 32. Upon the indefinite speaking of Mr. *Calvin*, saying, Ceremonies and External Discipline, without adding all or some; you go about subtilly to make men believe, That Mr. *Calvin* had placed the whole External Discipline in the Power and Arbitrement of the Church. For if all External Discipline were Arbitrary, and in the choice of the Church, Excommunication also, (which is a part of it) might be cast away; which I think you will not say. *And in the very next words before.* Where you will give to understand, that Ceremonies and External Discipline are not prescribed particularly by the Word of God; and therefore left to the Order of the Church: You must understand, that all External Discipline is not left to the Orders of the Church, being particularly prescribed in the Scriptures, no more then all Ceremonies are left to the Order of the Church, as the Sacraments of Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord.

T. C. lib. 3. p. 171.

dition or Diminution, great or ſmall (for ſo their manner of diſputing is:) We are conſtrained to make our Defence, by ſhewing, That Chriſt hath not deprived his Church ſo far of all Liberty, in making Orders and Laws for it ſelf, and that they themſelves do not think he hath ſo done. For are they able to ſhew that all particular Cuſtoms, Rites, and Orders of Reformed Churches, have been appointed by Chriſt himſelf? No; They grant, that in Matter of Circumſtance they alter that which they have received; but in things of Subſtance, they keep the Laws of Chriſt without change. If we ſay the ſame in our own behalf (which ſurely we may do with a great deal more truth) then muſt they cancel all that hath been before alledged, and begin to enquire afreſh, Whether we retain the Laws that Chriſt hath delivered concerning Matters of Subſtance, yea, or no. For our conſtant perſwaſion in this point is as theirs, That we have no where altered the Laws of Chriſt, further then in ſuch Particularities onely, as have the nature of things changeable according to the difference of times, places, perſons, and other the like circumſtances. Chriſt hath commanded Prayers to be made, Sacraments to be miniſtred, his Church to be carefully taught and guided. Concerning every of theſe, ſomewhat Chriſt hath commanded, which muſt be kept till the Worlds end. On the contrary ſide, in every of them, ſomewhat there may be added, as the Church ſhall judge it expedient. So that if they will ſpeak to purpoſe, all which hitherto hath been diſputed of, they muſt give over, and ſtand upon ſuch particulars onely, as they can ſhew we have either added or abrogated, otherwiſe then we ought in the Matter of Church Polity. Whatſoever Chriſt hath commanded for ever to be kept in his Church, the ſame we take not upon us to abrogate; and whatſoever our Laws have thereunto added beſides, of ſuch quality we hope it is, as no Law of Chriſt doth any where condemn. Wherefore, that all may be laid together, and gathered into a narrow room.

I. Firſt, So far forth as the Church is the Myſtical Body of Chriſt, and his Inviſible Spouſe, it needeth no External Polity. That very part of the Law Divine, which teacheth Faith and Works of Righteouſneſs, is it ſelf alone ſufficient for the Church of God in that reſpect.

II. But as the Church is a Viſible Society, and Body Politick, Laws of Polity it cannot want. Secondly, Whereas therefore it cometh in the ſecond place to be enquired, what Laws are fitteſt and beſt for the Church; they who firſt embraced that rigorous and ſtrict opinion, which depriveth the Church of Liberty, to make any kinde of Law for her ſelf, inclined (as it ſhould ſeem) thereunto; for that they imagined all things which the Church doth without commandment of holy Scripture, ſubject to that reproof which the Scripture it ſelf uſeth in certain caſes, when Divine Authority ought alone to be followed. Hereupon they thought it enough for the cancelling of any kinde of Order whatſoever to ſay, *The Word of God teacheth it not, it is a device of the Brain of Man, away with it therefore out of the Church.* St. *Auguſtine* was of another minde, who ſpeaking of Faſts on the Sunday, ſaith, *That he which would chuſe out that day to faſt on, ſhould give thereby no ſmall offence to the Church of God, which had received a contrary Cuſtom. For in theſe things, whereof the Scripture appointeth no certainty, the uſe of the People of God, or the Ordinances of our Fathers, muſt ſerve for a Law. In which caſe, if we will diſpute, and condemn one ſort by anothers cuſtom, it will be but matter of endleſs contention; where, for as much as the labor of reaſoning, ſhall hardly beat into mens heads any certain or neceſſary truth; ſurely it ſtandeth us upon to take heed, leſt with the Tempeſt of Strife, the Brightneſs of Charity and Love be darkned.* If all things muſt be commanded of God, which may be practiſed of his Church, I would know what commandment the *Gileadites* had to erect that Altar which is ſpoken of in the Book of *Joſhua*. Did not congruity of Reaſon enduce them thereunto, and ſuffice for defence of their Fact? I would know what commandment the Women of *Iſrael* had yearly to mourn and lament in the memory of *Jephthahs* daughter; what commandment the *Jews* had to celebrate their Feaſt of *Dedication* never ſpoken of in the Law, yet ſolemnized even by our Saviour himſelf; what commandment, finally, they had for the Ceremony of Odors uſed about the Bodies of the Dead, after which cuſtom notwithſtanding (ſith it was their cuſtom) our Lord was contented, that his own moſt precious Body ſhould be intombed. Wherefore to reject all Orders of the Church which Men have eſtabliſhed, is to think worſe of the Laws of Men in this reſpect, then either the judgment of wiſe men alloweth, or the Law of God it ſelf will bear. Howbeit, they which

T. C. lib. 1. p. 27. We deny not but certain things are left to the Order of the Church, becauſe they are of the Nature of thoſe which are varied by times, places, perſons, and other circumſtances, and ſo could not at once be ſet down and eſtabliſhed for ever.

Iſai. 29. 14. Col. 2. 22.

Auguſt. Epiſt. 86.

Joſh. 22.

Judg. 11. 40. Joh. 10. 20.

Joh. 19. 40.

which had once taken upon them to condemn all things done in the Church, and not commanded of God to be done, ſaw it was neceſſary for them (continuing in defence of this their opinion) to hold, that needs there muſt be in Scripture ſet down a compleat particular Form of Church Polity, a Form preſcribing how all the affairs of the Church muſt be ordered, a Form in no reſpect lawful to be altered by Mortal Men. For Reformation of which over-ſight and error in them, there were that thought it a part of Chriſtian love and charity to inſtruct them better, and to open unto them the difference between Matters of perpetual neceſſity to all Mens ſalvation, and Matters of Eccleſiaſtical Polity: The one both fully and plainly taught in holy Scripture; the other not neceſſary to be in ſuch ſort there preſcribed: The one not capable of any Diminution or Augmentation at all by Men, the other apt to admit both. Hereupon the Authors of the former opinion were preſently ſeconded by other wittier and better learned, who being loth that the Form of Church Polity which they ſought to bring in, ſhould be otherwiſe then in the higheſt degree accounted of, took firſt an exception againſt the difference between Church Polity and Matters of neceſſity to Salvation. I. Secondly, Againſt the Reſtraint of Scripture, which (they ſay) receiveth injury at our hands, when we teach that it teacheth not as well Matters of Polity, as of Faith and Salvation. II. Thirdly, Conſtrained thereby we have been therefore, both to maintain that diſtinction, as a thing not onely true in it ſelf, but by them likewiſe ſo acknowledged, though unawares. III. Fourthly, And to make manifeſt that from Scripture, we offer not to derogate the leaſt thing that Truth thereunto doth claim, in as much as by us it is willingly confeſt, That the Scripture of God is a Store-houſe abounding with ineſtimable Treaſures of Wiſdom and Knowledge in many kindes, over and above things in this one kinde barely neceſſary; yea, even that Matters of Eccleſiaſtical Polity are not therein omitted, but taught alſo, albeit not ſo taught as thoſe other things before mentioned. IV. For ſo perfectly are thoſe things taught, that nothing ever can need to be added, nothing ever ceaſe to be neceſſary: Theſe on the contrary ſide, as being of a far other nature and quality, not ſo ſtrictly nor everlaſtingly commanded in Scripture; but that unto the compleat Form of Church Polity, much may be requiſite, which the Scripture teacheth not; and much which it hath taught, become unrequiſite, ſometime becauſe we need not uſe it, ſometimes alſo becauſe we cannot. In which reſpect, for mine own part, although I ſee that certain Reformed Churches, the Scotiſh eſpecially and French, have not that which beſt agreeth with the Sacred Scripture, I mean the Government that is by Biſhops, in as much as both Sect. thoſe Churches are faln under a different kinde of Regiment; which to remedy it, is for the one altogether too late, and too ſoon for the other, during their preſent affliction and trouble: This their defect and imperfection I had rather lament in ſuch a caſe then exagitate, conſidering that men oftentimes without any fault of their own, may be driven to want that kinde of Polity or Regiment which is beſt; and to content themſelves with that, weich either the irremediable Error of former times, or the neceſſity of the preſent hath caſt upon them. V. Fifthly, Now, becauſe that Poſition firſt mentioned, which holdeth it neceſſary that all things which the Church may lawfully do in her own Regiment be commanded in holy Scripture, hath by the latter Defenders thereof been greatly qualified; who, though perceiving it to be over-extream, are notwithſtanding loth to acknowledge any overſight therein, and therefore labor what they may to ſalve it up by conſtruction; we have for the more perſpicuity dtlivered what was thereby meant at the firſt. VI. Sixthly, How injurious a thing it were unto all the Churches of God for men to hold it in that meaning. VII. Seventhly, And how unperfect their Interpretations are, who ſo much labor to help it, either by dividing Commandments of Scripture into two kindes, and ſo defending, that all things muſt be commanded, if not in ſpecial, yet in general Precepts. VIII. Eightly, Or by taking it as meant, that in caſe the Church do deviſe any new Order, ſhe ought therein to follow the direction of Scripture onely, and not any Star-light of Mans Reaſon. IX. Nineth-ly, Both which evaſions being cut off, we have in the next place declared after what ſort the Church may lawfully frame to her ſelf Laws of Polity, and in what reckoning ſuch Poſitive Laws both are with God, and ſhould be with Men. X. Tenthly, Furthermore, becauſe to abridge the Liberty of the Church in this behalf, it hath been made a thing very odious, that when God himſelf hath deviſed ſome certain Laws, and

committed

committed them to Sacred Scripture, Man by Abrogation, Addition, or any way, ſhould preſume to alter and change them; it was of neceſſity to be examined, Whether the Authority of God in making, or his care in committing thoſe his Laws unto Scripture, be ſufficient Arguments to prove, That God doth in no caſe allow they ſhould ſuffer any ſuch kinde of change. Eleventhly, The laſt refuge for proof, That Divine Laws of Chriſtian Church Polity may not be altered, by extinguiſhment of any old, or addition of new in that kinde, is partly a marvellous ſtrange Diſcourſe, That Chriſt (unleſs he would ſhew himſelf not ſo faithful as *Moſes*, or not * ſo wiſe as *Lycurgus* and *Solon*) muſt needs have ſet down in holy Scripture, ſome certain, compleat, and unchangeable Form of Polity; and partly a coloured ſhew of ſome evidence, where change of that ſort of Laws may ſeem expreſly forbidden, although in truth nothing leſs be done. I might have added hereunto their more familiar and popular diſputes, as, The Church is a City, yea, the City of the Great King, and the life of a City, is Polity: The Church is the Houſe of the Living God; and what houſe can there be without ſome order for the government of it? In the Royal Houſe of a Prince, there muſt be Officers for Government, ſuch as not any Servant in the Houſe but the Prince, whoſe the Houſe is, ſhall judge convenient: So the Houſe of God muſt have Orders for the Government of it, ſuch as not any of the Houſhold, but God himſelf hath appointed. It cannot ſtand with the Love and Wiſdom of God, to leave ſuch Order untaken, as is neceſſary for the due Government of his Church. The numbers, degrees, orders, and attire of *Solomons* ſervants, did ſhew his Wiſdom; therefore he which is greater then *Solomon*, hath not failed to leave in his Houſe ſuch Orders for Government thereof, as may ſerve to be as a Looking-glaſs for his providence, care, and wiſdom to be ſeen in. That little ſpark of the Light of Nature which remaineth in us, may ſerve us for the affairs of this life: But as in all other Matters concerning the Kingdom of Heaven, ſo principally in this which concerneth the very Government of that Kingdom, needful it is we ſhould be taught of God. *As long as Men are perſwaded of any Order, that it is onely of Men, they preſume of their own underſtanding, and they think to deviſe another, not onely as good, but better then that which they have received. By ſeverity of puniſhment, this preſumption and curioſity may be reſtrained. But that cannot work ſuch chearful Obedience as is yielded, where the Conſcience hath reſpect to God as the Author of Laws and Orders. This was it which countenanced the Laws of* Moſes, *made concerning outward Polity for the Adminiſtration of holy things. The like ſome Law-givers of the Heathens did pretend, but falſly; yet wiſely diſcerning the uſe of this perſwaſion. For the better obedience ſake therefore it was expedient, that God ſhould be Author of the Polity of his Church. But to what iſſue doth all this come? A man would think that they which hold out with ſuch diſcourſes, were of nothing more fully perſwaded then of this, That the Scripture hath ſet down a compleat Form of Church Polity, Univerſal, Perpetual, altogether Unchangeable.* For ſo it would follow, if the premiſes were ſound and ſtrong to ſuch effect as is pretended. Notwithſtanding, they which have thus formally maintained Argument in defence of the firſt overſight, are by the very evidence of Truth, themſelves conſtrained to make this in effect their concluſion, That the Scripture of God hath many things concerning Church Polity; that of thoſe many, ſome are of greater weight, ſome of leſs; that what hath been urged as touching Immutability of Laws, it extendeth in Truth no further then onely to Laws wherein things of greater moment are preſcribed. Now theſe things of greater moment, what are they? Forſooth, *Doctors, Paſtors, Lay-Elders, Elderſhips compounded of theſe three: Synods, conſiſting of many Elderſhips, Deacons, Women Church-ſervants, or Widows; free conſent of the people unto actions of greateſt moment, after they be by Churches or Synods orderly reſolved.* All *this Form of Polity* (if yet we may term that a form of building, when men have laid a few Rafters together, and thoſe not all of the ſoundeſt neither) but howſoever, all *this Form* they conclude is preſcribed in ſuch ſort, that to adde to it any thing as of like importance (for ſo I think they mean) or to abrogate of it any thing at all, is unlawful. In which reſolution, if they will firmly and conſtantly perſiſt, I ſee not but that concerning the points which hitherto have been diſputed of, they muſt agree, that they have moleſted the Church with needleſs oppoſition; and henceforward, as we ſaid before, betake themſelves wholly unto the tryal of particulars, whether every of thoſe things which they eſteem as principal, be

XI.

* Niſi Reip. ſuæ ſtatum omnem conſtituerit, Magiſtratus ordinarit, ſingulorum munera poteſtatemque deſcripſerit, quæ judiciorum forq; ratio habenda? quomodo civium finiendæ lietis? non ſolum minus Eccleſiæ Chriſtianæ providit, quam Moſes olim Judaicæ, ſed quàm à Lycurgo Solone, Numa, Civitatib. ſuis proſpectum ſit. Lib. de Eccleſiaſt. Diſcip.

The Defence of godly Miniſters againſt Dr. *Bridges*, 133.

be either ſo eſteemed of, or at all eſtabliſhed for perpetuity in holy Scripture; and whether any particular thing in our Church Polity be received other then the Scripture alloweth of, either in greater things, or in ſmaller. The Matters wherein Church Polity is converſant, are the Publick Religious Duties of the Church, as the Adminiſtration of the Word and Sacraments, Prayers, Spiritual Cenſures, and the like. To theſe the Church ſtandeth always bound. Laws of Polity, are Laws which appoint in what manner theſe duties ſhall be performed. In performance whereof, becauſe all that are of the Church cannot joyntly and equally work, the firſt thing in Polity required, is, A difference of Perſons in the Church, without which difference thoſe Functions cannot in orderly ſort be executed. Hereupon we hold, That Gods Clergy are a State, which hath been and will be, as long as there is a Church upon Earth, neceſſarily by the plain Word of God himſelf; a State whereunto the reſt of Gods people muſt be ſubject, as touching things that appertain to their Souls health. For where Polity is, it cannot but appoint ſome to be Leaders of others, and ſome to be led by others. *If the blinde lead the blinde, they both periſh.* It is Luk. 6. 39. with the Clergy, if their perſons be reſpected, even as it is with other men; their quality many times far beneath that which the dignity of their place requireth. Howbeit, according to the Order of Polity, they being *The lights of the World,* others Matth. 5. 14. (though better and wiſer) muſt that way be ſubject unto them. Again, for as much as where the Clergy are any great multitude, order doth neceſſarily require that by degrees they be diſtinguiſhed; we hold, there have ever been, and ever ought to be in ſuch caſe, at leaſtwiſe, two ſorts of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, the one ſubordinate unto the other; as to the Apoſtles in the beginning, and to the Biſhops always ſince, we finde plainly both in Scripture, and in all Eccleſiaſtical Records, other Miniſters of the Word and Sacraments have been. Moreover, it cannot enter into any Mans conceit to think it lawful, that every man which liſteth, ſhould take upon him charge in the Church; and therefore a ſolemn admittance is of ſuch neceſſity, that without it there can be no Church Polity. A number of Particularities there are, which make for the more convenient Being of theſe Principal and Perpetual parts in Eccleſiaſtical Polity, but yet are not of ſuch conſtant uſe and neceſſity in Gods Church. Of this kinde are, times and places appointed for the Exerciſe of Religion; Specialties belonging to the Publick Solemnity of the Word, the Sacraments and Prayer; the Enlargement or Abridgement of Functions Miniſterial, depending upon thoſe two Principals beforementioned. To conclude, even whatſoever doth by way of Formality and Circumſtance concern any Publick Action of the Church. Now although that which the Scripture hath of things in the former kinde be for ever permanent; yet in the latter, both much of that which the Scripture teacheth, is not always needful; and much the Church of God ſhall always need which the Scripture teacheth not. So as the Form of Polity by them ſet down for perpetuity, is three ways faulty. Faulty in omitting ſome things which in Scripture are of that nature, as namely, the difference that ought to be of Paſtors, when they grow to any great multitude: Faulty in requiring Doctors, Deacons, Widows, and ſuch like, as things of perpetual neceſſity by the Law of God, which in Truth are nothing leſs: Faulty alſo in urging ſome things by Scripture Immutable; as their Lay-Elders, which the Scripture neither maketh Immutable, nor at all teacheth, for any thing either we can as yet finde, or they have hitherto been able to prove. But hereof more in the Books that follow. As for thoſe marvellous Diſcourſes, whereby they adventure to argue, That God muſt needs have done the thing which they imagine was to be done: I muſt confeſs, I have often wondred at their exceeding boldneſs herein. When the queſtion is, Whether God have delivered in Scripture (as they affirm he hath) a compleat particular Immutable Form of Church Polity; why take they that other, both preſumptuous and ſuperfluous labor, to prove he ſhould have done it; there being no way in this caſe to prove the Deed of God, ſaving onely by producing that evidence wherein he hath done it? But if there be no ſuch thing apparent upon Record, they do as if one ſhould demand a Legacy by force and vertue of ſome Written Teſtament, wherein there being no ſuch thing ſpecified, he pleadeth, That there it muſt needs be, and bringeth arguments from the love or good will which always the Teſtator bore him, imagining, that theſe or the like proofs will convict

convict a Teſtament to have that in it, which other men can no where by reading finde. In matters which concern the Actions of God, the moſt dutiful way on our part, is to ſearch what God hath done, and with meekneſs to admire that, rather then to diſpute what he in congruity of Reaſon ought to do. The ways which he hath whereby to do all things for the greateſt good of his Church, are more in number then we can ſearch, other in Nature, then that we ſhould preſume to determine which of many ſhould be the fitteſt for him to chuſe, till ſuch time as we ſee he hath choſen of many ſome one; which one, we then may boldly conclude to be the fitteſt, becauſe he hath taken it before the reſt. When we do otherwiſe, ſurely we exceed our bounds; who, and where we are, we forget. And therefore needful it is, that our Pride in ſuch caſes be contrould, and our Diſputes beaten back with thoſe Demands of the bleſſed Apoſtle, *How unſearchable are his Judgments, and his Ways paſt finding out? Who hath known the Minde of the Lord, or who was his Counſellor?*

Rom. 11 13.

OF

OF THE LAWS OF Ecclesiastical Polity.

Book IV.

Concerning their Third Assertion, That our Form of Church-Politie is corrupted with Popish Orders, Rites, and Ceremonies, banished out of certain Reformed Churches, whose example therein we ought to have followed.

The Matter contained in this Fourth Book.

1. *How great use Ceremonies have in the Church.*
2. *The First thing they blame in the kinde of our Ceremonies, is, that we have not in them ancient Apostolical simplicity, but a greater pomp and statelines.*
3. *The second, that so many of them are the same which the Church of* Rome *useth; and the Reasons which they bring to prove them for that cause blame-worthy.*
4. *How when they go about to expound what Popish Ceremonies they mean, they contradict their own Arguments against Popish Ceremonies.*
5. *An Answer to the Argument, whereby they would prove, that sith we allow the customs of our Fathers to be followed, we therefore may not allow such customs as the Church of* Rome *hath, because we cannot account of them which are in that Church as of our Fathers.*
6. *To their Allegation, that the course of Gods own wisdom doth make against our conformity with the Church of* Rome *in such things.*
7. *To the example of the eldest Church which they bring for the same purpose.*
8. *That it is not our best Politie (as they pretend it is) for establishment of sound Religion, to have in these things no agreement with the Church of* Rome *being unsound.*
9. *That neither the Papists upbraiding us as furnished out of their store, nor any hope which in that respect they are said to conceive, doth make any more against our Ceremonies then the former Allegations have done.*
10. *The grief, which they say, godly Brethren conceive, at such Ceremonies as we have common with the Church of* Rome.
11. *The third thing, for which they reprove a great part of our Ceremonies, is, for that as we have them from the Church of* Rome, *so that Church had them from the* Jews.
12. *The fourth, for that sundry of them have been (they say) abused unto Idolatry, and are by that mean become scandalous.*
13. *The fifth, for that we retain them still, notwithstanding the example of certain Churches reformed before us, which have cast them out.*

How great uſe Ceremonies have in the Church.

SUch was the ancient ſimplicity and ſoftneſs of ſpirit, which ſometimes prevailed in the World, that they whoſe words were even as Oracles amongſt men, ſeemed evermore loth to give ſentence againſt any thing publiquely received in the Church of God, except it were wonderful apparently evil; for that they did not ſo much encline to that ſeverity, which delighteth to reprove the leaſt things it ſeeth amiſs; as to that Charity, which is unwilling to behold any thing that duty bindeth it to reprove. The ſtate of this preſent Age, wherein Zeal hath drowned Charity, and Skill Meekneſs, will not now ſuffer any man to marvel, whatſoever he ſhall hear reproved, by whomſoever. Thoſe Rites and Ceremonies of the Church therefore, which are the ſelf-ſame now, that they were, when Holy and Vertuous men maintained them againſt profane and deriding Adverſaries, her own children have at this day in deriſion. Whether juſtly or no, it ſhall then appear, when all things are heard, which they have to alledge againſt the outward received Orders of this Church. Which inaſmuch as themſelves do compare unto *Mint and Cummin,* granting them to be no part of thoſe things, which in the matter of Polity are weightier, we hope that for ſmall things their ſtrife will neither be earneſt nor long. The ſifting of that which is objected againſt the Orders of the Church in particular, doth not belong unto this place. Here we are to diſcuſs onely thoſe general exceptions, which have been taken at any time againſt them. Firſt, therefore to the end that their nature and uſe, whereunto they ſerve may plainly appear; and ſo afterwards their quality the better be diſcerned; we are to note, that in every grand or main publique duty, which God requireth at the hands of his Church, there is, beſides that matter and form wherein the eſſence thereof conſiſteth, a certain outward faſhion, whereby the ſame is in decent ſort adminiſtred. The ſubſtance of all religious actions is delivered from God himſelf in few words. For example ſake in the Sacraments, *Unto the Element let the Word be added; and they both do make a Sacrament,* ſaith S. *Auguſtine.* Baptiſm is given by the Element of Water, and that preſcript form of words, which the Church of Chriſt doth uſe; the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt is adminiſtred in the Elements of Bread and Wine, if thoſe myſtical words be added thereunto. But the due and decent form of adminiſtring thoſe holy Sacraments, doth require a great deal more. The end which is aimed at in ſetting down the outward form of all religious actions, is the edification of the Church. Now men are edified, when either their underſtanding is taught ſomewhat whereof in ſuch actions it behoveth all men to conſider, or when their hearts are moved with any affection ſuitable thereunto; when their mindes are in any ſort ſtirred up unto that reverence, devotion, attention, and due regard, which in thoſe caſes ſeemeth requiſite. Becauſe therefore unto this purpoſe not onely ſpeech, but ſundry ſenſible means beſides have always been thought neceſſary, and eſpecially thoſe means which being object to the eye, the livelieſt and the moſt apprehenſive ſenſe of all other, have in that reſpect ſeemed the fitteſt to make a deep and ſtrong impreſſion; from hence have riſen not only a number of Prayers, Readings, Queſtionings, Exhortings, but even of viſible ſighs alſo, which being uſed in perfomance of holy actions, are undoubtedly moſt effectual to open ſuch matter, as men when they know and remember carefully, muſt needs be a great deal the better informed to what effect ſuch duties ſerve. We muſt not think but that there is ſome ground of Reaſon even in Nature, whereby it cometh to paſs, that no Nation under Heaven either doth or ever did ſuffer publike actions which are of weight, whether they be Civil and Temporal, or elſe Spiritual and Sacred, to paſs without ſome viſible ſolemnity: The very ſtrangeneſs whereof, and difference from that which is common doth cauſe Popular eyes to obſerve and to mark the ſame. Words, both becauſe they are common, and do not ſo ſtrongly move the phanſie of man, are for the moſt part but ſlightly heard; and therefore with ſingular wiſdom it hath been provided, that the deeds of men which are made

Matth. 23. 23. The Doctrine and Diſcipline of the Church, as the weightieſt things, ought eſpecially to be looked unto: but the Ceremonies alſo, as *Mint* and *Cummin* ought not to be neglected.

T.C.l 3. *p.* 171.

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in the presence of Witnesses, should pass not only with words, but also with certain sensible actions, the memory whereof is far more easie and durable then the memory of speech can be. The things which so long experience of all Ages hath confirmed and made profitable, let not us presume to condemn as follies and toys, because we sometimes know not the cause and reason of them. A wit disposed to scorn whatsoever it doth not conceive, might ask wherefore *Abraham* should say to his servant, *Put thy hand under my thigh, and swear:* was it not sufficient for his servant to shew the Religion of an Oath, by naming the Lord God of Heaven and Earth, unless that strange Ceremony were added? In Contracts, Bargains and Conveyances, a mans word is a token sufficient to express his will. *Yet this was the ancient manner in Israel concerning redeeming and exchanging, to establish all things; A man did pluck off his shoo, and gave it to his neighbour; and this was a sure witness in Israel.* Amongst the *Romans* in their making of a Bondman free, was it not wondred wherefore so great a do should be made? The Master to present his Slave in some Court, to take him by the hand, and not only to say in the hearing of the publike Magistrate, *I will that this man become free*; but after these solemn words uttered, to strike him on the cheek, to turn him round, the hair of his head to be shaved off, the Magistrate to touch him thrice with a rod, in the end a cap and a white garment to be given him: To what purpose all this circumstance? Among the *Hebrews* how strange and in outward appearance almost against reason, that he which was minded to make himself a perpetual servant, should not only testifie so much in the presence of the Judge, but for a visible token thereof have also his ear bored thorow with an awl? It were an infinite labour to prosecute these things so far as they might be exemplified both in Civil and Religious actions. For in both they have their necessary use and force. (a) *These sensible things which Religion hath allowed, are resemblances framed according to things spiritually understood, whereunto they serve as a hand to lead, and a way to direct.* And whereas it may peradventure be objected, that to add to Religious duties, such Rites and Ceremonies as are significant, is to institute new Sacraments: sure I am they will not say, that *Numa Pompilius* did ordain a Sacrament; a significant Ceremony he did ordain, in commanding the Priests (b) *to execute the work of their Divine Service with their hands as far as to the fingers covered; thereby signifying that fidelity must be defended, and that mens right hands are the sacred seat thereof.* Again, we are also to put them in minde, that themselves do not hold all significant Ceremonies, for Sacraments, inasmuch as Imposition of hands they deny to be a Sacrament, and yet they give thereunto a forcible signification. For concerning it their words are these, (c) *The party ordained by this ceremony, was put in minde of his separation to the work of the Lord, that remembring himself to be taken as it were with the hand of God from amongst others, this might teach him not to account himself now his own, nor to do what himself listeth; but to consider that God hath set him about a work, which if he will discharge and accomplish, he may at the hands of God assure himself of reward; and, if otherwise, of revenge.* Touching significant Ceremonies, some of them are Sacraments, some as Sacaments onely. Sacraments are those, which are signs and tokens of some general promised grace, which always really descendeth from God unto the soul that duly receiveth them: Other significant tokens are only as Sacraments, yet no Sacraments: Which is not our distinction, but theirs. For concerning the Apostles Imposition of hands, these are their own words, *Magnum signum hoc & quasi Sacramentum usurparunt*; They used this sign, or as it were Sacrament.

Gen. 24. 2.

Ruth 4. 7.

Exod. 21. 6.

(a) *Dionys. p. 121.* Τὰ μὲν αἰσθητῶς ἱερὰ τῶν νοήτων ἀπεικονίσματα, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰ, χειραγωγία καὶ ὁδός.

(b) *Liv. lib. 1. Manu ad digitos usq; involutâ rem divinam facere, significantes fidem tutandam, sedemque ejus etiam indextris sacratam esse.*

(c) *Eccles. disc. fol. 51.*

Fol. 32.

Concerning Rites and Ceremonies, there may be fault, either in the kinde or in, the number and multitude of them. The First thing blamed about the kinde of ours, is, That in many things we have departed from the ancient simplicity of Christ and his Apostles; we have imbraced more outward statelinesse, we have those Orders in the exercise of Religion, which they who best pleased God, and served him most devoutly never had. For it is out of doubt, that the first state of things was best, that in the prime of Christian Religion faith was soundest, the Scriptures of God were then best understood by all men, all parts of godlinesse did then most abound; and therefore it must needs follow, that Customs, Laws, and Ordinances devised since, are not so good for the Church of Christ; but the best way is to cut off later inventions, and to reduce things unto the ancient state wherein at the first they were. Which Rule or Canon we hold to be either uncertain, or at least wise unsufficient, if not both. For in case it be certain, hard it cannot be for them to shew us, where we shall find it so exactly set down, that

The first thing they blame in the kinde of our Ceremonies, is, that we have not in them ancient Apostolical simplicity, but a greater pomp and statelinesse. *Lib. Eccles. disc. & T.C. l. 3. p. 181.*

we may say without all controversie, *These were the Orders of the Apostles times, these wholly and onely, neither fewer nor more then these.* True it is that many things of this nature be alluded unto, yea many things declared, and many things necessarily collected out of the Apostles writings: But is it necessary that all the Orders of the Church which were then in use, should be contained in their Books? Surely no. For if the tenor of their Writings be well observed, it shall unto any man easily appear, that no more of them are there touched, then were needfull to be spoken of sometimes by one occasion, and sometimes by another. Will they allow then of any other Records besides? Well assured I am they are far enough from acknowledging that the Church ought to keep any thing as Apostolical, which is not found in the Apostles Writings, in what other Records soever it be found. And therefore whereas St. *Augustine* affirmeth, that those things which the whole Church of Christ doth hold, may well be thought to be Apostolical, although they be not found written; this his judgement they utterly condemn. I will not here stand in defence of S. *Augustines* opinion, which is, that such things are indeed Apostolical; but yet with this exception, unless the Decree of some General Councel have haply caused them to be received: for of Positive Laws and Orders received throughout the whole Christian world, S. *Augustine* could imagine no other Fountain save these two. But to let pass S. *Augustine*, they who condemn him herein, must needs confess it a very uncertain thing what the Orders of the Church were in the Apostles times, seeing the Scriptures doe not mention them all, and other Records thereof besides they utterly reject. So that in tying the Church to the Orders of the Apostles times, they tye it to a marvellous uncertain rule, unless they require the observation of no Orders but only those which are known to be Apostolical by the Apostles own Writings. But then is not this their rule of such sufficiency, that we should use it as a touchstone to try the Orders of the Church by for ever. Our end ought always to be the same; our ways and means thereunto not so. The glory of God, and the good of the Church was the thing which the Apostles aimed at, and therefore ought to be the mark whereat we also level. But seeing those Rites and Orders may be at one time more, which at another are less available unto that purpose: what reason is there in these things to urge the state of our only age, as a pattern for all to follow? It is not, I am right sure, their meaning, that we should now assemble our People to serve God in close and secret Meetings; or that common Brooks or Rivers should be used for places of Baptism; or that the Eucharist should be ministred after meat; or that the custom of Church-feasting should be renewed: or that all kind of standing provision for the Ministry should be utterly taken away, and their Estate made again dependent upon the voluntary devotion of men. In these things they easily perceive how unfit that were for the present, which was for the first Age convenient enough. The Faith, Zeal, and Godliness of former times is worthily had in honour; but doth this prove that the Orders of the Church of Christ must be still the self-same with theirs, that nothing may be which was not then, or that nothing which then was may lawfully since have ceased? They who recall the Church unto that which was at the first, must necessarily set bounds and limits unto their speeches. If any thing have been received repugnant unto that which was first delivered, the first things in this case must stand, the last give place unto them. But where difference is without repugnancy, that which hath been can be no prejudice to that which is. Let the state of the People of God when they were in the House of Bondage, and their manner of serving God in a strange Land, be compared with that which *Canaan* and *Jerusalem* did afford, and who seeth not what huge difference there was between them? In Egypt it may be, they were right glad to take some corner of a poor Cottage, and there to serve God upon their knees, peradventure covered in dust and straw sometimes. Neither were they therefore the less accepted of God; but he was with them in all their afflictions, and at the length by working of their admirable deliverance, did testifie that they served him not in vain. Notwithstanding in the very desert they are no sooner possest of some little thing of their own, but a Tabernacle is required at their hands. Being planted in the land of *Canaan*, and having *David* to be their King, when the Lord had given him rest from all his Enemies, it grieved his religious mind to consider the growth of his own estate and dignity, the Affairs of Religion continuing still in the former manner: *Behold, now I dwell in the house of Cedar trees,*

and

Tom. 7. de bapt. contra Donatist. lib. 5. cap. 23. T. C. l. 1. p. 31.

If this judgement of S. *Augustine* be a good judgement & sound; then there be some things commanded of God, which are not in the Scripture; and therfore there is no sufficient Doctrine contained in Scripture, whereby we may be saved. For all the Commandements of God, and of the Apostles, are needful for our salvation. *Vide Ep.* 118.

2 Sam. 7. 2.

and the Ark of God remaineth still within Curtains. What he did purpose, it was the pleasure of God that *Solomon* his Son should perform, and perform it in manner suitable unto their present, not their antient estate and condition. For which cause *Solomon* writeth unto the King of *Tyrus*: *The House which I build is great and wonderful, for great is our God above all gods.* Whereby it clearly appeareth, that the Orders of the Church of God may be acceptable unto him, as well being framed suitable to the greatness and dignity of latter, as when they keep the reverend simplicity of antienter times. Such dissimilitude therefore between us and the Apostles of Christ, in the order of some outward things, is no argument of default. 2 Chron. 2. 5.

3. Yea, but we have framed our selves to the customs of the Church of *Rome*, our Orders and Ceremonies are Papistical. It is espyed that our Church-founders were not so careful as in this matter they should have been, but contented themselves with such discipline as they took from the Church of *Rome*. Their Error we ought to reform by abolishing all Popish Orders. There must be no communion nor fellowship with Papists, *neither in Doctrine, Ceremonies, nor Government.* It is not enough that we are divided from the Church of *Rome* by the single wall of Doctrine, retaining as we do part of their Ceremonies, and almost their whole Government: but Government or Ceremonies, or whatsoever it be which is Popish, away with it. This is the thing they require in us, the utter relinquishment of all things Popish. Wherein, to the end we may answer them according to their plain direct meaning, and not take advantage of doubtful speech, whereby Controversies grow always endless, their main Position being this, that nothing *should be plac'd in the Church, but what God in his word hath commanded*, they must of necessity hold all for Popish, which the Church of *Rome* hath over & besides this. By Popish Orders, Ceremonies, and Government they must therfore mean in every of these so much, as the Church of *Rome* hath embraced without commandment of Gods word: so that whatsoever such thing we have, if the Church of *Rome* hath it also, it goeth under the name of those thing that are Popish, yea, although it be lawful, although agreeable to the word of God. For so they plainly affirm, saying: *Although the Forms and Ceremonies which they* (the Church of *Rome*) *used were not unlawful, and that they contained nothing which is not agreeable to the Word of God, yet notwithstanding neither the Word of God, nor reason, nor the examples of the eldest Churches, both Jewish and Christian, do permit us to use the same Forms and Ceremonies, being neither commanded of God, neither such as there may not as good as they, and rather better be established.* The question therefore is, whether we may follow the Church of *Rome* in those Orders, Rites and Ceremonies, wherein we do not think them blameable, or else ought to devise others, and to have no conformity with them, no not so much as in these things? In this sense and construction therefore as they affirm, so we deny, that whatsoever is Popish we ought to abrogate. Their Arguments to prove that generally all Popish Orders and Ceremonies ought to be clean abolished, are in sum these: First, *whereas we allow the judgment of S.* Augustine, *that touching those things of this kind which are not commanded or forbidden in the Scripture, we are to observe the Custom of the People of God, and the Decrees of our Forefathers: how can we retain the Customs and Constitutions of the Papists in such things, who were neither the People of God nor our Forefathers?* Secondly, *although the Forms and Ceremonies of the Church of* Rome *were not unlawful, neither did contain any thing which is not agreeable to the Word of God, yet neither the Word of God, nor the example of the eldest Churches of God, nor reason, do permit us to use the same*, they being Hereticks and so near about us, *and their Orders being neither commanded of God, not yet such, but that as good or rather better may be established. It is against the Word of God, to have conformity with the Church of* Rome *in such things, as appeareth, in that the wisdom of God hath thought it a good way to keep his People from infection of Idolaty and Superstition by severing them from Idolaters in outward Ceremonies, and therefore hath forbidden them to do things which are in themselves very lawful to be done. And further, whereas the Lord was careful to sever them by Ceremonies from other Nations, yet was he not so careful to sever them from any, as from the Egyptians amongst whom they lived, and from those Nations which were next Neighbours to them, because from them was the greatest fear of infection.* So that following the course which the wisdom of God doth teach, *it were more safe for us to conform our indifferent Ceremonies to the Turks which are far off, then to the Papists which are so near. Touching the example of the eldest Churches of God, in one Councel it was decreed, that Christians should not deck their houses*

Our Orders and Ceremonies blamed, in that so many of them are the same which the Church of *Rome* useth. *Eccles. Discipl. fol.* 12. *T.C. lib.* 1. *p.* 131. *T.C. l.* 1. *p.* 20. *T.C. l.* 1. *p* 25.

T. C. lib. 1. *p.* 131.

T.C. l. 1. *p.* 30.

T.C. l. 1. *p* 131.

T.C. l. 1. *p.* 132.

Tom. 2. *Braca.* 73.

houſes with Bay-leaves and green boughs, becauſe the Pagans did uſe ſo to do; and that they ſhould not reſt from their labours thoſe days that the Pagans did, that they ſhould not keep the firſt day of every month as they did. Another Council decreed that Chriſtians ſhould not celebrate Feaſts on the Birth-dayes of the Martyrs, becauſe it was the manner of the Heathen. O, ſaith Tertullian, *better is the Religion of the Heathen: for they uſe no ſolemnity of the Chriſtians, neither the Lords day, neither the Pentecoſt, and if they knew them, they would have nothing to do with them: for they would be afraid leſt they ſhould ſeem Chriſtians: but we are not afraid to be called Heathens. The ſame* Tertullian *would not have Chriſtians to ſit after they had payed, becauſe the Idolaters did ſo. Whereby it appeareth, that both of Particular men and of Counſels, in making or aboliſhing of Ceremonies, heed had been taken that the Chriſtians ſhould not be like the Idolaters, no not in thoſe things which of themſelves are moſt indifferent to be uſed or not uſed. The ſame conformity is not leſſe oppoſite unto reaſon, firſt inaſmuch as contraries muſt be cured by their contraries, and therefore Popery being Antichriſtianity, is not healed but by eſtabliſhment of Orders thereunto oppoſite. The way to bring a drunken man to ſobriety, is to carry him as far from exceſs of drink as may be. To rectifie a crooked ſtick, we bend it on the contrary ſide, as far as it was at the firſt on that ſide from whence we draw it: and ſo it cometh in the end to a middle between both, which is perfect ſtraightneſs. Utter inconformity therefore with the Church of* Rome *in theſe things, is the beſt and ſureſt Policy which the Church can uſe. While we uſe their Ceremonies, they take occaſion to blaſpheme, ſaying that our Religion cannot ſtand by it ſelf, unleſs it lean upon the ſtaff of their Ceremonies.* (a) *They hereby conceive great hope of having the reſt of their Popery in the end, which hope cauſeth them to be more frozen in their wickedneſs. Neither is it without cauſe that they have this hope, conſidering that which M.* Bucer *noteth upon the eighteenth of S.* Matthew, *that where theſe things have been left, Popery hath returned; but on the other part, in places which have been cleanſed of theſe things, it hath not yet been ſeen that it hath had any entrance.* (b) *None make ſuch clamours for theſe Ceremonies, as the Papiſts, and thoſe whom they ſuborn; a manifeſt token how much they triumph and joy in theſe things. They breed grief of minde in a number that are godly minded, and have Antichriſtianity in ſuch deteſtation, that their minds are Martyred with the very ſight of them in the Church. Such godly Brethren we ought not thus to grieve with unprofitable Ceremonies, yea Ceremonies wherein there is not only no profit, but alſo danger of great hurt that may grow to the Church by infection, which Popiſh Ceremonies are means to breed.* This in effect is the ſum and ſubſtance of that which they bring by way of oppoſition againſt thoſe Orders which we have common with the Church of *Rome*; theſe are the reaſons wherewith they would prove our Ceremonies in that reſpect worthy of blame.

Con. Africa. cap. 27.

Lib. de Idolat. He ſeemeth to mean the feaſt of Eaſter day, celebrated in the memory of our Saviours reſurrection, and for that cauſe termed the Lords day.

Lib. de Anima.

(a) *T. C. l. 3. p. 178.*

(b) *T. C. l. 3. p. 179.*

T. C. l. 3. p. 180.

That whereas they who blame us in this behalf, when reaſon evicteth that all ſuch Ceremonies are not to be aboliſhed, make anſwer, that when they condemn Popiſh Ceremonies, their meaning is of Ceremonies unprofitable, or Ceremonies, inſtead whereof as good or better may be deviſed: they cannot hereby get out of the bryars, but contradict and gainſay themſelves: in aſmuch as their uſual manner is to prove, that Ceremonies uncommanded in the Church of God, and yet uſed in the Church of *Rome*, are for this very cauſe unprofitable to us, and not ſo good as others in their place would be.

4. Before we anſwer unto theſe things, we are to cut off that, whereunto they from whom theſe Objections proceed, do oftentimes fly for defence and ſuccour, when the force and ſtrength of their Argument is elided. For the Ceremonies in uſe amongſt us, being in no other reſpect retained, ſaving onely for that to retain them is to our ſeeming, good and profitable, yea ſo profitable and ſo good, that if we had either ſimply taken them clean away, or elſe removed them ſo as to place in their ſtead others, we had done worſe: the plain and direct way againſt us herein had been onely to prove, that all ſuch Ceremonies as they require to be aboliſhed, are retained by us to the hurt of the Church, or with leſſe benefit then the aboliſhment of them would bring. But foraſmuch as they ſaw how hardly they ſhould be able to perform this; they took a more compendious way, traducing the Ceremonies of our Church under the name of being Popiſh. The cauſe why this way ſeemed better unto them, was, for that the name of Popery is more odious then very Paganiſm amongſt divers of the more ſimple ſort; ſo whatſoever they hear named Popiſh, they preſently conceive deep hatred againſt it, imagining there can be nothing contained in that name, but needs it muſt be exceeding deteſtable. The ears of the People they have therefore filled with ſtrong clamours. *The Church of* England *is fraught with Popiſh Ceremonies: they that favour the cauſe of Reformation, maintain nothing but the ſincerity of the Goſpel of* Jeſus Chriſt: *All ſuch as withſtand them, fight*

for

for the Laws of his ſworn enemy, uphold the filthy reliques of Antichriſt; and are defenders of that which is Popiſh. Theſe are the notes wherewith are drawn from the hearts of the inultitude ſo many ſighs; with theſe tunes their minds are exaſperated againſt the lawful Guides and Governours of their ſouls; theſe are the voices that fill them with general diſcontentment, as though the boſom of that famous Church wherein they live, were more noyſom then any dungeon. But when the Authors of ſo ſcandalous incantations are examined and called to account, how can they juſtifie ſuch their dealings; when they are urged directly to anſwer, whether it be lawful for us to uſe any ſuch Ceremonies as the Church of *Rome* uſeth, although the ſame be not commanded in the Word of God; being driven to ſee that the uſe of ſome ſuch Ceremonies muſt of neceſſity be granted lawful, they go about to make us believe that they are juſt of the ſame Opinion, and that they only think ſuch Ceremonies are not to be uſed when they are unprofitable, or when as good or better may be eſtabliſhed. Which Anſwer is both idle in regard of us, and alſo repugnant to themſelves. It is, in regard of us, very vain to make this anſwer, becauſe they know that what Ceremonies we retain common unto the Church of *Rome*, we therefore retain them, for that we judge them to be profitable, and to be ſuch that others inſtead of them would be worſe. So that when they ſay that we ought to abrogate ſuch Romiſh Ceremonies as are unprofitable, or elſe might have other more profitable in their ſtead, they trifle and they beat the Air about nothing which toucheth us, unleſs they mean that we ought to abrogate all Romiſh Ceremonies, which in their judgment have either no uſe, or leſs uſe than ſome other might have. But then muſt they ſhew ſome commiſſion, whereby they are authorized to ſit as Judges, and we required to take their judgment for good in this caſe. Otherwiſe, their ſentences will not be greatly regarded, when they oppoſe their *Me thinketh*, unto the Orders of the Church of *England:* as in the Queſtion about Surpleſſes one of them doth; *If we look to the colour, black methinks is the more decent; if to the form, a garment down to the foot hath a great deal more comelineſs in it.* If they think that we ought to prove the Ceremonies commodious which we have retained, they do in this Point very greatly deceive themſelves. For in all right and equity, that which the Church hath received and held ſo long for good, that which publike approbation hath ratified, muſt carry the benefit of preſumption with it to be accounted meet and convenient. They which have ſtood up as yeſterday to challenge it of defect, muſt prove their challenge. If we being Defendents do anſwer, that the Ceremonies in queſtion, are godly, comely, decent, profitable for the Church; their reply is childiſh and unorderly to ſay, that we demand the thing in queſtion, and ſhew the poverty of our cauſe, the goodneſs whereof we are fain to beg that our Adverſaries would grant. For on our part this muſt be the Anſwer, which orderly proceeding doth require. The burden of proving doth reſt on them. In them it is frivolous to ſay, we ought not to uſe bad Ceremonies of the Church of *Rome*, and preſume all ſuch bad, as it pleaſeth themſelves to diſlike, unleſs we can perſwade them the contrary. Beſides, they are herein oppoſite alſo to themſelves. For what one thing is ſo common with them, as to uſe the cuſtome of the Church of *Rome* for an Argument to prove, that ſuch and ſuch Ceremonies cannot be good and profitable for us, inaſmuch as that Church uſeth them? Which uſual kind of diſputing, ſheweth that they do not diſallow onely thoſe Romiſh Ceremonies which are unprofitable, but count all unprofitable, which are Romiſh, that is to ſay, which have been deviſed by the Church of *Rome*, or which are uſed in that Church, and not preſcribed in the Word of God. For this is the onely limitation which they can uſe ſutable unto their other Poſitions. And therefore the cauſe which they yield, why they hold it lawful to retain in *Doctrine* and in *Diſcipline* ſome things as good, which yet are common to the Church of *Rome*, is, for that thoſe good things are perpetual Commandments, in whoſe place no other can come: but Ceremonies are changeable. So that their judgement in truth, is, that whatſoever by the Word of God is not changeable in the Church of *Rome*, that Churches uſing is a cauſe why Reformed Churches ought to change it, and not to think it good or profitable. And leſt we ſeem to father any thing upon them more then is properly their own, let them read even their own words, where they complain, That we *are thus conſtrained to be like unto the Papiſts in any their Ceremonies*; yea, they urge that this cauſe, although it were alone, ought to move them to whom that belongeth,

T.C. l. 3. p. 171. What an open untruth is it, that this is one of our principles not to be lawful to uſe the ſame Ceremonies which the Papiſts did, when as I have both before declared the contrary, and even here have expreſly added, that they are not to be uſed when as good or better may be eſtabliſhed? *Eccleſ. diſcip. fol.* 100.

T.C. l. 3. p. 176. As for your often repeating that the Ceremonies in queſtion are godly, comely, and decent: It is your old wont of demanding the thing in queſtion, and an undoubted Argument of your extream poverty. *T.C. l. 3. p. 174.*

longeth, to do them away, *forasmuch as they are their Ceremonies*; and that the Bishop of *Salisbury*, doth justifie this their complaint. The clause is untrue which they add concerning the Bishop of *Salisbury*; but the sentence doth shew, that we do them no wrong in setting down the state of the question between us thus: Whether we ought to abolish out of the Church of *England*, all such Orders, Rites, and Ceremonies as are established in the Church of *Rome*, and are not prescribed in the Word of God. For the Affirmative whereof we are now to answer such proofs of theirs as have been before alledged.

T. C. l. 3. p. 177. And that this complaint of ours is just, in that we are thus constrained to be like unto the Papists in any their Ceremonies; and that this cause only ought to move them to whom that belongeh, to do theirs away, forasmuch as they are their Ceremonies; the Reader may further see in the Bishop of *Salisbury*, who brings divers proofs thereof.

That our allowing the customs of our fathers to be followed, is no proof that we may not allow some customs which the Church of *Rome* hath, although we do not account of them as of our fathers.

5. Let the Church of *Rome* be what it will, let them that are of it be the people of God, and our Fathers in the Christian Faith, or let them be otherwise; hold them for Catholicks, or hold them for Hereticks, it is not a thing either one way or other in this present question greatly material. Our conformity with them in such things as have been proposed, is not proved as yet unlawful by all this. S. *Augustine* hath said, yea and we have allowed his saying, *That the custome of the people of God, and the decrees of our forefathers are to be kept, touching those things whereof the Scripture hath neither one way nor other given us any charge.* What then? Doth it here therefore follow, that they, being neither the people of God, nor our Forefathers, are for that cause in nothing to be followed? This Consequent were good, if so be it were granted, that only the custom of the people of God, and the Decrees of our forefathers are in such case to be observed. But then should no other kind of latter Laws in the Church be good, which were a gross absurdity to think. S. *Augustines* speech therefore doth import, that where we have no divine Precept, if yet we have the custom of the people of God, or a Decree of our forefathers, this is a Law and must be kept. Notwithstanding it is not denied, but that we lawfully may observe the positive constitutions of our own Churches, although the same were but yesterday made by our selves alone. Nor is there any thing in this to prove, that the Church of *England* might not by Law receive Orders, Rites, or Customs from the Church of *Rome*, although they were neither the people of God, nor yet our forefathers. How much lesse, when we have received from them nothing but that which they did themselves receive from such, as we cannot deny to have been the people of God, yea such as either we must acknowledge for our own forefathers, or else disdain the race of Christ?

That the course which the wisdom of God doth teach, maketh not against our conformity with the Church of *Rome* in such things.

6. The Rites and Orders wherein we follow the Church of *Rome*, are of no other kind that such as the Church of *Geneva* it self doth follow them in. We follow the Church of *Rome* in mo things; yet they in some things of the same nature about which our present controversie is: so that the difference is not in the kind, but in the number of Rites onely, wherein they and we do follow the Church of *Rome*. The use of Wafer-cakes, the custom of Godfathers and Godmothers in Baptism, are things not commanded nor forbidden in the Scripture, things which have been of old, and are retained in the Church of *Rome*, even at this very hour. Is conformity with *Rome* in such things a blemish unto the Church of *England*, and unto Churches abroad an ornament? Let them, if not for the reverence they owe unto this Church, in the bowels whereof they have received I trust that precious and blessed vigor, which shall quicken them to eternal life; yet at the least wise for the singular affection which they do bear towards others, take heed how they strike, lest they wound whom they would not. For undoubtedly it cutteth deeper then they are aware of, when they plead that even such Ceremonies of the Church of *Rome*, as contain in them nothing which is not of it self agreeable to the Word of God, ought nevertheless to be abolished, and that neither the Word of God, nor reason, nor the examples of the eldest Churches, do permit the Church of *Rome* to be therein followed. Hereticks they are, and they are our Neighbours. By us and amongst us, they lead their lives. But what then? therefore is no ceremony of theirs lawful for us to use? We must yield and will, that none are lawful if God himself be a Precedent against the use of any. But how appeareth it that God is so? Hereby, they say, it doth appear, in that *God severed his people from the Heathens, but specially from the* Egyptians, *and such Nations as were neerest Neighbours unto them, by forbidding them to do those things, which were in themselves very lawful to be done, yea very profitable some, and incommodious to be forborn;*

T. C. l. 1. p. 89. & 131.

such

such things it pleased God to forbid them, only because those Heathens did them, with whom conformity in the same thing might have bred infection. Thus in shaving, cutting, apparel-wearing, yea in sundry kinds of meats also, Swines-flesh, Conies, and such like, they were forbidden to do so and so, because the Gentiles did so. And the end why God forbade them such things, was, to sever them, for fear of infection, by a great and an high wall from other Nations, as S. Paul *teacheth.* The cause of more careful separation from the neareſt Nations, was, the greatness of danger to be especially by them infected. Now, *Papists* are to us as those Nations were unto *Israel.* Therefore if the wisdom of God be our Guide, we cannot allow conformity with them, no not in any such indifferent Ceremonies. Our direct answer hereunto is, that for any thing here alleadged we may still doubt, whether the Lord in such indifferent Ceremonies as those whereof we dispute, did frame his People of set purpose unto any utter dissimilitude, either with *Egyptians*, or with any other Nation else. And if God did not forbid them all such indifferent Ceremonies, then our conformity with the Church of *Rome* in some such is not hitherto as yet disproved, although *Papists* were unto us as those *Heathens* were unto *Israel. After the doings of the Land of* Egypt, *wherein you dwelt, ye shall not do, saith the Lord; and after the manner of the land of* Canaan, *whither I will bring you, shall ye not do, neither walk in their Ordinances: Do after my judgements, and keep my Ordinances to walk therein: I am the Lord your God.* The Speech is indefinite, *ye shall not be like them*: It is not general, *ye shall not be like them in any thing, or like unto them in any thing indifferent, or like unto them in any indifferent ceremony of theirs.* Seeing therefore it is not set down how far the bounds of his speech concerning dissimilitude should reach, how can any man assure us, that it extendeth farther than to those things only wherein the Nations there mentioned were Idolatrous, or did against that which the Law of God commandeth? Nay, doth it not seem a thing very probable, that God doth purposely add, *Do after my judgements*, as giving thereby to understand that his meaning in the former sentence was but to bar similitude in such things as were repugnant unto the Ordinances, Laws, and Statutes, which he had given? *Egyptians* and *Canaanites* are for example sake named unto them, because the Customs of the one they had been, and of the other they should be best acquainted with. But that wherein they might not be like unto either of them, was such peradventure as had been no whit less unlawfull, although those Nations had never been. So that there is no necessity to think that God for fear of infection by reason of nearness, forbad them to be like unto the *Canaanites* or the *Egyptians*, in those things which otherwise had been lawful enough. For I would know what one thing was in those Nations, and is here forbidden, being indifferent in it self, yet forbidden only because they used it? In the Laws of *Israel* we find it written, *Ye shall not cut round the corners of your Heads, neither shalt thou tear the tufts of thy Beard.* These things were usual amongst those Nations, and in themselves they are indifferent. But are they indifferent being used as signs of immoderate and hopeless lamentation for the dead? In this sense it is that the Law forbiddeth them. For which cause the very next words following are, *Ye shall not cut your Flesh for the dead, nor make any print of a mark upon you; I am the Lord.* The like in *Leviticus*, where speech is of mourning for the dead, *They shall not make bald parts upon their Head, nor shave off the locks of their Beard, nor make any cutting in their Flesh.* Again, in *Deut. Ye are the Children of the Lord your God; ye shall not cut your selves, nor make you Baldness between your eyes for the Dead.* What is this but in effect the same which the Apostle doth more plainly express, saying, *Sorrow not as they do who have no hope?* The very light of Nature it self was able to see herein a fault; that which those Nations did use, having been also in use with others, the antient *Roman* laws do forbid. That shaving therefore and cutting which the Law doth mention, was not a matter in it self indifferent, and forbidden only because it was in use amongst such Idolaters as were Neighbours to the people of God; but to use it had been a crime, though no other people or Nation under Heaven should have done it saving only themselves. As for those Laws concerning attires, *There shall no garment of Linnen and Vollen come upon thee*; as also those touching food and diet, wherein *Swines-flesh* together with sundry other meats are forbidden; the use of these things had been indeed of it self harmless and indifferent: so that hereby it doth appear, how the Law of God forbad in some special consideration, such things as were lawful enough in themselves. But yet even here they likewise fail of that they intend. For it doth not appear that the consideration in regard

Levit. 19. 27. and 19. 19. Deut. 22. 11. and 14. 7. & Levit. 11. Ephes. 2. 14.

Levit. 18. 3.

Levit. 19. 17

Levit. 21. 5.

Deut. 14. 1.

1 Thes. 4. 13.

Levit. 19. 19. Deut. 22. 11.

Deut. 14. 7. Levit. 11.

whereof the Law forbiddeth these things, was because those Nations did use them. Likely enough it is that the *Canaanites* used to feed as well on Sheep as on Swines-
Levit. 19. 19. flesh; and therefore if the forbidding of the latter had no other reason then dissimilitude with that people, they which of their own heads alledge this for reason, can shew I think some reason more then we are able to find, why the former was not also forbidden. Might
Deut. 14. Levit. 11. there not be some other mystery in this Prohibition then they think of? Yes, some other mystery there was in it by all likely-hood. For what reason is there, which should but induce, and therefore much less inforce us to think, that care of dissimilitude between the People of God and the Heathen Nations about them, was any more the cause of forbidding them to put on Garments of sundry stuff, then of charging them withal not to sow their Fields with Meslin; or that this was any more the cause of forbidding them to eat Swines-flesh, than of charging them withal not to eat the flesh of *Eagles*, *Hawks*, and the like; wherefore although the Church of *Rome* were to us, as to *Israel* the *Egyptians* and *Canaanites* were of old; yet doth it not follow that the wisdom of God with-
Ephes. 2. 14. out respect doth teach us to erect between us and them a partition wall of difference, in such things indifferent as have been hitherto disputed of.

That the example of the eldest Churches is not herein against us. *T. C. l. 1. p. 132.* The Councels although they did not observe themselves always in making of Decrees this Rule; yet have kept this consideration continually in making of their Laws, that they would have the Christians differ from others in their Ceremonies.

7. Neither is the example of the eldest Churches a whit more available to this purpose. Notwithstanding some fault undoubtedly there is in the very resemblance of Idolaters. Were it not some kind of blemish to be like unto Infidels and Heathens, it would not so usually be objected; men would not think it any advantage in the causes of Religion, to be able therewith justly to charge their Adversaries as they do. Wherefore to the end that it may a little more plainly appear, what force this hath, and how far the same extendeth, we are to note how all men are naturally desirous, that they may seem neither to judge, nor to do amiss, because every Error and Offence is a stain to the beauty of Nature, for which cause it blusheth thereat, but glorieth in the contrary; from whence it riseth, that they which disgrace or depress the credit of others, do it either in both or in one of these. To have been in either directed by a weak and unperfect rule, argueth imbecillity and imperfection. Men being either led by reason, or by imitation of other mens examples; if their Persons be odious whose example we chuse to follow, as namely, if we frame our opinions to that which condemned Hereticks think, or direct our Actions according to that which is practised and done by them; it lyes as an heavy prejudice against us, unless somewhat mightier then their bare example, did move us to think or do the same things with them. Christian men therefore having besides the common light of all men, so great help of heavenly direction from above, together with the Lamps of so bright examples as the Church of God doth yield, it cannot but worthily seem reproachful for us, to leave both the one and the other, to become Disciples unto the most hateful sort that live, to do as they do, only because we see their example before us, and have a delight to follow it. Thus we may therefore safely conclude, that it is not evil simply to concur with the Heathens either in opinion or in action: and that conformity with them is only then a disgrace, when either we follow them in that they think and do amiss, or follow them generally in that they do, without other reason than only the liking we have to the pattern of their example: which liking doth intimate a more universal approbation of them than is allowable. *Faustus* the Manichee therefore objecting against the Jews, that they forsook the Idols of the Gentiles; but their Temples, and Oblations, and Altars, and Priest-hoods and all kind of Ministry of holy things, they exercised even as the Gentiles did, yea more superstitiously a great deal; against the Catholick Christians likewise, that between them and the Heathens there was in many things little
Tom. 6. cont. Faust. Manich. lib. 20. cap. 4. difference; *From them* (saith *Faustus*) *ye have learned to hold that one only God is the Author of all, their Sacrifices you have turned in Feasts of charity, their Idols into Martyrs, whom ye honour with the like Religious offices unto theirs; The Ghosts of the dead ye appease with Wine and Delicates, the Festival days of the Nations ye celebrate together with them, and of their kind of life ye have utterly changed nothing.* S. *Augustines* defence in behalf of both, is, that touching the matters of Action, Jews and Catholick Christians were free from the Gentiles faultiness, even in those things which were objected as tokens of their agreement with the Gentiles, and concerning their consent in opinion, they did not hold the same with the Gentiles, because Gentiles had so taught, but because Heaven and Earth had so witnessed the same to be truth,

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that neither the one sort could erre in being fully perswaded thereof, nor the other but erre in case they should not consent with them. In things of their own nature indifferent, if either Councils or particular men have at any time with sound judgement misliked conformity between the Church of God and Infidels, the cause thereof hath been somewhat else then onely affectation of dissimilitude. They saw it necessary so to do, in respect of some special accident, which the Church being not alway subject unto, hath not still cause to do the like. For example, in the dangerous days of tryal, wherein there was no way for the truth of Jesus Christ to triumph over Infidelity, but through the constancy of his Saints, whom yet a natural desire to save themselves from the flame might peradventure cause to joyn with Pagans in external Customs, too far using the same as a cloak to conceal themselves in, and a mist to darken the eyes of Infidels withal: for remedy hereof those Laws it might be were provided, which forbad that Christians should deck their houses with Boughs, as the Pagans did use to do, or rest those Festival days whereon the Pagans rested, or celebrate such Feasts as were, though not Heathenish, yet such that the simpler sort of Heathens might be beguiled in so thinking them. As for *Tertullians* judgment concerning the Rites and Orders of the Church; no man, having judgment, can be ignorant how just exceptions may be taken against it. His opinion touching the Catholick Church was as un-indifferent, as touching our Church the opinion of them that favour this pretended Reformation is. He judged all them who did not Montanize, to be but carnally minded; he judged them still over-abjectly to fawn upon the *Heathens*, and to curry favour with *Infidels*; Which as the Catholick Church did well provide that they might not do indeed, so *Tertullian* over-often through discontentment carpeth injuriously at them, as though they did it even when they were free from such meaning. But if it were so that either the judgment of those Councils before alledged, or of *Tertullian* himself against the Christians, are in no such consideration to be understood as we have mentioned; if it were so, that men are condemned as well of the one as of the other, only for using the Ceremonies of a Religion contrary unto their own, and that this cause is such as ought to prevail no less with us than with them; shall it not follow, that seeing there is still between our Religion and Paganism the self-same contrariety, therefore we are still no less rebukeable, if we now deck our Houses with Boughs, or send New-years gifts unto our Friends, or feast on those days which the Gentiles then did, or sit after Prayer as they were accustomed? For so they infer upon the premises, that as great difference as commodiously may be, there should be in all outward Ceremonies between the People of God, and them which are not his People. Again, they teach as hath been declared, that there is not as great a difference as may be between them, except the one do avoid whatsoever Rites and Ceremonies uncommanded of God the other doth embrace. So that generally they teach, that the very difference of Spiritual condition it self between the Servants of Christ and others, requireth such difference in Ceremonies between them, although the one be never so far disjoyned in time or place from the other. But in case the People of God and *Belial* do chance to be Neighbours; then as the danger of infection is greater, so the same difference they say, is thereby made more necessary. In this respect as the Jews were severed from the Heathen, so most especially from the Heathen neerest them. And in the same respect we, which ought to differ howsoever from the Church of *Rome*, are now, they say, by reason of our nearness more bound to differ from them in Ceremonies then from *Turks*. A strange kind of speech unto Christian ears, and such, as I hope, they themselves do acknowledge unadvisedly uttered. *We are not so much to fear infection from Turks as from Papists.* What of that? we must remember that by conforming rather our selves in that respect to *Turks*, we should be spreaders of a worse infection into others, then any we are likely to draw from *Papists* by our conformity with them in Ceremonies. If they did hate, as *Turks* do, the Christian; or as *Canaanites* did of old the Jewish Religion even in gross; the circumstance of local nearness in them unto us, might haply inforce in us a duty of greater separation from them then from those other mentioned. But forasmuch as Papists are so much in Christ nearer unto us then Turks, is there any reasonable man, trow you, but will judge it meeter that our Ceremonies of Christian Reli-

T.C. l. 1. p. 132. Also it was decreed in another Council that they should not deck their houses with Bay-leaves and green Boughs, because the Pagangs did use so; and that they should not rest their labour those days that the Pagans did, that they should not keep the first day of every month as they did.

T.C. l. 3. p. 132. *Tertul.* saith, O, saith he, better is the Religion of the Heathen: for they use no solemnity of the Christians, neither the Lords day, neither, &c. but are not afraid to called Hea-

T.C. l. 1. p. 133. But having shewed this in general to be the God first, and of his People afterwards, to put as much difference as can be commodiously between the People of God and others which are not, I shall not, &c.

gion ſhould be Popiſh, then Turkiſh or Heatheniſh? Eſpecially conſidering that we were not brought to dwell amongſt them (as *Iſrael* in *Canaan*) having not been of them. For even a very part of them we were. And when God did by his good Spirit put it into our hearts, firſt to reform our ſelves (whence grew our ſeparation) and then by all good means to ſeek alſo their Reformation; had we not onely cut off their corruptions, but alſo eſtranged our ſelves from them in things indifferent; who ſeeth not how greatly prejudicial this might have been to ſo good a cauſe, and what occaſion it had given them to think (to their greater obduration in evil) that through a froward or wanton deſire of Innovation, we did unconſtrainedly thoſe things for which conſcience was pretended? Howſoever the caſe doth ſtand, as *Juda* had been rather to chooſe conformity in things indifferent with *Iſrael*, when they were neereſt oppoſites, then with the fartheſt removed Pagans: So we in like caſes, much rather with Papiſts than with *Turks*. I might add further for a more full and complete Anſwer, ſo much concerning the large odds between the caſe of the eldeſt Churches in regard of thoſe Heathens, and ours in reſpect of the Church of *Rome*, that very cavillation it ſelf ſhould be ſatisfied, and have no ſhift to fly unto.

That it is not our beſt policy for the eſtabliſhment of ſound Religion, to have in theſe things no agreement with the Church of *Rome* being unſound.

8. But that no one thing may detain us over-long, I return to their Reaſons againſt our conformity with that Church. That extreme diſſimilitude which they urge upon us, is now commended as our beſt and ſafeſt policy for eſtabliſhment of ſound Religion. The ground of which politick Poſition is, That *Evils muſt be cured by their contraries*; and therefore the cure of the Church infected with the poyſon of Antichriſtianity, muſt be done by that which is thereunto as contrary as may be. A medled eſtate of the Orders of the Goſpel, and the Ceremonies of Popery, is not the beſt way to baniſh Popery. We are contrariwiſe of opinion, that he which will perfectly recover a ſick, and reſtore a diſeaſed body unto health, muſt not endeavour ſo much to bring it to a ſtate of ſimple contrariety, as of fit proportion in contrariety unto thoſe evils which are to be cured. He that will take away extreme heat, by ſetting the body in extremity of cold, ſhall undoubtedly remove the diſeaſe, but together with it the diſeaſed too. The firſt thing therefore in skilful cures, is the knowledge of the part affected; the next is of the evil which doth affect it; the laſt is not onely of the kind, but alſo of the meaſure of contrary things whereby to remove it. They which meaſure Religion by diſlike of the Church of *Rome*, think every man ſo much the more ſound, by how much he can make the corruptions thereof to ſeem more large. And therefore ſome there are, namely the *Arrians* in reformed Churches of *Poland*, which imagine the Canker to have eaten ſo far into the very Bones and Marrow of the Church of *Rome*, as if it had not ſo much as a ſound belief; no, not concerning God himſelf, but that the very belief of the Trinity, were a part of Antichriſtian corruption; and that the wonderful providence of God did bring to paſs, that the Biſhop of the See of *Rome* ſhould be famous for his tripple Crown; a ſenſible mark whereby the world might know him to be that Myſtical Beaſt ſpoken of in the *Revelation*, to be that great and notorious Antichriſt in no one reſpect ſo much as in this, that he maintaineth the Doctrine of the Trinity. Wiſdom therefore and skill is requiſite to know, what parts are ſound in that Church, and what corrupted. Neither is it to all men apparent, which complain of unſound parts, with what kind of unſoundneſs every ſuch part is poſſeſſed. They can ſay, that in *Doctrine*, in *Diſcipline*, in *Prayers*, in *Sacraments*, the Church of *Rome* hath (as it hath indeed) very foul and groſs corruptions: the nature whereof notwithſtanding becauſe they have not for the moſt part exact skill and knowledge to diſcern, they think that amiſs many times which is not, and the ſalve of Reformation they mightily call for; but where and what the ſores are which need it, as they wot full little, ſo they think it not greatly material to ſearch; ſuch mens contentment muſt be wrought by ſtratagem: the uſual method of Art is not for them. But with thoſe that profeſs more than ordinary and common knowledge of good from evil, with them that are able to put a difference between things naught, and things indifferent in the Church of *Rome*, we are yet at controverſie about the manner of removing that which is naught: whether it may not be perfectly helpt, unleſs that alſo which is indifferent be cut off with it, ſo far till no Rite or Ceremony remain which the Church of *Rome* hath, being not found in the Word of God. If we think this too extreme, they reply, that to draw

T.C. l.1 p.132. Common reaſon alſo doth teach that contraries are cured by their contraries. Now Chriſtianity and Antichriſtianity, the Goſpel and Popery, be contraries: and therefore Antichriſtianity muſt be cured, not by it ſelf, but by that which is (as much as may be) contrary unto it.

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men from great exceſs, it not amiſs though we uſe them unto ſomewhat leſs then is competent; and that a crooked ſtick is not ſtraightned, unleſs it be bent as far on the clean contrary ſide, that ſo it may ſettle it ſelf at the length in a middle eſtate of evenneſs between both. But how can theſe compariſons ſtand them in any ſtead? When they urge us to extreme oppoſition againſt the Church of *Rome*, do they mean we ſhould be drawn unto it only for a time, and afterwards return to a mediocrity? Or was it the purpoſe of thoſe Reformed Churches, which utterly aboliſhed all Popiſh Ceremonies, to come in the end back again to the middle point of evenneſs, and moderation? Then have we conceived amiſs of their meaning. For we have always thought their Opinion to be, that utter inconformity with the Church of *Rome*, was not an extremity whereunto we ſhould be drawn for a time; but the very mediocrity it ſelf wherein they meant we ſhould ever continue. Now by theſe compariſons it ſeemeth clean contrary, that howſoever they have bent themſelves at firſt to an extreme contrariety againſt the Romiſh Church, yet therein they will continue no longer, then onely till ſuch time as ſome more moderate courſe for eſtabliſhment of the Church may be concluded. Yea, albeit this were not at the firſt their intent, yet ſurely now there is great cauſe to lead them unto it. They have ſeen that experience of the former Policy; which may cauſe the Authors of it to hang down their heads. When *Germany* had ſtricken off that which appeared corrupt in the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, but ſeemed nevertheleſs in Diſcipline ſtill to retain therewith very great conformity: *France*, by that rule of policy, which hath been before mentioned, took away the Popiſh Orders which *Germany* did retain. But proceſs of time hath brought more light into the world; whereby men perceiving that they of the Religion in *France*, have alſo retained ſome Orders which were before in the Church of *Rome*, and are not commanded in the Word of God; there hath ariſen a Sect in *England*, which following ſtill the very ſelf-ſame Rule of policy, ſeeketh to reform even the *French* Reformation, and purge out from thence alſo dregs of Popery. Theſe have not taken as yet ſuch root that they are able to eſtabliſh any thing. But if they had, what would ſpring out of their ſtock, and how far the unquiet wit of man might be carried with rules of ſuch policy, God doth know. The trial which we have lived to ſee, may ſomewhat teach us what poſterity is to fear. But our Lord, of his infinite mercy, avert whatſoever evil our ſwervings on the one hand, or on the other may threaten unto the ſtate of his Church.

T. C. l. 1. *p.* 132. If a man would bring a drunken man to ſobriety, the beſt and neereſt way is to carry him as far from his exceſs in drink as may be: and if a man could not keep a mean, it were better to fault in preſcribing leſs then he ſhould drink, then to fault in giving him more then he ought. As we ſee, to bring a ſtick which is crooked to be ſtraight, we do not onely bow it ſo far until it come to be ſtraight, but we bend it ſo far until we make it to be ſo crooked on the other ſide, as it was before of the firſt ſide, to this end that at the laſt it may ſtand ſtraight, and as it were in the mid-way between both the crooks.

9. That the Church of *Rome* doth hereby take occaſion to blaſpheme, and to ſay our Religion is not able to ſtand of it ſelf, unleſs it lean upon the ſtaff of their Ceremonies, is not a matter of ſo great moment, that it did need to be objected, or doth deſerve to receive anſwer. The name of blaſphemy in this place, is like the ſhoo of *Hercules* on a childs foot. If the Church of *Rome* do uſe any ſuch kind of ſilly exprobration, it is no ſuch ugly thing to the ear, that we ſhould think the honour and credit of our Religion to receive thereby any great wound. They which hereof make ſo perillous a matter, do ſeem to imagine, that we have erected of late a frame of ſome new Religion; the furniture whereof we ſhould not have borrowed from our Enemies, leſt they relieving us, might afterwards laugh and gibe at our poverty: whereas in truth the Ceremonies which we have taken from ſuch as were before us, are not things that belong to this or that Sect, but they are the ancient Rites and Cuſtoms of the Church of Chriſt; whereof our ſelves being a part, we have the ſelf-ſame intereſt in them which our Fathers before us had, from whom the ſame are deſcended unto us. Again, in caſe we had been ſo much beholden privately unto them, doth the reputation of one Church ſtand by ſaying unto another, *I need thee not*? If ſome ſhould be ſo vain and impotent, as to mar a benefit with reproachful upbraiding, where at the leaſt they ſuppoſe themſelves to have beſtowed ſome good turn; yet ſurely a wiſe bodies part it were not, ro put out his fire, becauſe his fond and fooliſh Neighbour, from whom he borrowed peradventure wherewith to kindle it, might haply caſt him therewith in the teeth, ſaying, Were it not for me thou wouldeſt freez, and not be able to heat thy ſelf. As for that other Argument derived from the

That we are not to aboliſh our Ceremonies either becauſe Papiſts upbraid us as having taken from them, or for that they are ſaid hereby to conceive I know not what great hopes. *T. C. l.* 3. *p.* 178. By uſing of theſe Ceremonies, the Papiſts take occaſion to blaſpheme, ſaying that our Religion cannot ſtand by it ſelf, unleſs it lean upon the ſtaff of their Ceremonies.

T.C.l.3.p.179. To prove the Papists triumph and joy in these things I alledged further that there are none which make such clamours for these Ceremonies, as the Papists and those which they suborn.

the secret affection of Papists, with whom our conformity in certain Ceremonies is said to put them in great hope, that their whole Religion in time will have re-entrance; and therefore none are so clamorous amongst us for the observation of these Ceremonies, as Papists and such as Papists suborn to speak for them: whereby it clearly appeareth how much they rejoyce, how much they triumph in these things; our answer hereunto is still the same, that the benefit we have by such Ceremonies over-weigheth even this also. No man that is not exceeding partial can well deny, but that there is most just cause wherefore we should be offended greatly at the Church of *Rome*. Notwithstanding at such times as we are to deliberate for our selves, the freer our minds are from all distempered affections, the sounder and better is our judgement. When we are in a fretting mood at the Church of *Rome*, and with that angry disposition enter into any cogitation of the Orders and Rites of our Church; taking particular survey of them, we are sure to have always one eye fixed upon the countenance of our Enemies, and according to the blithe or heavy aspect thereof, our other eye sheweth some other suitable token either of dislike or approbation towards our own Orders. For the rule of our Judgement in such case being only that of *Homer*, *This is the thing which our Enemies would have*; what they seem contented with, even for that very cause we reject; and there is nothing but it pleaseth us much the better, if we espy that it galleth them. Miserable were the state and condition of that Church, the weighty affairs whereof should be ordered by those deliberations wherein such an humour as this were predominant. We have most heartily to thank God therefore, that they amongst us, to whom the first consultations of causes of this kind fell, were men, which aiming at another mark, namely, the glory of God and the good of this his Church, took that which they judged thereunto necessary, not rejecting any good or convenient thing, only because the Church of *Rome* might perhaps like it. If we have that which is meet and right, although they be glad, we are not to envy them this their solace; we do not think it a duty of ours, to be in every such thing their Tormentors. And wherein it is said, that Popery for want of this utter extirpation hath in some places taken root and flourished again, but hath not been able to re-establish it self in any place, after provision made against it by utter evacuation of all Romish Ceremonies, and therefore as long as we hold any thing like unto them, we put them in some more hope, than if all were taken away, as we deny not but this may be true; so being of two evils to choose the less, we hold it better that the Friends and Favourers of the Church of *Rome*, should be in some kind of hope to have a corrupt Religion restored, then both we and they conceive just fear, lest under colour of rooting out Popery, the most effectual means to bear up the state of Religion be removed, and so a way made either for Paganism, or for extreme Barbarity to enter. If desire of weakning the hope of others should turn us away from the course we have taken; how much more the care of preventing our own fear, with-hold us from that we are urged unto? Especially seeing that our own fear we know, but we are not so certain what hope the Rites and Orders of our Church have bred in the hearts of others. For it is no sufficient Argument therefore to say, that in maintaining and urging these Ceremonies, none are so clamorous as Papists, and they whom Papists suborn; this speech being more hard to justifie than the former, and so their proof more doubtfull then the thing it self, which they prove. He that were certain that this is true, must have marked who they be that speak for Ceremonies; he must have noted, who amongst them doth speak oftenest, or is most earnest, he must have been both acquainted thorowly with the Religion of such, and also privy to what conferences or compacts are passed in secret between them and others; which kind of notice are not wont to be vulgar and common. Yet they which alleadge this, would have it taken as a thing that needeth no proof, a thing which all men know and see. And if so be it were granted them as true, what gain they by it? Sundry of them that be Popish, are eager in maintenance of Ceremonies. Is it so strange a matter to find a good thing furthered by ill men of a sinister intent

ἧκεν γηθήσας Πρίαμος. Il α

T.C. l.3.p.179. Thus they conceiving hope of having the rest of their Popery in the end, it causeth them to be more frozen in their wickedness, &c. For not the cause but the occasion also ought to be taken away, &c. Although let the Reader judge, whether they have cause given to hope, that the tale of Popery yet remaining, they shall the easilier hale in the whole body after: considering also that Master *Bucer* noteth, that where these things which have been left, there Popery hath returned: but on the other part, in places which have been cleansed of these dregs, it hath not been seen that it hath had any entrance.

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and purpose, whose forwardness is not therefore a bridle to such as favour the same cause with a better and sincerer meaning? They that seek, as they say, the removing of all Popish Orders out of the Church, and reckon the state of Bishops in the number of those Orders, do (I doubt not) presume that the cause which they prosecute, is holy. Notwithstanding it is their own ingenuous acknowledgement, that even this very cause which they term so often by an excellency, *The Lords Cause, is*, gratissima, *most acceptable unto some which hope for prey and spoyl by it, and that our Age hath store of such, and that such are the very Sectaries of* Dionysius *the famous Atheist.* Now if hereupon we should upbraid them with Irreligious, as they do us with Superstitious favourers; if we should follow them in their own kind of Pleading, and say, that the most clamorous for this pretended Reformation, are either Atheists or else Proctors suborned by Atheists; the Answer which herein they would make unto us, let them apply unto themselves, and there an end. For they must not forbid us to presume our cause in defence of our Church-orders to be as good as theirs against them, till the contrary be made manifest to the World. *Eccl. S. dif. S. 94.*

10. In the mean while sorry we are, that any good and godly mind should be grieved with that which is done. But to remedy their grief, lyeth not so much in us as in themselves. They do not wish to be made glad with the hurt of the Church: and to remove all out of the Church, whereat they shew themselves to be sorrowful, would be, as we are perswaded, hurtful, if not pernicious thereunto. Till they be able to perswade the contrary, they must and will, I doubt not, find out some other good mean to chear up themselves. Amongst which means the example of *Geneva* may serve for one. Have not they the old Popish custom of using God-fathers and God-mothers in Baptism? the old Popish custom of administring the blessed Sacrament of the holy Eucharist with Wafer-cakes? These things then the Godly there can digest. Wherefore should not the Godly here learn to do the like, both in them, and in the rest of the like nature? Some further mean peradventure it might be to assuage their grief, if so be they did consider the revenge they take on them, which have been, as they interpret it, the workers of their continuance in so great grief so long. For if the maintenance of Ceremonies be a corrosive to such as oppugn them; undoubtedly to such as maintain them, it can be no great pleasure, when they behold how that which they reverence is oppugned. And therefore they that judge themselves Martyrs, when they are grieved, should think withal what they are whom they grieve. For we are still to put them in mind, that the cause doth make no difference; for that it must be presumed as good at the least on our part as on theirs, till it be in the end decided, who have stood for Truth, and who for Error. So that till then the most effectual medicine, and withal the most sound, to ease their grief, must not be (in our opinion) the taking away of those things whereat they are grieved, but the altering of that perswasion which they have concerning the same. For this we therefore both pray and labour; the more because we are also perswaded, that it is but conceit in them to think, that those *Romish* Ceremonies, whereof we have hitherto spoken, are like leprous Clothes, infectious to the Church; or like soft and gentle Poysons, the venom whereof being insensibly pernicious, worketh death, and yet is never felt working. Thus they say: but because they say it only, and the World hath not as yet had so great experience of their Art, in curing the Diseases of the Church, that the bare authority of their word should perswade in a cause so weighty; they may not think much if it be required at their hands to shew; First, by what means so deadly Infection can grow from similitude between us and the Church of *Rome*, in these things indifferent: Secondly, for that it were infinite, if the Church should provide against every such Evil as may come to pass, it is not sufficient that they shew possibility of dangerous Event, unless there appear some likely-hood also of the same to follow in us, except we prevent it. Nor is this enough, unless it be moreover made plain, that there is no good and sufficient way of prevention, but by evacuating clean, and by emptying the Church of every such Rite and Ceremony, as is presently called in question. Till this be done, their good affection towards the safe-

The grief which, they say, godly Brethren conceive in regard of such Ceremonies as we have common with the Church of *Rome*. *T.C. l. 1. p. 180.* There be numbers which have Antichristianity in such detestation, that they cannot without grief of mind behold them. And afterwards, such godly Brethren are not easily to be grieved, which they seem to be, when they are thus Martyred in their minds, for Ceremonies, which, (to speak the best of them) are unprofitable.

T.C. l. 3. p. 171. Although the corruptions in them strike not straight to the heart, yet as gentle Poysons they consume by little and little.

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ty of the Church is acceptable, but the way they prescribe us to preserve it by, must rest in suspence. And lest hereat they take occasion to turn upon us the speech of the Prophet *Jeremy* used against *Babylon*, *Behold we have done our endeavour to cure the Diseases of* Babylon, *but she through her wilfulness doth rest uncured*: let them consider into what straits the Church might drive it self, in being guided by this their counsel. Their axiom is, that the sound believing Church of Jesus Christ, may not be like Heretical Churches in any of those indifferent things, which men make choyce of, and do not take by prescript appointment of the Word of God. In the word of God the use of Bread is prescribed, as a thing without which the Eucharist may not be celebrated: but as for the kind of Bread, it is not denyed to be a thing indifferent. Being indifferent of it self, we are by this axiom of theirs to avoid the use of unleavened Bread in their Sacrament, because such bread the Church of *Rome* being Heretical useth. But doth not the self-same axiom bar us even from leavened Bread also, which the Church of the *Grecians* useth, the opinions whereof are in a number of things the same, for which we condemn the Church of *Rome*; and in some things erroneous, where the Church of *Rome* is acknowledged to be sound; as namely in the Article of the Holy Ghosts proceeding? and lest here they should say that because the Greek Church is farther off, and the Church of *Rome* nearer, we are in that respect rather to use that which the Church of *Rome* useth not; let them imagine a reformed Church in the City of *Venice*, where a Greek Church and Popish both are. And when both these are equally near, let them consider what the third shall do. Without leavened or unleavened Bread, it can have no Sacrament: the word of God doth tye it to neither; and their axiom doth exclude it from both. If this constrain them, as it must, to grant that their axiom is not to take any place, save in those things only where the Church hath larger scope; it resteth that they search out some stronger reason then they have as yet alledged; otherwise they constrain not us to think that the Church is tyed unto any such rule or axiom, not then when she hath the widest field to walk in, and the greater store of choyce.

Jer. 51. 9.

Their exception against such Ceremonies as we have received from the Church of *Rome*, that Church having taken them from the Jews.

11. Against such Ceremonies generally as are the same in the Church of *England* and of *Rome*, we see what hath been hitherto alledged. Albeit therefore we do not find the one Churches having of such things, to be sufficient cause why the other should not have them: Nevertheless in case it may be proved, that amongst the number of Rites and Orders common unto both, there are Particulars, the use whereof is utterly unlawful, in regard of some special bad and noysom quality; there is no doubt but we ought to relinquish such Rites and Orders, what freedom soever we have to retain the other still. As therefore we have heard their general exception against all those things, which being not commanded in the Word of God, were first received in the Church of *Rome*, and from thence have been derived into ours, so it followeth that now we proceed unto certain kinds of them, as being excepted against, not only for that they are in the Church of *Rome*, but are besides either *Jewish* or abused unto Idolatry, and so grown scandalous. The Church of *Rome* they say, being ashamed of the simplicity of the Gospel, did almost out of all Religions take whatsoever had any fair and gorgeous shew, borrowing in that respect from the Jews sundry of their abolished Ceremonies. Thus by foolish and ridiculous imitation, all their Massing furniture almost they took from the Law, lest having an Altar and a Priest, they should want Vestments for their Stage; so that whatsoever we have in common with the Church of *Rome*, if the same be of this kind, we ought to remove it. *Constantine the Emperor speaking of the keeping of the Feast of* Easter, saith, *That it is an unworthy thing to have any thing common with that most spiteful company of the Jews. And a little after he saith, That it is most absurd and against reason, that the Jews should vaunt and glory that the Christians could not keep those things without their Doctrine. And in another place it is said after this sort; It is convenient so to order the matter, that we have nothing common with that Nation. The Councel of* Laodicea, *which was afterward confirmed by the sixt General Councel, decreed that the Christians should not take unleavened Bread of the Jews, or communicate with their impiety.* For the easier manifestation of truth in this point, two things there are which must be considered, namely the causes wherefore the Church should decline from *Jewish* Ceremonies; and how far it ought so to do. One cause is, that the Jews were the deadliest and spitefullest Enemies of Christianity that were in the world, and in this respect their Orders so far forth to be shun-

Eccles. Disci. fol 98. And *T.C. l.* 3 *p.* 181. Many of these Popish Ceremonies fault by reason of the pomp in them: where they should be agreeable to the simplicity of the Gospel of Christ crucified. *T.C. l.* 1. *p.* 132. *Euseb. l.* 3. *c.* 17. *Socra. l.* 1. *c.* 9. *So.* 1 *Concil. Lond. Can.* 31.

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ned, as we have already ſet down in handling the Matter of Heatheniſh Ceremonies. For no enemies being ſo venemous againſt Chriſt as Jews, they were of all other, moſt odious, and by that mean, leaſt to be uſed as fit Church Patterns for Imitation. Another cauſe is, the Solemn Abrogation of the Jews Ordinances; which Ordinances, for us to reſume, were to check our Lord himſelf which hath diſannulled them. But how far this ſecond cauſe doth extend, it is not on all ſides, fully agreed upon. And touching thoſe things whereunto it reacheth not, although there be ſmall cauſe, wherefore the Church ſhould frame it ſelf to the Jews example, in reſpect of their perſons which are moſt hateful; yet God himſelf having been the Author of their Laws, herein they are (notwithſtanding the former conſideration) ſtill worthy to be honored, and to be followed above others, as much as the ſtate of things will bear. Jewiſh Ordinances had ſome things Natural, and of the perpetuity of thoſe things no man doubteth. That which was Poſitive, we likewiſe know to have been by the coming of Chriſt, partly neceſſary not to be kept, and partly indifferent to be kept, or not. Of the former kinde, Circumciſion and Sacrifice were. For this point, *Stephen* was accuſed, and the Evidence which his Accuſers brought againſt him in judgment, was, *This man ceaſeth not to ſpeak blaſphemous words againſt this holy Place, and the Law; for we have heard him ſay, That this Jeſus of* Nazareth, *ſhall deſtroy this place, and ſhall change the Ordinances that* Moſes *gave us.* Acts 6. 13, 14. True it is, that this Doctrine was then taught, which Unbelievers condemning for Blaſphemy, did therein commit that which they did condemn. The Apoſtles notwithſtanding, from whom *Stephen* had received it, did not ſo teach the Abrogation, no not of thoſe things which were neceſſarily to ceaſe, but that even the Jews, being Chriſtian, might for a time continue in them. And therefore in *Jeruſalem,* the firſt Chriſtian Biſhop not circumciſed, was *Mark*; and he not Biſhop till the days of *Adrian* the Emperor; after the overthrow of *Jeruſalem;* there having been Fifteen Biſhops before him, which were all of the Circumciſion. The Chriſtian Jews did think at the firſt, not onely themſelves, but the Chriſtian Gentiles alſo bound, and that neceſſarily, to obſerve the whole Law. There went forth certain of the Sect of Phariſees which did believe; and they, coming unto *Antioch,* taught, that it was neceſſary for the Gentiles to be circumciſed, and to keep the Law of *Moſes.* Whereupon there grew diſſention, *Paul* and *Barnabas* diſputing againſt them. The determination of the Council held at *Jeruſalem,* concerning this Matter, was finally this; *Touching the Gentiles which believe, we have written and determined, that they obſerve no ſuch thing:* Their Proteſtation by Letters, is, *For as much as we have heard, that certain which departed from us, have troubled you with words, and cumbred your mindes, ſaying, Ye muſt be circumciſed and keep the Law; know, that we gave them no ſuch Commandment.* *Paul* therefore continued ſtill teaching the Gentiles, not onely that they were not bound to obſerve the Laws of *Moſes,* but that the obſervation of thoſe Laws which were neceſſarily to be abrogated, was in them altogether unlawful. In which point, his Doctrine was miſ-reported, as though he had every where Preached this, not onely concerning the Gentiles, but alſo touching the Jews. Wherefore coming unto *James,* and the reſt of the Clergy at *Jeruſalem,* they told him plainly of it, ſaying, *Thou ſeeſt, Brother, how many thouſand Jews there are which believe, and they are all zealous of the Law. Now they are informed of thee, that thou teacheſt all the Jews which are amongſt the Gentiles, to forſake* Moſes, *and ſayeſt, that they ought not to circumciſe their children, neither to live after the Cuſtoms.* And hereupon they gave him counſel to make it apparent in the eyes of all men, that thoſe flying reports were untrue, and that himſelf being a Jew, kept the Law, even as they did. In ſome things therefore we ſee the Apoſtles did teach, That there ought not to be Conformity between the Chriſtian Jews and Gentiles. How many things this Law of Inconformity did comprehend, there is no need we ſhould ſtand to examine. This general is true, That the Gentiles were not made conformable unto the Jews, in that which was neceſſarily to ceaſe at the coming of Chriſt. Touching things Poſitive, which might either ceaſe or continue as occaſion ſhould require, the Apoſtles tendring the zeal of the Jews, thought it neceſſary to binde even the Gentiles for a time, to abſtain as the Jews did, from things offered unto Idols, from Blood, from Strangled. Theſe Decrees were every where delivered unto the Gentiles, to be ſtraightly obſerved and kept. In the other Matters where the Gentiles were free, and the Jews in their own opinion, ſtill tied, the Apoſtles Doctrine unto the Jews,

Acts 15. Acts 21. 25. Acts 15. 24. Acts 21. 20. Acts 15. 28. Acts 16. 4.

Vide *Niceph.* lib. 3. cap. 25. & Sulpit. Sever. p. 149. in Edit. Plant.

Rom. 14. 10. was, *Condemn not the Gentile*; unto the Gentile, *Despise not the Jew:* The one sort, they warned to take heed, that scrupulosity did not make them rigorous, in giving unadvised sentence against their Brethren which were free; the other, that they did not become scandalous, by abusing their liberty and freedom to the offence of their weak Brethren which were scrupulous. From hence therefore, two Conclusions there are, which may evidently be drawn; the first, That whatsoever Conformity of Positive Laws, the Apostles did bring in between the Churches of Jews and Gentiles, it was in those things onely, which might either cease or continue a shorter or a longer time, as occasion did most require; the second, That they did not impose upon the Churches of the Gentiles, any part of the Jews Ordinances with Bond of necessary and perpetual observation (as we all, both by doctrine and practice, acknowledge) but onely in respect of the conveniency and fitness for the present state of the Church, as then it stood. The words of the Councils Decree, concerning the Gentiles, are, *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no more burden, saving onely these things of necessity; Abstinence from Idol-offerings, from Strangled, and Blood, and from Fornication.* So that in other things Positive, which the coming of Christ did not necessarily extinguish, the Gentiles were left altogether free. Neither ought it to seem unreasonable, that the Gentiles should necessarily be bound and tied to Jewish Ordinances, so far forth as that Decree importeth. For to the Jew, who knew, that their difference from other Nations, which were Aliens and Strangers from God, did especially consist in this, That Gods People had Positive Ordinances given to them of God himself; it seemed marvellous hard, that the Christian Gentiles should be incorporated into the same Commonwealth with Gods own chosen People, and be subject to no part of his Statutes, more then onely the Law of Nature, which Heathens count themselves bound unto. It was an opinion constantly received amongst the Jews, that God did deliver unto the sons of *Noah* seven Precepts: Namely, To live in some Form of Regiment under; First, Publick Laws: Secondly, To serve and call upon the Name of God: Thirdly, To shun Idolatry: Fourthly, Not to suffer effusion of the Blood: Fifthly, To abhor all unclean knowledge in the Flesh: Sixthly, To commit no Rapine: Seventhly, and finally, Not to eat of any living Creature, whereof the Blood was not first let out. If therefore the Gentiles would be exempted from the Law of *Moses*, yet it might seem hard, they should also cast off, even those things Positive which were observed before *Moses*, and which were not of the same kinde with Laws that were necessarily to cease. And peradventure hereupon, the Council saw it expedient to determine, that the Gentiles should according unto the third, the seventh, and the fifth of those Precepts, abstain from things sacrificed unto Idols, from Strangled and Blood, and from Fornication. The rest, the Gentiles did of their own accord observe, Nature leading them thereunto. And did not Nature also teach them to abstain from Fornication? No doubt it did. Neither can we with reason think, That as the former two are Positive; so likewise this, being meant as the Apostle doth otherwise usually understand it. But very Marriage, within a number of degrees, being not onely by the Law of *Moses*, but also by the Law of the sons of *Noah* (for so they took it) an unlawful discovery of nakedness: This discovery of nakedness by unlawful Marriages, such as *Moses* in the Law reckoneth up, I think it for mine own part more probable to have been meant in the words of that Canon, then Fornication according unto the sense of the Law of Nature. Words must be taken, according to the matter whereof they are uttered. The Apostles command to abstain from Blood. Construe this according to the Law of Nature, and it will seem that Homicide onely is forbidden. But construe it in reference to the Law of the Jews, about which the question was, and it shall easily appear to have a clean other sense, and in any mans judgment, a truer, when we expound it of eating, and not of shedding blood: So if we speak of Fornication, he that knoweth no Law, but onely the Law of Nature, must needs make thereof a narrower construction, then he which measureth the same by a Law, wherein sundry kindes, even of Conjugal Copulation are prohibited as impure, unclean, unhonest. St. *Paul* himself doth term Incestuous Marriage, Fornication. If any do rather think, that the Christian Gentiles themselves, through the loose and corrupt Custom of those times, took simple Fornication for no Sin, and were in that respect offensive unto believing Jews, which by the Law had been better taught; Our proposing of another conjecture,

Lib. qui Seder Olam inscribitur.

1 גיגין
2 כדנתחשם
3 עא
4 שפיבות-מים
5 גילוי יעדו-ה
6 תנול
7 אני מן תתי

Heb. 13. 4. 1 Cor. 5. 11. Gal. 5. 19.

Levit. 18.

1 Cor. 5. 1.

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is unto theirs no prejudice. Some things therefore we see there were, wherein the Gentiles were forbidden to be like unto the Jews; some things wherein they were commanded not to be unlike. Again, some things also there were, wherein no Law of God did let, but that they might be either like or unlike; as occasion should require. And unto this purpose *Leo* saith, *Apostolical Ordinance (beloved) knowing that our Lord Jesus Christ came not into this world to undo the Law, hath in such sort distinguished the Mysteries of the Old Testament, that certain of them it hath chosen out to benefit Evangelical knowledge withal, and for that purpose appointed, that those things which before were Jewish, might now be Christian Customs.* The cause why the Apostles did thus conform the Christians as much as might be, according to the pattern of the Jews, was to rein them in by this mean the more, and to make them cleave the better. The Church of Christ, hath had in no one thing, so many and so contrary occasions of dealing, as about Judaism; some having thought the whole Jewish Law wicked and damnable in it self; some not condemning it as the former sort absolutely, have notwithstanding judged it, either sooner necessary to be abrogated, or further unlawful to be observed then truth can bear; some of scrupulous simplicity urging perpetual and universal observation of the Law of *Moses* necessary, as the Christian Jews at the first in the Apostles times; some as Hereticks, holding the same no less even after the contrary determination set down by consent of the Church at *Jerusalem*; finally, some being herein resolute through meer infidelity, and with open profest enmity against Christ, as unbelieving Jews. To controul slanderers of the Law and Prophets, such as *Marcionites* and *Manichees* were, the Church in her Liturgies hath intermingled with Readings out of the New Testament, Lessons taken out of the Law and Prophets; whereunto *Tertullian* alluding, saith of the Church of Christ, *It intermingleth with Evangelical and Apostolical Writings, the Law and the Prophets; and from thence it drinketh in that Faith which with Water it sealeth, cloatheth with the Spirit, nourisheth with the Eucharist, with Martyrdom setteth forward.* They would have wondred in those times to hear, that any man being not a Favorer of Heresie, should term this by way of disdain, *Mangling of the Gospels and Epistles.* They which honor the Law as an Image of the Wisdom of God himself, are notwithstanding to know that the same had an end in Christ. But what? Was the Law so abolished with Christ, that after his Ascension the Office of Priests, became immediately wicked, and the very name hateful, as importing the exercise of an ungodly function? No, as long as the glory of the Temple continued, and till the time of that final desolation was accomplished, the very Christian Jews did continue with their Sacrifices, and other parts of Legal Service. That very Law therefore which our Saviour was to abolish, did not *so soon* become unlawful to be observed as some imagine; nor was it afterward unlawful *so far*, that the very name of Altar, of Priests, of Sacrifice it self, should be banished out of the World. For though God do now hate Sacrifice, whether it be Heathenish or Jewish, so that we cannot have the same things which they had, but with impiety; yet unless there be some greater let then the onely evacuation of the Law of *Moses*, the names themselves may (I hope) be retained without sin, in respect of that proportion, which things established by our Saviour have unto them which by him are abrogated. And so throughout all the writings of the Ancient Fathers, we see that the words which were, do continue; the onely difference is, that whereas before they had a literal, they now have a metaphorical use; and are as so many notes of remembrance unto us, that what they did signifie in the Letter, is accomplished in the Truth. And as no man can deprive the Church of this liberty, to use names whereunto the Law was accustomed; so neither are we generally forbidden the use of things which the Law hath, though it neither command us any particularity, as it did the Jews a number; and the weightiest which it did command them, are unto us in the Gospel prohibited. Touching such, as through simplicity of error, did urge universal and perpetual observation of the Law of *Moses* at the first, we have spoken already. Against Jewish Hereticks and false Apostles teaching afterwards the self-same, St. *Paul* in every Epistle commonly either disputeth or giveth warning. Jews that were zealous for the Law, but with al Infidels in respect of Christianity, and to the name of Jesus Christ most spightful enemies, did while they flourished, no less persecute the Church then Heathens; and after their Estate was overthrown, they were not that way so much to be feared. Howbeit, because they

Leo in Jejun. mens. sept. Ser. 9.

Tertul. de præscript. adverſ. hæret.

T. C. lib. 3. p. 171. What an abusing also is it to affirm, the mangling of the Gospels and Epistles to have been brought into the Church by godly and learned Men? *T. C.* lib. 1. p. 216. Seeing that the office and function of Priests was after our Savi- our Christs Ascension naught and ungodly; the name where- by they were called, which did exercise that ungodly function, can- not be other- wise taken, then in the evil part.

they had their Synagogues in every famous City almoſt throughout the World, and by that means great opportunity to withdraw from the Chriſtian Faith, which to do, they ſpared no labor; this gave the Church occaſion to make ſundry Laws againſt them. As, in the Council of *Laodicea*, *The Feſtival Preſents which Jews or Hereticks uſe to ſend, muſt not be received, nor Holidays ſolemnized in their company.* Again, *From the Jews, Men ought not to receive their Unlevened* [*Bread*] *nor to communicate with their Impieties.* Which Council was afterwards indeed confirmed by the Sixth General Council. But what was the true ſenſe or meaning, both of the one, and the other? Were Chriſtians here forbidden to communicate in Unleavened Bread, becauſe the Jews did ſo, being Enemies of the Church? He which attentively ſhall weigh the words, will ſuſpect that they rather forbid communion with Jews, then imitation of them; much more, if with theſe two Decrees be compared a third in the Council of *Conſtantinople*: *Let no man, either of the Clergy or Laity, eat the Unleavened of the Jews, nor enter into any familiarity with them, nor ſend for them in ſickneſs, nor take Phyſick at their hands, nor as much as go into the Bath with them. If any do otherwiſe, being a Clergy-man, let him be depoſed; if being a Lay-perſon, let Excommunication be his puniſhment.* If theſe Canons were any Argument, that they which made them, did utterly condemn ſimilitude between the Chriſtians and Jews, in things indifferent appertaining unto Religion, either becauſe the Jews were enemies unto the Church, or elſe for that their Ceremonies were abrogated; theſe Reaſons had been as ſtrong and effectual againſt their keeping the Feaſt of *Eaſter* on the ſame day the Jews kept theirs, and not according to the Cuſtom of the Weſt Church. For ſo they did from the firſt beginning till *Conſtantine*'s time. For in theſe two things, the Eaſt and Weſt Churches did interchangeably both confront the Jews, and concur with them; the Weſt Church uſing Unleavened Bread, as the Jews in their Paſſover did, but differing from them in the day whereon they kept the Feaſt of *Eaſter*; contrariwiſe, the Eaſt Church celebrating the Feaſt of *Eaſter* on the ſame day with the Jews, but not uſing the ſame kinde of Bread which they did. Now if ſo be the Eaſt Church in uſing Leavened Bread had done well, either for that the Jews were enemies to the Church, or becauſe Jewiſh Ceremonies were abrogated; How ſhould we think but that *Victor*, the Biſhop of *Rome*, (whom all judicious men do in that behalf diſallow) did well to be ſo vehement and fierce in drawing them to the like diſſimilitude for the Feaſt of *Eaſter*? Again, If the Weſt Churches had in either of thoſe two reſpects affected diſſimilitude with the Jews in the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, What reaſon had they to draw the Eaſtern Church herein unto them, which reaſon did not enforce them to frame themſelves unto it in the ceremony of Leavened Bread? Difference in Rites ſhould breed no controverſie, between one Church and another; but if controverſie be once bred, it muſt be ended. The Feaſt of *Eaſter* being therefore litigious in the days of *Conſtantine*, who honored of all other Churches moſt, the Church of *Rome*; which Church was the Mother, from whoſe Breſts he had drawn that food which gave him nouriſhment to eternal life; ſith Agreement was neceſſary, and yet impoſſible, unleſs the one part were yielded unto; his deſire was, that of the two, the Eaſtern Church ſhould rather yield. And to this end he uſeth ſundry perſwaſive ſpeeches. When *Stephen*, Biſhop of *Rome*, going about to ſhew what the Catholick Church ſhould do, had alledged what the Hereticks themſelves did, namely, That they received ſuch as came unto them, and offered not to Baptize them anew; St. *Cyprian*, being of a contrary minde to him, about the matter at that time in queſtion, which was, *Whether Hereticks converted, ought to be rebaptized, yea, or no*; anſwered the Allegation of Pope *Stephen* with exceeding great ſtomach, ſaying, *To this degree of wretchedneſs, the Church of God, and Spouſe of Chriſt is now come, that her ways ſhe frameth to the example of Hereticks; that to celebrate the Sacraments, which Heavenly Inſtruction hath delivered, light it ſelf doth borrow from darkneſs; and Chriſtians do that which Antichriſts do.* Now albeit *Conſtantine* have done that, to further a better cauſe, which *Cyprian* did to countenance a worſe, namely, the Rebaptization of Hereticks; and have taken advantage at the odiouſneſs of the Jews, as *Cyprian* of Hereticks, becauſe the Eaſtern Church kept their Feaſt of *Eaſter*, always the Fourteenth day of the Moneth, as the Jews did, what day of the week ſoever it fell; or howſoever *Conſtantine* did take occaſion in the handling

Concil. *Laod.* Can. 37, 38. *T. C.* lib. 1. p. 131.

T. C. lib. 3. p. 176.

Concil. *Conſtantinop.* 6. cap. 11.

Cypr. ad *Pompei.* lib. cont. Epiſt. *Stephani.*

of

of that cause, to say, * *It is unworthy to have any thing common with that spightful Nation of the Jews:* Shall every Motive Argument used in such kinde of Conferences, be made a rule for others still to conclude the like by, concerning all things of like nature, when as probable enducements may lead them to the contrary? Let both this and other Allegations suitable unto it, cease to bark any longer idly against that truth, the course and passage whereof, it is not in them to hinder.

* *Socr.* Eccles. hist. lib. 5. cap. 21. Plerique in Asiâ minore, antiquitus 14 die mensis, nullâ ratione dicti Sabbati habitâ hoc festum

observarunt. Quod dum faciebant cum aliis qui aliam rationem in eodem festo agendo sequebantur, usque eo nequaquam dissenserunt, quoad Victor Episcopus Romanus supra modum iracundiâ inflammatus, omnes in Asiâ qui erant παροικίαι) appellati, excommunicaverit. Ob quod factum, *Irenæus* Episcopus *Lugduni* in Victorem per Epistolam graviter invectus est. *Euseb.* de vita Constant. lib. 3. cap. 17. Quid præstabilius, quidve augustius esse poterat, quam ut hoc festum per quod spem immortalitatis nobis ostentatam habemus, uno modo & ratione apud omnes integre sincereque observaretur? Ac primum omnium indignum planè videbatur ut ritum & consuetudinem imitantes Judæorum (qui quoniam suas ipsorum manus immani scelere pollnerunt, meritò, ut sceleslos decet, cæco animorum errore tenentur irretiti) istud festum sanctissimum ageremus. In nostra enim situm est potestate ut, illorum more rejecto, veriore ac magis sincero instituto (quod quidem usque à prima passionis die hactenus recoluimus) hujus festi celebrationem ad posterorum seculorum memoriam propagemus. Nihil igitur sit nobis cum Judæorum turba, omnium odiosa maxime.

12. But the weightiest Exception, and of all the most worthy to be respected, is against such kinde of Ceremonies, as have been so grosly and shamefully abused in the Church of *Rome*, that where they remain they are scandalous, yea, they cannot chuse but be stumbling blocks, and grievous causes of offence. Concerning this point therefore we are first to note, What properly it is, to be scandalous or offensive. Secondly, What kinde of Ceremonies are such. And thirdly, When they are necessarily for remedy thereof, to be taken away, and when not. The common conceit of the vulgar sort is, Whensoever they see any thing which they mislike and are angry at, to think that every such thing is scandalous, and that themselves in this case are the men concerning whom our Saviour spake in so fearful manner, saying, *Whosoever shall scandalize or offend any one of these little ones which believe in me,* (that is, as they construe it, Whosoever shall anger the meanest and simplest Artizan which carrieth a good minde, by not removing out of the Church, such Rites and Ceremonies as displease him) *better he were drowned in the bottom of the Sea.* But hard were the case of the Church of Christ, if this were to scandalize. Men are scandalized when they are moved, led, and provoked unto sin. At good things evil men may take occasion to do evil; and so Christ himself was a Rock of Offence in *Israel,* they taking occasion at his poor estate, and at the ignominy of his Cross, to think him unworthy the Name of that Great and Glorious *Messias,* whom the Prophets describe in such ample and stately terms. But that which we therefore term offensive, because it inviteth men to offend, and by a dumb kinde of provocation, encourageth, moveth, or any way leadeth unto sin, must of necessity be acknowledged actively scandalous. Now some things are so even by their very essence and nature, so that whersoever they be found, they are not, neither can be without this force of provocation unto evil; of which kinde, all examples of sin and wickedness are. Thus *David* was scandalous, in that bloody act, whereby he caused the enemies of God to be blasphemous: Thus the whole state of *Israel* was scandalous, when their publick disorders caused the Name of God to be ill spoken of amongst the Nations. It is of this kinde that *Tertullian* meaneth: *Offence or scandal, if I be not deceived,* saith he, *is when the example not of a good, but of an evil thing, doth set men forward unto sin. Good things can scandalize none, save onely evil mindes:* Good things have no scandalizing Nature in them. Yet that which is of it own nature, either good, or at least not evil; may by some accident become scandalous at certain times, and in certain places, and to certain men; the open use thereof, nevertheless, being otherwise without danger. The very Nature of some Rites and Ceremonies therefore is scandalous, as it was in a number of those which the *Manichees* did use, and is in all such as the Law of God doth forbid. Some are offensive onely through the Agreement of Men to use them unto evil, and not else; as the most of those things indifferent, which the Heathens did to the service of their false gods; which another, in heart condemning their Idolatry, could not do with them in shew and token of Approbation, without being guilty of scandal given. Ceremonies of this kinde, are either devised at the first unto evil; as the *Eunomian* Hereticks in dishonor of the Blessed Trinity, brought in the laying on of Water but once, to cross the

Their Exception against such Ceremonies as have been abused by the Church of *Rome*, and are said in that respect to be scandalous.

Matth. 18. 6.

1 Pet. 2. 8. 2 Sam. 12. 13. Rom. 2. 24. Ezek. 36. 20. *Tertul.* lib. de Virgin. Veland.

the cuſtom of the Church, which in Baptiſm did it thrice: Or elſe having had a profitable uſe, they are afterwards interpreted and wreſted to the contrary; as thoſe Hereticks which held the Trinity to be three diſtinct, not Perſons, but Natures, abuſed the Ceremony of three times laying on Water in Baptiſm, unto the ſtrengthning of their Hereſie. The Element of Water is in Baptiſm neceſſary; once to lay it on, or twice, is indifferent. For which cauſe, *Gregory* making mention thereof, ſaith, *To dive an Infant, either thrice, or but once in Baptiſm, can be no way a thing reproveable; ſeeing that both in three times waſhing, the Trinity of Perſons; and in one, the Unity of the Godhead may be ſignified.* So that of theſe two Ceremonies, neither being hurtful in it ſelf, both may ſerve unto good purpoſe; yet one was deviſed, and the other converted unto evil. Now whereas in the Church of *Rome*, certain Ceremonies are ſaid to have been ſhamefully abuſed unto evil, as the ceremony of Croſſing at Baptiſm, of Kneeling at the Euchariſt, of uſing Wafer-Cakes, and ſuch like; the queſtion is, Whether for remedy of that evil, wherein ſuch Ceremonies have been ſcandalous, and perhaps may be ſtill unto ſome, even amongſt our ſelves, whom the preſence and ſight of them may confirm in that former error, whereto they ſerved in times paſt, they are of neceſſity to be removed. Are theſe, or any other Ceremonies we have common with the Church of *Rome*, ſcandalous and wicked in their very nature? This no man objecteth. Are any ſuch as have been polluted from their very birth, and inſtituted, even at the firſt, unto that thing which is evil? That which hath been ordained impiouſly at the firſt, may wear out that impiety in tract of time; and then, what doth let, but that the uſe thereof may ſtand without offence? The names of our Moneths and of our Days, we are not ignorant from whence they came, and with what diſhonor unto God, they are ſaid to have been deviſed at the firſt. What could be ſpoken againſt any thing more effectual to ſtir hatred, then that which ſometime the Antient Fathers in this caſe ſpeak? Yet thoſe very names are at this day in uſe throughout Chriſtendom, without hurt or ſcandal to any. Clear and manifeſt it is, that things deviſed by Hereticks, yea, deviſed of a very heretical purpoſe, even againſt Religion, and at their firſt deviſing worthy to have been withſtood, may in time grow meet to be kept; as that Cuſtom, the inventers whereof were the *Eunomian* Hereticks. So that cuſtoms once eſtabliſhed and confirmed by long uſe, being preſently without harm, are not in regard of their corrupt original to be held ſcandalous. But concerning thoſe our Ceremonies which they reckon for moſt Popiſh, they are not able to avouch that any of them was otherwiſe inſtituted, then unto good; yea, ſo uſed at the firſt. It followeth then, that they all are ſuch as having ſerved to good purpoſe, were afterwards converted unto the contrary. And ſith it is not ſo much as objected againſt us, that we retain together with them, the evil wherewith they have been infected in the Church of *Rome*: I would demand, Who they are whom we ſcandalize, by uſing harmleſs things unto that good end, for which they were firſt inſtituted. Amongſt our ſelves that agree in the approbation of this kinde of good uſe, no man will ſay, that one of us is offenſive and ſcandalous unto another. As for the favorers of the Church of *Rome*, they know how far we herein differ, and diſſent from them; which thing neither we conceal, and they by their publick writings alſo profeſs daily, how much it grieveth them: So that of them, there will not many riſe up againſt us, as witneſſes unto the Inditement of Scandal, whereby we might be condemned and caſt, as having ſtrengthned them in that evil, wherewith they pollute themſelves in the uſe of the ſame Ceremonies. And concerning ſuch as withſtand the Church of *England* herein, and hate it becauſe it doth not ſufficiently ſeem to hate *Rome*; they (I hope) are far enough from being by this mean drawn to any kinde of Popiſh Error. The multitude therefore of them, unto whom we are ſcandalous through the uſe of abuſed Ceremonies, is not ſo apparent, that it can juſtly be ſaid in general of any one ſort of men or other, we cauſe them to offend. If it be ſo, that now or then ſome few are eſpied, who having been accuſtomed heretofore to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of *Rome*, are not ſo ſcoured of their former ruſt, as to forſake their antient perſwaſion which they have had, howſoever they frame themſelves to outward obedience of Laws and Orders; becauſe ſuch may miſconſter the meaning of our Ceremonies, and ſo take

Epiſt. ad Leandrum Hiſp.

Hom. 11. de Paſch. Idolatriæ conſuetudo in tantum homines occœcaverat; ut Solis, Lunæ, Martis atque Mercurii, Jovis, Veneris, Saturni, & diverſis Elementorum ac Dæmonum appellationibus dies vocitarent, & luci tenebrarum nomen imponerent. *Beda* de ratione temp. cap. 4. Octavus dies idem primus eſt, ad quem reditur, indeque rurſus Hebdomada inchoatur. His nomina à planetis Gentilitas indidit, habere ſe credentes à Sole Spiritum, à Luna corpus, à Marte ſanguinem, à Mercurio ingenium & linguam, à Jove temperantiam, à Venere voluptatem, à Saturno tarditatem. *Iſid.* Hiſp. lib. 5. Etymol. cap. 30. Dies dicti à Diis, quorum nomina Romani quibuſdam ſyderibus ſacraverunt.

take them, as though they were in every ſort the ſame they have been, Shall this be thought a reaſon ſufficient whereon to conclude, that ſome Law muſt neceſſarily be made to aboliſh all ſuch Ceremonies? They anſwer, that there is no Law of God which doth binde us to retain them. And St. *Pauls* rule is, that in thoſe things from which without hurt we may lawfully abſtain, we ſhould frame the uſage of our Liberty, with regard to the weakneſs and imbecillity of our Brethren. Wherefore unto them which ſtood upon their own defence, ſaying, *All things are lawful unto me*; he replieth, *But all things are not expedient* in regard of others. All things are clean, all Meats are lawful; but evil unto that man that eateth offenſively. If for thy meats ſake, thy Brother be grieved, thou walkeſt no longer according to Charity. Deſtroy not him with thy meat, for whom Chriſt died. Diſſolve not for foods ſake the work of God. We that are ſtrong, muſt bear the imbecillity of the impotent, and not pleaſe our ſelves. It was a weakneſs in the Chriſtian Jews, and a maim of judgment in them, that they thought the Gentiles polluted by the eating of thoſe meats, which themſelves were afraid to touch, for fear of tranſgreſſing the Law of *Moſes*; yea, hereat their hearts did ſo much riſe, that the Apoſtle had juſt cauſe to fear, leſt they would rather forſake Chriſtianity, then endure any fellowſhip with ſuch, as made no conſcience of that which was unto them abominable. And for this cauſe mention is made of deſtroying the weak by meats, and of diſſolving the work of God, which was his Church, a part of the Living Stones whereof, were believing Jews. Now thoſe weak Brethren before mentioned are ſaid to be as the Jews were, and our Ceremonies which have been abuſed in the Church of *Rome*, to be as the ſcandalous Meats, from which the Gentiles are exhorted to abſtain in the preſence of Jews, for fear of averting them from Chriſtian Faith. Therefore as Charity did binde them to refrain from that, for their Brethrens ſake, which otherwiſe was lawful enough for them; ſo it bindeth us for our Brethrens ſake likewiſe, to aboliſh ſuch Ceremonies, although we might lawfully elſe retain them. But between theſe two caſes there are great odds. For neither are our weak Brethren as the Jews, nor the Ceremonies which we uſe as the meats which the Gentiles uſed. The Jews were known to be generally weak in that reſpect; whereas contrariwiſe the imbecillity of ours is not common unto ſo many, that we can take any ſuch certain notice of them. It is a chance, if here and there ſome one be found; and therefore ſeeing we may preſume men commonly otherwiſe, there is no neceſſity, that our practice ſhould frame it ſelf, by that which the Apoſtle doth preſcribe to the Gentiles. Again, their uſe of meats was not like unto our Ceremonies; that being a matter of private action in common life, where every man was free to order that which himſelf did; but this a publick conſtitution for the ordering of the Church: And we are not to look, that the Church ſhould change her publick Laws and Ordinances, made according to that which is judged ordinarily and commonly fitteſt for the whole, although it chance that for ſome particular men, the ſame be found inconvenient, eſpecially when there may be other remedy alſo againſt the ſores of particular inconveniences. In this caſe therefore, where any private harm doth grow, we are not to reject inſtruction, as being an unmeet plaiſter to apply unto it; neither can we ſay, that he which appointeth Teachers for Phyſicians in this kinde of evil, is, *As if a man would ſet one to watch a childe all day long, leſt he ſhould hurt himſelf with a Knife, whereas by taking away the Knife from him, the danger is avoided, and the ſervice of the man better employed.* For a Knife may be taken from a childe, without depriving them of the benefit thereof which have years and diſcretion to uſe it. But the Ceremonies which Children do abuſe, if we remove quite and clean, as it is by ſome required that we ſhould; then are they not taken from Children onely, but from others alſo; which is as though, becauſe Children may perhaps hurt themſelves with Knives, we ſhould conclude, that therefore the uſe of Knives is to be taken quite and clean even from men alſo. Thoſe particular Ceremonies which they pretend to be ſo ſcandalous, we ſhall in the next Book have occaſion more throughly to ſift, where other things alſo traduced in the publick duties of the Church, whereunto each of theſe appertaineth, are together with theſe to be touched, and ſuch Reaſons to be examined as have at any time been brought, either againſt the one, or the other. * In the mean while, againſt the conveniency of curing ſuch evils by inſtruction, ſtrange it is, that they ſhould object the multitude of other neceſſary Matters, wherein Preachers may better beſtow their time,

1 Cor. 6. 12.

Rom. 14. & 15. 1.

Vide *Harmon.* lib. 1. tit. 1. ſect. 28.

T. C. lib. 3. p. 178.

* *T. C.* lib. 3. p. 177. It is not ſo convenient, that the Miniſter having ſo many neceſſary points to beſtow his time in, ſhould be driven to ſpend it in giving warning of not abuſing them, of which (although they were uſed to the beſt) there is no profit.

time, then in giving men warning not to abuſe Ceremonies: A wonder it is, that they ſhould object this, which have ſo many years together, troubled the Church with quarrels, concerning theſe things; and are even to this very hour ſo earneſt in them, That if they write or ſpeak publickly but five words, one of them is lightly about the dangerous eſtate of the Church of *England*, in reſpect of abuſed Ceremonies. How much happier had it been for this whole Church, if they which have raiſed contention therein, about the abuſe of Rites and Ceremonies, had conſidered in due time that there is indeed ſtore of Matters, fitter and better a great deal, for Teachers to ſpend time and labor in? It is through their importunate and vehement Aſſeverations, more then through any ſuch experience which we have had of our own, that we are enforced to think it poſſible for one or other, now and then, at leaſtwiſe, in the prime of the Reformation of our Church, to have ſtumbled at ſome kinde of Ceremonies. Wherein, for as much as we are contented to take this upon their credit, and to think it may be; ſith alſo, they further pretend the ſame to be ſo dangerous a Snare to their Souls, that are at any time taken therein; they muſt give our Teachers leave, for the ſaving of thoſe Souls (be they never ſo few) to intermingle ſometime with other more neceſſary things, Admonition concerning theſe not unneceſſary. Wherein they ſhould in reaſon more eaſily yield this leave, conſidering, that hereunto we ſhall not need to uſe the hundredth part of that time, which themſelves think very needful to beſtow, in making moſt bitter Invectives againſt the Ceremonies of the Church.

Our Ceremonies excepted againſt, for that ſome Churches, Reformed before ours, have caſt out thoſe things, which we, notwithſtanding their example to the contrary, do retain ſtill.

13. But to come to the laſt point of all; The Church of *England* is grievouſly charged with forgetfulneſs of her duty, which duty had been to frame her ſelf unto the Pattern of their Example, that went before her in the Work of Reformation. [a] *For as the Churches of Chriſt ought to be moſt unlike the Synagogue of Antichriſt in their indifferent Ceremonies; ſo they ought to be moſt like one unto another, and for preſervation of Unity, to have as much as poſſible may be, all the ſame Ceremonies. And therefore St.* Paul *to eſtabliſh this order in the Church of* Corinth [b], *that they ſhould make their gatherings for the Poor upon the firſt day of the Sabbath (which is our Sunday) alledgeth this for a Reaſon, That he had ſo ordained in other Churches.* Again, *As children of one Father, and Servants of one Family; ſo all Churches ſhould not onely have one Diet, in that they have one Word, but alſo wear, as it were, one Livery in uſing the ſame Ceremonies.* Thirdly, [c] *This Rule did the Great Council of* Nice *follow, when it ordained, That where certain at the Feaſt of Pentecoſt did pray Kneeling, they ſhould pray Standing: The reaſon whereof is added, which is, That one Cuſtom ought to be kept throughout all Churches. It is true, That the diverſity of Ceremonies ought not to cauſe the Churches to diſſent one with another: But yet it maketh moſt to the avoiding of Diſſention, that there be amongſt them an Unity, not onely in Doctrine, but alſo in Ceremonies.* [d] *And therefore our Form of Service is to be amended, not onely for that it cometh too near that of the Papiſts, but alſo becauſe it is ſo different from that of the Reformed Churches.* Being asked to what Churches ours ſhould conform it ſelf? and why other Reformed Churches ſhould not as well frame themſelves to ours? Their anſwer is, *That if there be any Ceremonies which we have better then others, they ought to frame themſelves to us: If they have better then we, then we ought to frame our ſelves to them: If the Ceremonies be alike commodious, the latter Churches ſhould conform themſelves to the firſt, as the younger Daughter to the Elder.* [e] *For as St.* Paul *in the Members, where all other things are equal, noteth it for a mark of honor above the reſt, that one is called before another to the Goſpel; ſo is it, for the ſame cauſe, amongſt the Churches.* [f] *And in this reſpect he pincheth the* Corinths, *that not being the firſt which received the Goſpel, yet they would have their ſeveral manners from other Churches. Moreover, where the Ceremonies are alike commodious, the fewer ought to conform themſelves unto the moe. For as much therefore as all the Churches* (ſo far as they know which plead after this manner) *of our Confeſſion in Doctrine, agree in the Abrogation of divers things which we retain: Our Church ought, either to ſhew that they have done evil, or elſe ſhe is found to be in fault that doth not conform her ſelf in that, which ſhe cannot deny to be well abrogated.* In this Axiom, that Preſervation of Peace and Unity amongſt Chriſtian Churches ſhould be by all good means procured, we joyn moſt willingly and gladly with them. Neither deny we, but that, to the avoiding of Diſſention, it availeth much, that there be amongſt them an Unity as well in Ceremonies

a *T. C.* lib. 1. p. 133.
b 1 Cor. 16. 1.
c *Can.* 20. The Canon of that Council which is here cited, doth provide againſt kneeling at Prayer on Sundays, or for fifty days after *Eaſter*, on any day, and not at the Feaſt of Pentecoſt onely.
d *T. C.* lib 1. pag. 182, 183.
e Rom. 16. 5, 7.
f 1 Cor. 14. 37.

Ceremonies as in Doctrine. The onely doubt is, about the manner of their Unity; How far Churches are bound to be Uniform in their Ceremonies, and what way they ought to take for that purpose. Touching the one, the Rule which they have set down, is, That in Ceremonies indifferent, all Churches ought to be, one of them unto another, as like as possibly they may be. Which possibly, we cannot otherwise conster, then that it doth require them to be, even as like as they may be, without breaking any Positive Ordinance of God. For the Ceremonies whereof we speak, being Matter of Positive Law; they are indifferent, if God have neither himself commanded nor forbidden them, but left them unto the Churches discretion; so that if as great Uniformity be required as is possible in these things, seeing that the Law of God forbiddeth not any one of them; it followeth, that from the greatest unto the least, they must be in every Christian Church the same, except meer impossibility of so having it, be the hindrance. To us this Opinion seemeth over-extream and violent: We rather incline to think it a just and reasonable cause for any Church, the State whereof is free and independent; if in these things it differ from other Churches, onely for that it doth not judge it so fit and expedient, to be framed therein by the pattern of their example, as to be otherwise framed then they. That of *Gregory* unto *Leander*, is a charitable Speech, and a peaceable; *In una fide, nil officit Ecclesiæ sanctæ consuetudo diversa. Where the Faith of the Holy Church is one, a difference in Customs of the Church doth no harm.* That of St. *Augustine* to *Cassulanus*, is somewhat particular, and toucheth, what kinde of Ceremonies they are, wherein one Church may vary from the example of another, without hurt. *Let the Faith of the whole Church, how wide soever it hath spred it self, be always one, although the Unity of Belief be famous for variety of certain Ordinances, whereby that which is rightly believed, suffereth no kinde of let or impediment.* *Calvin* goeth further, *As concerning Rites in particular, let the sentence of* Augustine *take place, which leaveth it free unto all Churches to receive their own Custom. Yea, sometime it profiteth, and is expedient that there be difference, lest men should think that Religion is tyed to outward Ceremonies. Always provided, that there be not any emulation, nor that Churches, delighted with novelty, affect to have that which others have not.* They which grant it true, That the diversity of Ceremonies in this kinde, ought not to cause dissension in Churches, must either acknowledge, that they grant in effect nothing by these words; or, if any thing be granted, there must as much be yielded unto, as we affirm against their former strict Assertion. For, if Churches be urged by way of duty, to take such Ceremonies as they like not of, How can dissension be avoided? Will they say, that there ought to be no dissension, because such as are urged, ought to like of that whereunto they are urged? If they say this, they say just nothing. For how should any Church like to be urged of duty, by such as have no authority or power over it, unto those things which being indifferent, it is not of duty bound unto them? Is it their meaning, that there ought to be no dissension, because, that which Churches are not bound unto, no man ought by way of duty to urge upon them? And if any man do, he standeth in the sight both of God and Men most justly blameable, as a needless Disturber of the Peace of Gods Church, and an Author of Dissension. In saying this, they both condemn their own practice, when they press the Church of *England* with so strict a bond of duty in these things; and they overthrow the ground of their practice, which is, That there ought to be in all kinde of Ceremonies Uniformity, unless impossibility hinder it. For Proof whereof, it is not enough to alledge what St. *Paul* did about the Matter of Collections, or what Noblemen do in the Liveries of their Servants, or what the Council of *Nice* did for Standing in time of Prayer on certain days: Because, though St. *Paul* did will them of the Church of *Corinth* [a], every man to lay up somewhat by him upon the Sunday, and to reserve it in store, till himself did come thither, to send it unto the Church of *Jerusalem* for relief of the Poor there; signifying withal, that he had taken the like order with the Churches of *Galatia*; yet the reason which he yieldeth of this order taken, both in the one place and the other, sheweth the least part of his meaning to have been that, whereunto his words are writhed. [b] *Concerning Collection for the Saints* (he meaneth them of *Jerusalem*) *as I have given order to the Church of* Galatia, *so likewise*

Respon. ad Med.

[a] *T. C.* lib. 1. p. 133. And therefore St. *Paul*, to establish this order in the Church of *Corinth*, that they should make their Gatherings for the Poor upon the first day of the Sabbath (which is our Sunday,) alledgeth this for a Reason, that he had so ordained in other Churches. [b] 1 Cor. 16. 1.

do ye (saith the Apostle,) *that is, In every first day of the week, let each of you lay aside by himself, and reserve according to that which God hath blessed him with; that when I come, collections be not then to make; and that when I am come, whom you shall chuse, them I may forthwith send away by Letters, to carry your beneficence unto* Jerusalem. Out of which words, to conclude the duty of Uniformity throughout all Churches in all manner of indifferent Ceremonies, will be very hard, and therefore best to give it over. But perhaps they are by so much the more loth to forsake this Argument, for that it hath, though nothing else, yet the name of Scripture, to give it some kinde of countenance more then the pretext of Livery-coats affordeth them. For neither is it any mans duty to cloath all his children, or all his servants with one weed; nor theirs to cloath themselves so, if it were left to their own judgments, as these Ceremonies are left of God, to the judgment of the Church. And seeing Churches are rather in this case like divers Families, then like divers servants of one Family, because every Church, the state whereof is independent upon any other, hath authority to appoint orders for it self in things indifferent; therefore of the two, we may rather infer, That as one Family is not abridged of liberty to be cloathed in Friers Gray, for that another doth wear Clay colour; so neither are all Churches bound to the self-same indifferent Ceremonies which it liketh sundry to use. As for that Canon in the Council of *Nice*, let them but read it, and weigh it well. The ancient use of the Church throughout all Christendom, was, for fifty days after *Easter* (which fifty days were called *Pentecost*, though most commonly the last day of them, which is Whitsunday, be so called) in like sort, on all the Sundays throughout the whole year, their manner was to stand at Prayer: Whereupon their meetings unto that purpose on those days, had the name of Stations given them. Of which Custom *Tertullian* speaketh in this wise; *It is not with us thought fit, either to fast on the Lords day, or to pray kneeling. The same immunity from Fasting and Kneeling, we keep all the time which is between the Feasts of Easter and Pentecost.* This being therefore an order generally received in the Church; when some began to be singular and different from all others, and that in a Ceremony which was then judged very convenient for the whole Church, even by the whole, those few excepted which break out of the common Pale; the Council of *Nice* thought good to enclose them again with the rest, by a Law made in this sort: *Because there are certain which will needs kneel at the time of Prayer on the Lords day, and in the fifty days after Easter; the holy Synod judging it meet, that a convenient custom be observed throughout all Churches, hath decreed, That Standing we make our Prayers to the Lord.* Whereby it plainly appeareth, that in things indifferent, what the whole Church doth think convenient for the whole, the same if any part do wilfully violate, it may be reformed and inrailed again by that general authority whereunto each particular is subject, and that the Spirit of singularity in a few, ought to give place unto publick judgment; this doth clearly enough appear, but not that all Christian Churches are bound in every indifferent Ceremony to be uniform; because where the whole Church hath not tyed the parts unto one and the same thing, they being therein left each to their own choice, may either do as others do, or else otherwise, without any breach of duty at all. Concerning those indifferent things, wherein it hath been heretofore thought good, that all Christian Churches should be uniform, the way which they now conceive to bring this to pass was then never thought on. For till now it hath been judged, that seeing the Law of God doth not prescribe all particular Ceremonies which the Church of Christ may use, and in so great variety of them as may be found out; it is not possible, That the Law of Nature and Reason should direct all Churches unto the same things, each deliberating by it self, what is most convenient: The way to establish the same things indifferent throughout them all, must needs be the judgment of some Judicial authority drawn into one onely sentence, which may be a rule for every particular to follow. And because such authority over all Churches, is too much to be granted unto any one mortal man; there yet remaineth that which hath been always followed, as the best, the safest, the most sincere and reasonable way; namely, the Verdict of the whole Church orderly taken, and set down in the Assembly of some General Council. But to maintain, That all Christian Churches ought for Unities sake to be uniform in all Ceremonies, and then to teach, that the way of bringing this to pass, must be by mutual imitation, so that where we have better

Ceremonies

T. C. lib. 3. p. 133. So that as children of one Father, and servants of one Master, he will have all the Churches, not onely have one diet, in that they have one word, but also wear as it were one Livery, in using the same Ceremonies.

T. C. lib. 1. p. 133. This Rule did the Great Council of *Nice* follow, &c. *Die Dominico & per omnem Pentecostem, nec de genicu'is adorare, & jejunium solvere, &c. De Corc. Militis.*

Ceremonies then others, they shall be bound to follow us, and we them, where theirs are better: How should we think it agreeable and consonant unto reason? For sith in things of this nature, there is such variety of particular inducements, whereby one Church may be led to think that better, which another Church led by other inducements judgeth to be worse: (For example, the East Church did think it better to keep *Easter* day after the manner of the Jews; the West Church better to do otherwise; the Greek Church judgeth it worse to use Unleavened Bread in the Eucharist, the Latine Church leavened: One Church esteemeth it not so good, to receive the Eucharist sitting as standing, another Church not so good standing as sitting; there being on the one side probable Motives, as well as on the other) unless they add somewhat else, to define more certainly what Ceremonies shall stand for best, in such sort, That all Churches in the World shall know them to be the best, and so know them, that there may not remain any question about this point, we are not a whit the nearer for that they have hitherto said. They themselves although resolved in their own judgments what Ceremonies are best, foreseeing that such as they are addicted unto, be not all so clearly and so incomparably best; but others there are, or may be, at least-wise, when all things are well considered, as good; knew not which way smoothly to rid their hands of this matter, without providing some more certain rule to be followed for establishment of Uniformity in Ceremonies, when there are divers kindes of equal goodness: And therefore in this case they say, That the latter Churches, and the fewer, should conform themselves unto the elder, and the moe. Hereupon they conclude, that for as much as all the Reformed Churches (so far as they know) which are of our Confession in Doctrine, have agreed already in the Abrogation of divers things which we retain: Our Church ought either to shew, that they have done evil, or else she is found to be in fault for not conforming her self to those Churches, in that which she cannot deny to be in them well abrogated. For the authority of the first Churches, (and those they account to be the first in this cause which were first Reformed) they bring the comparison of younger Daughters conforming themselves in attire to the example of their elder Sisters; wherein there is just as much strength of Reason, as in the Livery Coats beforementioned. St. *Paul*, they say, noteth it for a mark of special honor, that *Epænetus* was the first man in all *Achaia*, which did embrace the Christian Faith; after the same sort, he toucheth it also as a special preheminence of *Junius* and *Andronicus*, that in Christianity they were his Ancients. The *Corinthians* he pincheth with this demand, *Hath the Word of God gone out from you, or hath it lighted on you alone?* But what of all this? If any man should think that alacrity and forwardness in good things, doth add nothing unto mens commendation; the two former speeches of St. *Paul* might lead him to reform his judgment. In like sort to take down the stomach of proud conceited men, that glory, as though they were able to set all others to School, there can be nothing more fit, then some such words as the Apostles third sentence doth contain; wherein he teacheth the Church of *Corinth* to know, that there was no such great odds between them, and the rest of their Brethren, that they should think themselves to be Gold, and the rest to be but Copper. He therefore useth speech unto them to this effect: *Men instructed in the knowledge of Jesus Christ there both were before you, and are besides you in the world; ye neither are the Fountain from which first, nor yet the River into which alone, the Word hath flowed.* But although as *Epænetus* was the first man in all *Achaia*, so *Corinth* had been the first Church in the whole World that received Christ; the Apostle doth not shew, that in any kinde of things indifferent whatsoever, this should have made their example a Law unto all others. Indeed, the example of sundry Churches for approbation of one thing doth sway much; but yet still as having the force of an example onely, and not of a Law. They are effectual to move any Church, unless some greater thing do hinder; but they binde none, no not, though they be many; saving onely when they are the major part of a General Assembly, and then their voices being more in number, must over-sway their judgments who are fewer, because in such cases the greater half is the whole. But as they stand out single, each of them by it self, their number can purchase them no such authority, that the rest of the Churches being fewer, should be therefore bound to follow them, and to relinquish as good Ceremonies as theirs for theirs. Whereas therefore it is concluded

T. C. lib. 3. p. 183. If the Ceremonies be alike commodious, the latter Churches should conform themselves to the first, &c. And again, The fewer ought to conform themselves unto the more.

Rom. 16 5. 1 Cor. 14. 36.

T. C. lib. 3. p. 183. Our Church ought either to shew that they have done evil, or else she is found to be in fault, that doth not conform her self in that which she cannot deny to be well abrogated.

out of these so weak Premisses, that the retaining of divers things in the Church of *England*, which other Reformed Churches have cast out, must needs argue that we do not well, unless we can shew that they have done ill; what needed this wrest to draw out from us an accusation of forein Churches? It is not proved as yet, that if they have done well, our duty is to follow them; and to forsake our own course, because it differeth from theirs, although indeed it be as well for us every way, as theirs for them. And if the proofs alledged for confirmation hereof had been sound, yet seeing they lead no further then onely to shew, that where we can have no better Ceremonies, theirs must be taken; as they cannot with modesty think themselves to have found out absolutely the best, which the wit of men may devise; so liking their own somewhat better then other mens, even because they are their own, they must in equity allow us to be like unto them in this affection: Which if they do, they ease us of that uncourteous burden, whereby we are charged, either to condemn them, or else to follow them. They grant we need not follow them, if our own ways already be better. And if our own be but equal, the Law of Common Indulgence alloweth us to think them, at the least, half a thought the better, because they are our own; which we may very well do, and never draw any Inditement at all against theirs, but think commendably even of them also.

A Declaration of the proceedings of the Church of *England*, for establishment of things as they are.

14. To leave Reformed Churches therefore, and their Actions, for Him to judge of, in whose sight they are, as they are; and our desire is, that they may even in his sight, be found such, as we ought to endeavor by all means, that our own may likewise be: Somewhat we are enforced to speak by way of Simple Declaration, concerning the proceedings of the Church of *England* in these affairs, to the end, that men whose mindes are free from those partial constructions, whereby the onely name of Difference from some other Churches, is thought cause sufficient to condemn ours, may the better discern, whether that we have done, be reasonable, yea or no. The Church of *England* being to alter her received Laws, concerning such Orders, Rites, and Ceremonies, as had been in former times an hinderance unto Piety and Religious Service of God, was to enter into consideration first, That the change of Laws, especially concerning matter of Religion, must be warily proceeded in. Laws, as all other things humane, are many times full of imperfection, and that which is supposed behoveful unto men, proveth oftentimes most pernicious. The wisdom which is learned by tract of time, findeth the Laws that have been in former ages established, needful in latter to be abrogated. Besides, that which sometime is expedient, doth not always so continue; and the number of needless Laws unabolished, doth weaken the force of them that are necessary. But true withal it is, that Alteration, though it be from worse to better, hath in it inconveniences, and those weighty; unless it be in such Laws as have been made upon special occasions, which occasions ceasing, Laws of that kinde do abrogate themselves. But when we abrogate a Law, as being ill made, the whole cause for which it was made still remaining; Do we not herein revoke our very own deed, and upbraid our selves with folly, yea, all that were makers of it, with oversight and with error? Further, if it be a Law which the custom and continual practice of many ages or years, hath confirmed in the mindes of men; to alter it, must needs be troublesome and scandalous. It amazeth them, it causeth them to stand in doubt, whether any thing be in it self by nature, either good or evil; and not all things rather such as men at this or that time agree to account of them, when they behold even those things disproved, disannulled, rejected, which use had made in a manner natural. What have we to induce men unto the willing obedience and observation of Laws, but the weight of so many mens judgments, as have with deliberate advice assented thereunto; the weight of that long Experience, which the World hath had thereof, with consent and good liking? So that to change any such Law, must needs with the common sort impair and weaken the force of those Grounds, whereby all Laws are made effectual. Notwithstanding, we do not deny alteration of Laws to be sometimes a thing necessary; as when they are unnatural, or impious, or otherwise hurtful unto the Publick Community of Men, and against that good for which Humane Societies were instituted. When the Apostles of our Lord and Saviour were ordained to alter the Laws of Heathenish Religion, received throughout the whole World; chosen, I grant, they were (*Paul* excepted)

excepted) the reſt ignorant, poor, ſimple, unſchooled altogether, and unlettered men; howbeit, extraordinarily endued with ghoſtly Wiſdom from above, before they ever undertook this Enterpriſe, yea, their authority confirmed by Miracle, to the end, it might plainly appear, that they were the Lords Ambaſſadors, unto whoſe Soveraign power for all fleſh to ſtoop, for all the Kingdoms of the Earth to yield themſelves willingly conformable in whatſoever ſhould be required, it was their duty. In this caſe therefore, their oppoſitions in maintenance of Publick Superſtition againſt Apoſtolick endeavors, as that they might not condemn the ways of their ancient Predeceſſors, that they muſt keep *Religiones Traditas*, the Rites which from age to age had deſcended, that the Ceremonies of Religion had been ever accounted by ſo much holier as elder; theſe, and the like Allegations in this caſe, were vain and frivolous. Not to ſtay longer therefore in ſpeech concerning this point, we will conclude, That as the change of ſuch Laws, as have been ſpecified is neceſſary, ſo the evidence, that they are ſuch, muſt be great. If we have neither voice from Heaven, that ſo pronounceth of them; neither ſentence of men grounded upon ſuch manifeſt and clear proof, that they in whoſe hands it is to alter them, may likewiſe infallibly even in heart and conſcience judge them ſo; upon neceſſity to urge alteration, is to trouble and diſturb without neceſſity. As for Arbitrary Alterations; when Laws in themſelves not ſimply bad or unmeet, are changed for better and more expedient, if the benefit of that which is newly better deviſed, be but ſmall, ſith the cuſtom of eaſineſs to alter and change, is ſo evil, no doubt, but to bear a tolerable ſore, is better then to venter on a dangerous remedy. Which being generally thought upon, as a matter that touched nearly their whole enterprize, whereas change was notwithſtanding concluded neceſſary, in regard of the great hurt which the Church did receive by a number of things then in uſe, whereupon a great deal of that which had been, was now to be taken away and removed out of the Church; yet ſith there are divers ways of abrogating things eſtabliſhed, they ſaw it beſt to cut off preſently ſuch things, as might in that ſort be extinguiſhed without danger, leaving the reſt to be aboliſhed by diſuſage through tract of time. And as this was done for the manner of Abrogation; ſo touching the ſtint or meaſure thereof, Rites and Ceremonies, and other external things of like nature being hurtful unto the Church, either in reſpect of their quality, or in regard of their number; in the former, there could be no doubt or difficulty, what ſhould be done; their deliberation in the latter was more hard. And therefore in as much as they did reſolve to remove onely ſuch things of that kinde as the Church might beſt ſpare, retaining the reſidue; their whole Counſel is in this point utterly condemned, as having either proceeded from the blindneſs of thoſe times, or from negligence, or from deſire of honor and glory, or from an erroneous opinion, that ſuch things might be tolerated for a while; or if it did proceed (as they which would ſeem moſt favorable, are content to think it poſſible) from a purpoſe, *partly the eaſilier to draw Papiſts unto the Goſpel*, by keeping ſo many orders ſtill the ſame with theirs, *and partly to redeem peace thereby, the breach whereof they might fear, would enſue upon more thorow alteration*; or howſoever it came to paſs, the thing they did is judged evil. But ſuch is the lot of all that deal in Publick Affairs, whether of Church or Commonwealth, that which men liſt to ſurmiſe of their doings, being it good or ill, they muſt beforehand, patiently arm their mindes to endure. Wherefore to let go private ſurmiſes, whereby the thing in it ſelf is not made, either better or worſe; if juſt and allowable Reaſons might lead them to do as they did, then are all theſe cenſures fruſtrate. Touching Ceremonies harmleſs therefore in themſelves, and hurtful onely in reſpect of number: Was it amiſs to decree, That thoſe things which were leaſt needful, and newlieſt come, ſhould be the firſt that were taken away; as in the abrogating of a number of Saints days, and of other the like cuſtoms it appeareth they did, till afterwards the Form of Common Prayer being perfected, Articles of ſound Religion and Diſcipline agreed upon, Catechiſms framed for the needful inſtruction of Youth, Churches purged of things that indeed were burthenſom to the people, or to the ſimple offenſive and ſcandalous, all was brought at the length unto that wherein now we ſtand? Or was it amiſs, that having this way eaſed the Church, as they thought of ſuperfluity, they went not on till they had plucked up even thoſe things alſo, which had taken a great deal ſtronger and deeper root, thoſe things, which to abrogate without conſtraint of manifeſt harm thereby

T. C. lib. 2. p. 29. It may well be, their purpoſe was by that temper of Popiſh Ceremonies with the Goſpel, partly the eaſilier to draw the Papiſts to the Goſpel, &c. partly to redeem Peace thereby.

thereby ariſing, had been to alter unneceſſarily (in their judgments) the antient received cuſtom of the whole Church, the univerſal practice of the people of God, and thoſe very decrees of our Fathers, which were not onely ſet down by agreement of General Councils, but had accordingly been put in ure, and ſo continued in uſe till that very time preſent? True it is, That neither Councils nor Cuſtoms, be they never ſo ancient and ſo general, can let the Church from taking away that thing which is hurtful to be retained. Where things have been inſtituted, which being convenient and good at the firſt, do afterward in proceſs of time wax otherwiſe; we make no doubt, but they may be altered, yea, though Councils or Cuſtoms General have received them. And therefore it is but a needleſs kinde of oppoſition which they make, who thus diſpute, *If in thoſe things which are not expreſſed in the Scripture, that is to be obſerved of the Church, which is the cuſtom of the people of God, and decree of our Forefathers; then how can theſe things at any time be varied, which heretofore have been once ordained in ſuch ſort?* Whereto we ſay, that things ſo ordained are to be kept, howbeit not neceſſarily, any longer then till there grow ſome urgent cauſe to ordain the contrary. For there is not any Poſitive Law of Men, whether it be general or particular, received by formal expreſs conſent, as in Councils; or by ſecret approbation, as in Cuſtoms it cometh to paſs; but the ſame may be taken away if occaſion ſerve. Even as we all know, that many things generally kept heretofore, are now in like ſort generally unkept and aboliſhed every where. Notwithſtanding till ſuch things be aboliſhed, what exception can there be taken againſt the judgment of St. *Auguſtine*, who ſaith, *That of things harmleſs, whatſoever there is which the whole Church doth obſerve throughout the World, to argue for any mans immunity from obſerving the ſame, it were a point of moſt inſolent madneſs?* And ſurely, odious it muſt needs have been for one Chriſtian Church, to aboliſh that which all had received and held for the ſpace of many ages, and that without any detriment unto Religion, ſo manifeſt, and ſo great, as might in the eyes of unpartial men, appear ſufficient to clear them from all blame of raſh and inconſiderate proceeding, if in fervor of zeal they had removed ſuch things. Whereas contrariwiſe ſo reaſonable Moderation herein uſed, hath freed us from being deſervedly ſubject unto that bitter kinde of obloquy, whereby as the Church of *Rome* doth under the colour of love towards thoſe things which be harmleſs, maintain extreamly moſt hurtful corruptions; ſo we peradventure might be upbraided, that under colour of hatred towards thoſe things that are corrupt, we are on the other ſide as extream, even againſt moſt harmleſs Ordinances; and as they are obſtinate to retain that, which no man of any conſcience is able well to defend: So we might be reckoned fierce and violent, to tear away that which if our own mouths did condemn, our conſciences would ſtorm and repine thereat. The *Romans* having baniſhed *Tarquinius* the Proud, and taken a Solemn Oath, that they never would permit any man more to reign, could not herewith content themſelves, or think that Tyranny was throughly extinguiſhed, till they had driven one of their Conſuls to depart the City, againſt whom they found not in the world what to object, ſaving onely that his name was *Tarquine*, and that the Commonwealth could not ſeem to have recovered perfect freedom, as long as a man of ſo dangerous a name was left remaining. For the Church of *England* to have done the like, in caſting out Papal Tyranny and Superſtition, to have ſhewed greater willingneſs of accepting the very Ceremonies of the *Turk*, Chriſts profeſſed enemy, then of the moſt indifferent things which the Church of *Rome* approveth: To have left not ſo much as the names which the Church of *Rome* doth give unto things innocent: To have ejected whatſoever that Church doth make account of, be it never ſo harmleſs in it ſelf, and of never ſo ancient continuance, without any other crime to charge it with, then onely that it hath been the hap thereof to be uſed by the Church of *Rome*, and not to be commanded in the Word of God. This kinde of proceeding might happily have pleaſed ſome few men, who having begun ſuch a courſe themſelves, muſt needs be glad to ſee their example followed by us. But the Almighty which giveth wiſdom, and inſpireth with right underſtanding whomſoever it pleaſeth him, he foreſeeing that which mans wit had never been able to reach unto; namely, what Tragedies the attempt of ſo extream alteration would raiſe in ſome parts of the Chriſtian World,

T. C. lib. 3. p. 33.

T. C. lib. 3. p. 33.

Auguſt. Epiſt. 118.

T. C. lib. 1. p. 131. For indeed it were more ſafe for us to conform our indifferent Ceremonies to the *Turks* which are far off, then to the Papiſts which are ſo near.

World, did for the endless good of his Church (as we cannot chuse but interpret it) use the Bridle of his Provident restraining hand, to stay those eager affections in some, and to settle their resolution upon a course more calm and moderate; lest as in other most ample and heretofore most flourishing Dominions it hath since faln out, so likewise, if in ours it had come to pass, that the adverse part being enraged, and betaking it self to such practices, as men are commonly wont to embrace, when they behold things brought to desperate extremities, and no hope left to see any other end, then onely the utter oppression and clean extinguishment of one side: By this mean Christendom flaming in all parts of greatest importance at once, they all had wanted that comfort of mutual relief, whereby they are now for the time sustained (and not the least by this our Church, which they so much impeach) till Mutual Combustions, Bloodsheds and Wastes (because no other enducements will serve) may enforce them through very faintness, after the experience of so endless miseries, to enter on all sides at the length into some such consultation, as may tend to the best re-establishment of the whole Church of Jesus Christ. To the singular good whereof, it cannot but serve as a profitable direction, to teach men what is most likely to prove available, when they shall quietly consider the tryal that hath been thus long had of both kindes of Reformation; as well this moderate kinde which the Church of *England* hath taken, as that other more extream and rigorous, which certain Churches elswhere have better liked. In the mean while it may be, that suspence of judgment and exercise of Charity were safer and seemlier for Christian men, then the hot pursuit of these Controversies, wherein they that are more fervent to dispute, be not always the most able to determine. But who are on his side, and who against him, our Lord in his good time shall reveal. And sith thus far we have proceeded in opening the things that have been done, let not the principal doers themselves be forgotten. When the ruines of the House of God (that House which consisting of Religious Souls, is most immediately the precious Temple of the Holy Ghost) were become not in his sight alone, but in the eyes of the whole World so exceeding great, that very Superstition began even to feel it self too far grown; the first that with us made way to repair the decays thereof, by beheading Superstition, was King *Henry* the Eighth; the Son and Successor of which famous King, as we know, was *Edward* the Saint: In whom (for so, by the event we may gather) it pleased God Righteous and Just to let *England* see, what a blessing sin and iniquity would not suffer it to enjoy. Howbeit, that which the Wiseman hath said concerning *Enoch* (whose days were, though many in respect of ours, yet scarce, as three to nine in comparison of theirs with whom he lived) the same to that admirable childe most worthily may be applied, *Though he departed this world soon, yet fulfilled he much time.* But what ensued? That work, which the one in such sort had begun, and the other so far proceeded in, was in short space so overthrown, as if almost it had never been: Till such time as that God, whose property is to shew his mercies then greatest when they are neerest to be utterly despaired of, caused in the depth of discomfort and darkness a most glorious Star to arise, and on her head setled the Crown, whom himself had kept as a Lamb from the slaughter of those bloody times, that the experience of his goodness in her own deliverance, might cause her merciful disposition, to take so much the more delight, in saving others, whom the like necessity should press. What in this behalf hath been done towards Nations abroad, the parts of Christendom most afflicted can best testifie. That which especially concerneth our selves in the present matter we treat of, is, the state of Reformed Religion, a thing at her coming to the Crown, even raised, as it were, by miracle from the dead; a thing which we so little hoped to see, that even they which beheld it done, scarcely believed their own senses at the first beholding. Yet being then brought to pass, thus many years it hath continued standing by no other worldly mean, but that one onely hand which erected it, that hand, which as no kinde of imminent danger could cause at the first to withhold it self; so neither have the practises, so many, so bloody, following since, been ever able to make weary. Nor can we say in this case so justly, that *Aaron* and *Hur*, the Ecclesiastical and Civil States, have sustained the hand which did lift it self to Heaven for them; as that Heaven it self hath by this hand sustained them, no aid or help having thereunto been ministred for performance of

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the Work of Reformation, other then ſuch kinde of help or aid, as the Angel in the Prophet *Zechariah* ſpeaketh of, ſaying, *Neither by an army, nor ſtrength, but by my Spirit, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts.* Which Grace and Favor of Divine Aſſiſtance, having not in one thing or two, ſhewed it ſelf, nor for ſome few days or years appeared, but in ſuch ſort ſo long continued, our manifold ſins and tranſgreſſions ſtriving to the contrary; What can we leſs thereupon conclude, then that God would at leaſtwiſe by tract of time teach the World, that the thing which he bleſſeth, defendeth, keepeth ſo ſtrangely, cannot chuſe but be of him? Wherefore, if any refuſe to believe us diſputing for the Verity of Religion eſtabliſhed, let them believe God himſelf thus miraculouſly working for it; and wiſh life, even for ever and ever, unto that Glorious and Sacred Inſtrument whereby he worketh.

OF

OF THE

LAWS

OF

Ecclesiastical Polity.

Book V.

Concerning their Fourth Assertion, That touching several Publick Duties of Christian Religion, there is amongst us much Superstition retained in them; and concerning Persons, which for performance of those Duties are endued with the Power of Ecclesiastical Order, our Laws and Proceedings according thereunto, are many ways herein also corrupted.

The Matter contained in this Fifth Book.

1. TRue Religion is the Root of all true Vertues, and the stay of all Well-ordered Commonwealths.
2. The most extream opposite to true Religion, is affected Atheism.
3. Of Superstition, and the Root thereof, either misguided zeal, or Ignorant fear of Divine glory.
4. Of the Redress of Superstition in Gods Church, and concerning the Question of this Book.
5. Four General Propositions demanding that which may reasonably be granted, concerning Matters of outward Form in the Exercise of true Religion. And fifthly, Of a Rule not safe nor reasonable in these Cases.
6. The first Proposition touching Judgment, What things are convenient in the outward publick ordering of Church affairs.
7. The second Proposition.
8. The third Proposition.
9. The fourth Proposition.
10. The Rule of Mens private spirits, not safe in these Cases to be followed.
11. Places for the Publick Service of God.
12. The Solemnity of Erecting Churches, condemned; the Hallowing and Dedicating of them, scorned by the Adversary.
13. Of the names, whereby we distinguish our Churches.
14. Of the Fashion of our Churches.
15. The Sumptuousness of Churches.
16. What Holiness and Vertue we ascribe to the Church, more then other places.
17. Their pretence that would have Churches utterly razed.
18. Of Publick Teaching or Preaching, and the first kinde thereof, Catechizing.

19. Of Preaching, by reading publickly the Books of holy Scripture, and concerning ſuppoſed Untruths in thoſe Tranſlations of Scripture, which we allow to be read; as alſo of the choice which we make in reading.
20. Of Preaching by the Publick Reading of other profitable Inſtructions; and concerning Books Apocryphal.
21. Of Preaching by Sermons; and whether Sermons be the onely ordinary way of Teaching, whereby men are brought to the ſaving knowledge of Gods Truth.
22. What they attribute to Sermons onely, and what we to Reading alſo.
23. Of Prayer.
24. Of Publick Prayer.
25. Of the Form of Common Prayer.
26. Of them which like not to have any Set Form of Common Prayer.
27. Of them, who allowing a Set Form of Prayer, yet allow not ours.
28. The Form of our Liturgy too near the Papiſts, too far diſſerent from that of other Reformed Churches, as they pretend.
29. Attire belonging to the Service of God.
30. Of geſture in Praying, and of different places choſen to that purpoſe.
31 Eaſineſs of Praying after our Form.
32. The length of our Service.
33. Inſtead of ſuch Prayers as the Primitive Churches have uſed, and thoſe that be Reformed now uſe; we have (they ſay) divers ſhort cuts or ſhreddings, rather Wiſhes then Prayers.
34. Leſſons intermingled with our Prayers.
35. The number of our Prayers for Earthly things, and our oft rehearſing of the Lords Prayer.
36. The Peoples ſaying after the Miniſter.
37. Our manner of Reading the Pſalms, otherwiſe then the reſt of the Scripture.
38. Of Muſick with Pſalms.
39. Of Singing or Saying Pſalms, and other parts of Common Prayer, wherein the People and the Miniſter anſwer one another by courſe.
40. Of Magnificat, Benedictus, and Nunc Dimittis.
41. Of the Letany.
42. Of Athanaſius Creed. and Gloria Patri.
43. Our want of particular Thanksgiving.
44. In ſome things the Matter of our Prayer, as they affirm, is unſound.
45. When thou hadſt overcome the ſharpneſs of Death, thou didſt open the Kingdom of Heaven unto all Believers.
46. Touching Prayer for Deliverance from Sudden Death.
47. Prayer for thoſe things which we for our unworthineſs, dare not ask; God, for the worthineſs of his Son, would vouchſafe to grant.
48. Prayer to be evermore delivered from all Adverſity.
49. Prayer that all Men may finde Mercy, and of the Will of God, that all Men might be Saved.
50. Of the Name, the Author, and the force of Sacraments, which force conſiſteth in this, That God hath ordained them as means to make us partakers of him in Chriſt, and of life through Chriſt.
51. That God is in Chriſt by the Perſonal Incarnation of the Son, who is very God.
52. The Miſinterpretations which Hereſie hath made of the manner, how God and Man are united in one Chriſt.
53. That by the union of the one with the other Nature in Chriſt, there groweth neither gain nor loſs of Eſſential Properties to either.
54. What Chriſt hath obtained according to the Fleſh, by the union of his Fleſh with Deity.
55. Of the Perſonal preſence of Chriſt every where, and in what ſenſe it may be granted, he is every where preſent according to the Fleſh.
56. The union or mutual Participation, which is between Chriſt and the Church of Chriſt, in this preſent World.
57. The neceſſity of Sacraments unto the Participation of Chriſt.
58. The Subſtance of Baptiſm, the Rites or Solemnities thereunto belonging; and that the Subſtance thereof being kept, other things in Baptiſm may give place to neceſſity.
59. The Ground in Scripture, whereupon a neceſſity of outward Baptiſm hath been built.
60. What kinde of neceſſity in outward Baptiſm hath been gathered by the words of our Saviour Chriſt; and what the true neceſſity thereof indeed is.
61. What things in Baptiſm have been diſpenſed with by the Fathers, reſpecting neceſſity.
62. Whether Baptiſm by Women, be true Baptiſm, good, and effectual to them that receive it.
63. Of Interrogatories in Baptiſm, touching Faith, and the purpoſe of a Chriſtian life.
64. Interrogatories propoſed unto Infants in Baptiſm, and anſwered, as in their names by God-fathers,
65. Of the Croſs in Baptiſm.
66. Of Confirmation after Baptiſm.
67. Of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Chriſt.
68. Of faults noted in the Form of Adminiſtring that holy Sacrament.
69. Of Feſtival days, and the natural cauſes of their convenient Inſtitution.

70. *The manner of celebrating Festival days.*
71. *Exceptions against our keeping of other Festival days, besides the Sabbath.*
72. *Of Days appointed, as well for ordinary as for extraordinary Fasts in the Church of God.*
73. *The Celebration of Matrimony.*
74. *The Churching of Women.*
75. *The Rites of Burial.*
76. *Of the Nature of that Ministry, which serveth for performance of Divine Duties in the Church of God, and how happiness, not eternal onely, but also Temporal, doth depend upon it.*
77. *Of Power given unto Men, to execute that Heavenly Office, of the Gift of the Holy Ghost in Ordination; and whether conveniently the Power of Order may be sought or sued for.*
78. *Of Degrees, whereby the Power of Order is distinguished, and concerning the Attire of Ministers.*
79. *Of Oblations, Foundations, Endowments, Tithes, all intended for Perpetuity of Religion; which purpose being chiefly fulfilled by the Clergies certain and sufficient maintenance, must needs by Alienation of Church-Livings be made frustrate.*
80. *Of Ordinations lawful without Title, and without any Popular Election precedent, but in no case without regard of due Information what their quality is that enter into holy Orders.*
81. *Of the Learning that should be in Ministers, their Residence, and the number of their Livings.*

FEw there are of so weak capacity, but publick evils they easily espie; fewer so patient, as not to complain, when the grievous inconveniences thereof, work sensible smart. Howbeit to see wherein the harm which they feel consisteth, the Seeds from which it sprang, and the method of curing it, belongeth to a skill, the study whereof is so full of toyl, and the practise so beset with difficulties; that wary and respective men had rather seek quietly their own, and wish that the World may go well, so it be not long of them, then with pain and hazard, make themselves advisers for the common good. We which thought it at the very first a sign of cold Affection towards the Church of God, to prefer private ease before the labor of appeasing publick disturbance, must now of necessity refer events to the gracious providence of Almighty God, and in discharge of our duty towards him, proceed with the plain and unpartial defence of a Common Cause. Wherein our endeavor is not so much to overthrow them with whom we contend, as to yield them just and reasonable causes of those things, which for want of due consideration heretofore, they misconceived; accusing Laws for Mens over-sights; imputing evils grown through personal defects, unto that which is not evil, framing unto some Sores unwholsome Plaisters, and applying othersome where no sore is. To make therefore our beginning that, which to both parts is most acceptable, *We agree*, That pure and unstained Religion ought to be the highest of all cares appertaining to Publick Regiment; as well in regard of that [a] aid and protection, which they, who faithfully serve God, confess they receive at his merciful hands; as also for the force which Religion hath to qualifie all sorts of Men, and to make them in publick affairs the more serviceable: Governors, the apter to rule with Conscience; Inferiors, for Conscience sake the willinger to obey. It is no peculiar conceit, but a matter of sound consequence, that all duties are by so much the better performed, by how much the Men are more Religious, from whose Abilities the same proceed. For if [b] the course of Politick affairs, cannot in any good sort go forward without fit Instruments, and that which fitteth them, be their Vertues: Let Polity acknowledge it self indebted to Religion, Godliness being the [c] chiefest top and Well-spring of all true vertues, even as God is of all good things. So natural is the Union of Religion with Justice, that we may boldly deem there is neither, where both are not. For how should they be unfeignedly just, whom Religion doth not cause to be such; or they Religious, which are not found such by the proof of their just actions? If they, which employ their labor and travel about the publick administration of Justice, follow it onely as a trade, with unquenchable and unconscionable thirst of gain, being not in heart perswaded that [d] Justice is Gods own Work, and themselves his Agents in this business; the Sentence of Right, Gods own verdict, and themselves his Priests to deliver it; Formalities of Justice do but serve to smother right, and that which was necessarily ordained for the common good, is through shameful abuse made the cause of common misery. The same Piety, which maketh them that are in authority, desirous to please and resemble God by Justice, in-

True Religion is the Root of all true Vertues, and the stay of all well-ordered Commonweals.

a Psal. 144. 2. *C. Th.* lib. 16. tit. 2. Gaudere & gloriari ex fide semper volumus, scientes magis religionibus quam officiis & labore corporis, el sudore nostram rempublicam contineri.

b Ἔστι δ' οὐδὲν ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς δυνατὸν πρᾶξαι ἄνευ τοῦ ποιόν τινα εἶναι, λέγω δὲ οἷον σπουδαῖον. Τὸ δὲ σπουδαῖον εἶναι ἐστὶ τὸ τὰς ἀρετὰς ἔχειν. *Arist.* Magn. Moral. lib. 1. cap. 1.

c Ἀρχὴ δ' ἀρίστη πάντων τῶν ὄντων Θεὸς, ἀρετῶν δ' εὐσέβεια. Philo de Dec. Præcept.

d 2 Chro. 19. 6.

inflameth every way, Men of action, with Zeal to do good (as far as their place will permit) unto all. For that they know, is most Noble and Divine. Whereby, if no natural nor casual inability cross their desires, they always delighting to inure themselves with actions most beneficial to others, cannot but gather great experience, and through experience, the more wisdom; because Conscience, and the fear of swerving from that which is right, maketh them diligent observers of circumstances, the loose regard whereof is the Nurse of Vulgar Folly, no less then *Solomons* attention thereunto, was of natural furtherances, the most effectual to make him eminent above others. For he gave good heed, and pierced every thing to the very ground, and by that means became the Author of many Parables. Concerning Fortitude, sith evils great and unexpected (the true touchstone of constant mindes) do cause oftentimes even them to think upon Divine power with fearfullest suspitions, which have been otherwise the most secure despisers thereof; how should we look for any constant resolution of minde, in such cases, saving onely where unfeigned affection to God-ward, hath bred the most assured confidence to be assisted by his hand? For proof whereof, let but the Acts of the ancient Jews be indifferently weighed, from whose magnanimity, in causes of most extream hazard, those strange and unwonted resolutions have grown; which for all circumstances, no people under the Roof of Heaven did ever hitherto match. And that which did always animate them, was their meer Religion. Without which, if so be it were possible, that all other Ornaments of Minde might be had in their full perfection, nevertheless, the minde that should possess them, divorced from Piety, could be but a spectacle of commiseration; even as that Body is, which adorned with sundry other admirable Beauties, wanteth Eye-sight, the chiefest Grace that Nature hath in that kinde to bestow. They which commend so much the felicity of that innocent World, wherein it is said, That men of their own accord did embrace fidelity and honesty, not for fear of the Magistrate, or because revenge was before their eyes; if at any time they should do otherwise, but that which held the people in aw was the shame of ill-doing, the love of equity, and right it self, a bar against all oppressions, which greatness of power causeth: They which describe unto us any such estate of happiness amongst men, though they speak not of Religion, do notwithstanding declare that which is in truth her onely working. For if Religion did possess sincerely and sufficiently the hearts of all men, there would need no other restraint from evil. This doth not onely give life and perfection to all endeavors wherewith it concurreth; but what event soever ensues, it breedeth, if not joy and gladness always, yet always patience, satisfaction, and reasonable contentment of minde. Whereupon it hath been set down as an Axiom of good experience, that all things religiously taken in hand, are prosperously ended; because, whether men in the end have that which Religion did allow them to desire, or that which it teacheth them contentedly to suffer, they are in neither event unfortunate. But lest any man should here conceive, that it greatly skilleth not of what sort our Religion be, in as much as Heathens, Turks, and Infidels, impute to Religion a great part of the same effects, which our selves ascribe hereunto, they having ours in the same detestation that we theirs: It shall be requisite to observe well, how far forth there may be agreement in the effects of different Religions. First, By the bitter strife which riseth oftentimes from small differences in this behalf, and is by so much always greater, as the matter is of more importance; we see a general agreement in the secret opinion of men, that every man ought to embrace the Religion which is true; and to shun, as hurtful, whatsoever dissenteth from it, but that most, which doth farthest dissent. The generality of which perswasion argueth, That God hath imprinted it by nature, to the end it might be a spur to our industry, in searching and maintaining that Religion, from which as to swerve in the least points, is error; so the capital enemies thereof, God hateth as his deadly foes, aliens, and without repentance, children of endless perdition. Such therefore, touching mans immortal state after this life, are not likely to reap benefit by their Religion, but to look for the clean contrary, in regard of so important contrariety between it and the true Religion. Nevertheless, in as much as the errors of the most seduced this way have been mixed with some truths, we are not to marvel, that although the one did turn to their endless wo and confusion, yet the other had many notable effects, as touching the affairs of this present

Ἀγαπη τὸν μ̃ γὰρ καὶ ἑνὶ μόνῳ, κάλλιον δὲ καὶ θειότερον ἔθνει καὶ πόλεσιν. *Arist.* Ethic. lib. 1. cap. 2.

Eccles. 12. 10.

Wisd. 17. 13.

Psal. 1. 3.

Τὸν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἔμφρονα πάσας οἰόμεθα τὰς τύχας εὐσχημόνως φέρειν, καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὕπαρ χόντων ἀεὶ τὰ κάλλιστα παράττειν. *Arist.* Ethic. lib. 1. cap. 10.

sent life. There were in these quarters of the World, Sixteen hundred years ago, certain speculative Men, whose Authority disposed the whole Religion of those times. By their means it became a received opinion, that the Souls of Men departing this life, do flit out of one Body into some other. Which opinion, though false, yet entwined with a true, that the Souls of Men do never perish, abated the fear of death in them which were so resolved, and gave them courage unto all adventures. The *Romans* had a vain superstitious custom, in most of their enterprises, to conjecture before hand of the event, by certain tokens which they noted in Birds, or in the Intrails of Beasts, or by other the like frivolous Divinations. From whence notwithstanding as oft as they could receive any sign, which they took to be favorable, it gave them such hope, as if their gods had made them more then half a promise of prosperous success. Which many times was the greatest cause that they did prevail, especially being men of their own natural inclination, hopeful and strongly conceited, whatsoever they took in hand. But could their fond Superstition have furthered so great attempts, without the mixture of a true perswasion, concerning the unresistable force of Divine Power? Upon the wilful violation of Oaths, execrable Blasphemies, and like contempts, offered by Deriders of Religion, even unto false gods, fearful tokens of Divine Revenge have been know to follow. Which occurrents the devouter sort did take for manifest Arguments, that the gods whom they worshipped, were of power to reward such as sought unto them, and would plague those that feared them not. In this they erred. For (as the *Wise man* rightly noteth conning such) it was not the power of them by whom they sware, but the vengeance of them that sinned, which punished the offences of the ungodly. It was their hurt untruly to attribute so great power unto false gods. Yet the right conceit which they had, that to perjury vengeance is due, was not without good effect, as touching the course of their lives, who feared the wilful violation of Oaths in that respect. And whereas we read so many of them so much commended, some for their milde and merciful disposition, some for their vertuous severity, some for integrity of life, all these were the fruits of true and infallible principles delivered unto us in the Word of God, as the Axioms of our Religion, which being imprinted by the God of Nature in their hearts also, and taking better root in some then in most others, grew, though not from, yet with and amidst the heaps of manifold repugnant Errors, which Errors of corrupt Religion, had also their suitable effects in the lives of the self-same parties. Without all controversie, the purer and perfecter our Religion is, the worthier effects it hath in them, who stedfastly and sincerely embrace it, in others not. They that love the Religion which they profess, may have failed in choice, but yet they are sure to reap what benefit the same is able to afford; whereas the best and soundest professed by them that bear it not the like affection, yieldeth them, retaining it in that sort, no benefit. *David* was a Man after Gods own heart, so termed, because his affection was hearty towards God. Beholding the like disposition in them which lived under him, it was his Prayer to Almighty God, *O keep this for ever in the purpose, and thoughts of the heart of this people.* But when, after that *David* had ended his days in peace, they who succeeded him in place, for the most part followed him not in quality, when their Kings (some few excepted) to better their worldly estate (as they thought) left their own, and their peoples ghostly condition uncared for, by woful experience they both did learn, That to forsake the true God of Heaven, is to fall into all such evils upon the face of the earth, as men either destitute of Grace Divine, may commit, or unprotected from above, endure. Seeing therefore it doth thus appear, that the safety of all Estates dependeth upon Religion; that Religion unfeignedly loved, perfecteth mens abilities unto all kindes of vertuous Services in the Commonwealth; that mens desire in general is to hold no Religion, but the true; and that whatsoever good effects do grow out of their Religion, who embrace instead of the true, a false, the Roots thereof are certain sparks of the Light of Truth, intermingled with the darkness of Error; because no Religion can wholly and onely consist of untruths, we have Reason to think, That all true Vertues are to honor true Religion as their Parent, and all well ordered Commonweals to love her as their chiefest stay.

Cæs. de Bell. Gall. lib. 6.

2 Wisd. 14. 13.

1 Chro. 29. 18.

2. They

The most extream opposite to true Religion, is affected Atheism.

2. They of whom God is altogether unapprehended, are but few in number, and for grosnes of wit such, that they hardly and scarcely seem to hold the place of Humane Being. These we should judge to be of all others most miserable, but that a wretcheder sort there are, on whom, whereas nature hath bestowed riper capacity, their evil disposition seriously goeth about therewith to apprehend God, as being not God. Whereby it cometh to pass, that of these two sorts of men, both godless; the one having utterly no knowledge of God, the other study how to perswade themselves that there is no such thing to be known. The Fountain and Well-spring of which Impiety, is a resolved purpose of minde, to reap in this World, what sensual profit or pleasure soever the World yieldeth, and not to be barred from any whatsoever means available thereunto. And that this is the very radical cause of their Atheism, no man (I think) will doubt, which considereth what pains they take to destroy those principal Spurs and Motives unto all Vertue, the Creation of the World, the Providence of God, the Resurrection of the Dead, the Joys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and the endless pains of the wicked, yea, above all things, the Authority of the Scripture, because on these Points it evermore beateth, and the Souls immortality, which granted, draweth easily after it the rest, as a voluntary train. Is it not wonderful, that base desires should so extinguish in men the sense of their own excellency, as to make them willing that their souls should be like to the souls of beasts, mortal and corruptible with their bodies; till some admirable or unusual accident happen (as it hath in some) to work the beginning of a better alteration in their mindes, disputation about the knowledge of God with such kinde of persons commonly prevaileth little. For how should the brightnes of Wisdom shine, where the windows of the soul are of very set purpose closed? True Religion hath many things in it, the only mention whereof galleth and troubleth their mindes. Being therefore loth, that enquiry into such matters should breed a perswasion in the end contrary unto that they embrace, it is their endeavor to banish, as much as in them lyeth, quite and clean from their cogitation whatsoever may sound that way. But it cometh many times to pass (which is their torment) that the thing they shun doth follow them; truth, as it were, even obtruding it self into their knowledge, and not permitting them to be so ignorant as they would be. Whereupon, inasmuch as the nature of man is unwilling to continue doing that wherein it shall alwaies condemn it selfe, they continuing still obstinate, to follow the course which they have begun, are driven to devise all the shifts that wit can invent for the smothering of this light, all that may but with any the least shew of possibility stay their mindes from thinking that true, which they heartily wish were false, but cannot think it so, without some scruple and fear of the contrary. Now because that judicious learning, for which we commend most worthily the ancient Sages of the World, doth not in this case serve the turn, these trenchermates (for such the most of them be) frame to themselves a way more pleasant, a new method they have of turning things that are serious into mockerie, an Art of Contradiction by way of scorn, a learning wherewith we were long sithence forewarned, that the miserable times whereinto we are fallen should abound. This they study, this they practise, this they grace with a wanton superfluity of wit, too much insulting over the patience of more vertuously disposed mindes. For towards these so forlorn creatures we are (it must be confest) too patient. In zeal to the glory of God, *Babylon* hath exceeded *Sion*. We want that decree of *Nebuchodonosor*, the fury of this wicked brood hath the reins too much at liberty, their tongues walk at large, the spit-venom of their poisoned hearts breaketh out to the annoyance of others, what their untamed lust suggesteth, the same their licentious mouths do every where set abroach. With our contentions their irreligious humor also is much strengthned. Nothing pleaseth them better, than these manifold oppositions about the Matter of Religion, as well for that they have hereby the more opportunity to learn on one side how another may be oppugned, and so to weaken the credit of all unto themselves; as also because by this hot pursuit of lower controversies amongst men professing Religion, and agreeing in the principal foundations thereof, they conceive hope that about the higher principles themselves time will cause altercation to grow. For which purpose, when they see occasion, they stick not sometime in other mens persons, yea, sometime without any vizard at all, directly to try, what the most religious are able to say in defence of the highest points, whereupon all Religion dependeth. Now for the most part it

Wisd. 2. 21. Such things they imagine, and go astray, because their own wickedness hath blinded them.

Ἐστὶ γὰρ ἡ κακία φθαρτικὴ ἐπιχῆς. *Arist.* Ethic. lib. 6. cap. 5.

Susan. vers. 9. They turned away their minde, and cast down their eyes, that they might not see Heaven, nor remember just judgments.

Hæc est summa delicti, nolle agnoscere quem ignorare non possis. *Cypr.* de Idol. Vanit.

2 Pet. 3. 2. Jude, vers. 18.

Dan. 3. 29.

it ſo falleth out, touching things which generally are received, that although in themſelves they be moſt certain; yet becauſe men preſume them granted of all, we are hardlieſt able to bring ſuch proof of their certainty as may ſatisfie gain-ſayers, when ſuddenly and beſides expectation they require the ſame at our hands. Which impreparation and unreadineſs when they finde in us; they turn it to the ſoothing up of themſelves in that curſed fanſie, whereby they would fain believe that the hearty devotion of ſuch as indeed fear God, is nothing elſe but a kinde of harmleſs error, bred and confirmed in them by the ſleights of wiſer men. For a politick uſe of Religion they ſee there is, and by it they would alſo gather that Religion it ſelf is a meer politick device, forged purpoſely to ſerve for that uſe. Men fearing God, are thereby a great deal more effectually, then by Poſitive Laws, reſtrained from doing evil; in as much as thoſe Laws have no farther power then over our outward actions onely, whereas unto mens inward cogitations, unto the privy intents and motions of their hearts, Religion ſerveth for a bridle. What more ſavage, wilde, and cruel then Man, if he ſee himſelf able either by fraud to over-teach, or by power to over-bear the Laws whereunto he ſhould be ſubject? Wherefore in ſo great boldneſs to offend, it behoveth that the World ſhould be held in aw, not by a vain ſurmiſe, but a true apprehenſion of ſomewhat, which no man may think himſelf able to withſtand. This is the politick uſe of Religion. In which reſpect, there are of theſe wiſe malignants, ſome who have vouchſafed it their marvellous favorable countenance and ſpeech, very gravely affirming, That Religion honored, addeth greatneſs; and contemned, bringeth ruine unto Commonweals: That Princes and States which will continue, are above all things to uphold the reverend regard of Religion, and to provide for the ſame, by all means, in the making of their Laws. But when they ſhould define what means are beſt for that purpoſe, behold, they extol the wiſdom of Paganiſm, they give it out as a myſtical precept of great importance, that Princes, and ſuch as are under them in moſt authority or credit with the people, ſhould take all occaſions of rare events, and from what cauſe ſoever the ſame do proceed, yet wreſt them to the ſtrengthning of their Religion, and not make it nice for ſo good a purpoſe to uſe, if need be, plain forgeries. Thus while they ſtudy to bring to paſs, that Religion may ſeem but a matter made, they loſe themſelves in the very maze of their own diſcourſes, as if Reaſon did even purpoſely forſake them, who of purpoſe forſake God, the Author thereof: For ſurely, a ſtrange kinde of madneſs it is, that thoſe men, who though they be void of Piety; yet, becauſe they have wit, cannot chuſe but know, that treachery, guile, and deceit, are things which may for a while, but do not uſe long to go uneſpied, ſhould teach, that the greateſt honor to a State, is perpetuity; and grant, that alterations in the Service of God, for that they impair the credit of Religion, are therefore perilous in Commonweals, which have no continuance longer then Religion hath all reverence done unto it, and withal acknowledge (for ſo they do) that when people began to eſpie the falſhood of Oracles, whereupon all Gentiliſm was built, their hearts were utterly averted from it; and notwithſtanding Counſel, Princes, in ſober earneſt, for the ſtrengthning of their States, to maintain Religion, and for the maintenance of Religion, not to make choice of that which is true, but to authoriſe that they make choice of, by thoſe falſe and fraudulent means, which in the end, muſt needs overthrow it. Such are the counſels of men godleſs, when they would ſhew themſelves politick deviſers, able to create God in Man by art.

Vos ſcelera admiſſa puniſtis, apud nos & cogitare peccare eſt; vos conſcios timetis, nos etiam conſcientiam ſolam, ſine qua eſſe non poſſumus. *Minu. Fel.* in *Octav.*

Summum præſidium regni eſt juſtitia ob apertos tumultus, & religio ob occultos. *Carda.* de Sapien. lib. 3.

3. Wherefore to let go this execrable crew, and to come to extremities on the contrary hand, two affections there are, the forces whereof, as they bear the greater or leſſer ſway in mans heart, frame accordingly to the ſtamp and character of his Religion, the one Zeal, the other Fear. Zeal, unleſs it be rightly guided, when it endeavoreth moſt buſily to pleaſe God, forceth upon him thoſe unſeaſonable offices which pleaſe him not. For which cauſe, if they who this way ſwerve, be compared with ſuch ſincere, ſound, and diſcreet, as *Abraham* was in Matter of Religion; the ſervice of the one, is like unto flattery; the other, like the faithful ſedulity of friendſhip. Zeal, except it be ordered aright, when it bendeth it ſelf unto conflict with all things, either in deed, or but imagined to be oppoſite unto Religion, uſeth the Razor many times with ſuch eagerneſs, that the very life of Religion it ſelf is thereby hazarded, through hatred of

Of Superſtition, and the Root thereof, either miſguided Zeal, or ignorant Fear of Divine glory.

2 Chron. 20. 7. *Abraham* thy friend.

of Tares, the Corn in the Field of God is plucked up. So that, Zeal needeth both ways a ſober guide. Fear, on the other ſide, if it have not the light of true underſtanding concerning God, wherewith to be moderated, breedeth likewiſe Superſtition. It is therefore dangerous, that in things Divine, we ſhould work too much upon the ſpur, either of zeal or fear. Fear is a good Solicitor to Devotion. Howbeit, ſith fear in this kinde doth grow from an apprehenſion of Deity endued with irreſiſtable power to hurt, and is of all affections (anger excepted) the unapteſt to admit any conference
Wiſd. 17. 11. with Reaſon; for which cauſe the Wiſe man doth ſay of Fear, that it is a betrayer of the forces of reaſonable underſtanding; therefore, except men know beforehand what manner of ſervice pleaſeth God, while they are fearful, they try all things which fancy offereth. Many there are who never think on God, but when they are in extremity of fear; and then becauſe, what to think, or what to do, they are uncertain, perplexity not ſuffering them to be idle, they think and do, as it were in a phrenſie, they know not what. Superſtition neither knoweth the right kinde, nor obſerveth the due meaſure of actions belonging to the Service of God, but is always joyned with a wrong opinion touching things Divine. Superſtition is, when things are either abhorred or obſerved, with a zealous or fearful, but erroneous relation to God. By means whereof, the ſuperſtitious do ſometimes ſerve, though the true God, yet with needleſs offices, and defraud him of duties neceſſary; ſometime load others then him with ſuch honors as properly are his. The one, their over ſight who miſs in the choice of that wherewith they are affected; the other, theirs who fail in the election of him towards whom they ſhew their devotion: This, the crime of Idolatry; that, the fault of voluntary, either niceneſs or ſuperfluity in Religion. The Chriſtian World it ſelf being divided into two grand parts, it appeareth by the general view of both, that with Matter of Hereſie the Weſt hath been often and much troubled; but the Eaſt part never quiet, till the deluge of miſery, wherein now they are, overwhelmed them. The chiefeſt cauſe whereof doth ſeem to have lien in the reſtleſs wits of the Grecians, evermore proud of their own curious and ſubtile inventions; which when at any time they had contrived; the great facility of their Language ſerved them readily to make all things fair and plauſible to mens underſtanding. Thoſe grand Heretical Impieties therefore, which moſt highly and immediately touched God, and the glorious Trinity, were all in a manner the Monſters of the Eaſt. The Weſt bred fewer a great deal, and thoſe commonly of a lower nature, ſuch as more nearly and directly concerned rather men then God, the Latines being always to capital Hereſies leſs inclined, yet unto groſs Superſtition more.
Mark 7. 9. Superſtition, ſuch as that of the Phariſees was, by whom Divine things indeed were leſs, becauſe other things were more divinely eſteemed of, then Reaſon would; the Superſtition that riſeth voluntarily, and by degrees, which are hardly diſcerned, mingling it ſelf with the Rites, even of very Divine Service, done to the onely true God, muſt be conſidered of, as a creeping and incroaching evil; an evil, the firſt beginnings whereof are commonly harmleſs, ſo that it proveth onely then to be an evil, when ſome farther accident doth grow unto it, or it ſelf come unto farther growth. For in the Church of God, ſometimes it cometh to paſs, as in over-battle grounds, the fertile diſpoſition whereof is good; yet becauſe it exceedeth due proportion, it bringeth forth abundantly, through too much rankneſs, things leſs profitable; whereby, that which principally it ſhould yield, being either prevented in place, or defrauded of nouriſhment, faileth. This (if ſo large a diſcourſe were neceſſary) might be exemplified even by heaps of Rites and Cuſtoms, now ſuperſtitious in the greateſt part of the Chriſtian World; which in their firſt original beginnings, when the ſtrength of vertuous, devout, or charitable affection bloomed them, no man could juſtly have condemned as evil.

Of the Redreſs of Superſtition in Gods Church, and concerning the queſtion of this Book.

4. But howſoever Superſtition doth grow; that wherein unſounder times have done amiſs, the better ages enſuing muſt rectifie as they may. I now come therefore to thoſe accuſations brought againſt us by Pretenders of Reformation; the firſt in the rank whereof, is ſuch, That if ſo be the Church of *England* did at this day, therewith as juſtly deſerve to be touched as they in this cauſe have imagined it doth; rather would I exhort all ſorts to ſeek pardon, even with tears, at the hands of God, then meditate words of defence for our doings, to the end, that men might think favorably of them. For as the caſe of this World, eſpecially now, doth ſtand, what other ſtay or ſuccor have

have we to lean unto, saving the testimony of our Conscience, and the comfort we take in this, that we serve the living God (as near as our Wits can reach unto the knowledge thereof) even according to his own will, and do therefore trust, that his mercy shall be our safeguard against those enraged Powers abroad, which principally in that respect are become our Enemies? But, sith no man can do ill with a good Conscience, the consolation which we herein seem to finde, is but a meer deceitful pleasing of our selves in errour, which at the length must needs turn to our greater grief, if that which we do to please God most, be for the manifold defects thereof offensive unto him. For so it is judged, our Prayers, our Sacraments, our Fasts, our Times and Places of Publick meeting together for the worship and service of God; our Marriages, our Burials, our Functions, Elections, and Ordinations Ecclesiastical, almost whatsoever we do in the exercise of our Religion according to Laws for that purpose established, all things are some way or other thought faulty, all things stained with Superstition. Now, although it may be the wiser sort of men are not greatly moved hereat, considering how subject the very best things have been always unto cavil, when Wits possessed either with disdain or dislike thereof, have set them up as their mark to shoot at: safe notwithstanding it were not, therefore to neglect the danger which from hence may grow, and that especially in regard of them, who desiring to serve God as they ought, but being not so skilful as in every point to unwinde themselves where the snares of glosing speech do lye to intangle them, are in minde not a little troubled, when they hear so bitter invectives against that which this Church hath taught them to reverence as holy, to approve as lawful, and to observe as behoveful, for the exercise of Christian duty. It seemeth therefore, at least for their sakes, very meet, that such as blame us in this behalf, be directly answered, and they which follow us, informed plainly in the Reasons of that we do. On both sides, the end intended between us, is to have Laws and Ordinances, such as may rightly serve to abolish Superstition, and to establish the service of God with all things thereunto appertaining, in some perfect form. There is an inward (*a*) reasonable, and there is a (*b*) solemn outward serviceable Worship, belonging unto God. Of the former kinde are all manner of vertuous Duties, that each man in reason and conscience to God-ward oweth. Solemn and serviceable Worship we name for Distinction sake, whatsoever belongeth to the Church or Publick Society of God by way of External adoration. It is the later of these two, whereupon our present question groweth. Again, this later being ordered, partly, and as touching Principal matters, by none but Precepts Divine only; partly, and as concerning things of inferiour regard, by Ordinances as well Human as Divine, about the substance of Religion, wherein Gods only Law must be kept, there is here no controversie: the Crime now intended against us is, that our Laws have not ordered those inferiour things as behoveth, and that our Customs are either Superstitious, or otherwise amiss, whether we respect the exercise of Publick duties in Religion, or the Functions of Persons authorised thereunto.

a Rom. 12. 1.
b Luke 1. 23.

5. It is with Teachers of Mathematical Sciences usual, for us in this present question necessary, to lay down first certain reasonable demands, which in most Particulars following are to serve as Principles whereby to work, and therefore must be beforehand considered. The men whom we labour to inform in the truth, perceive that so to proceed is requisite. For to this end they also propose, touching Customs and Rites indifferent, their general Axioms, some of them subject unto just Exceptions, and, as we think, more meet by them to be farther considered, than assented unto by us. As that, *In outward things belonging to the Service of God, Reformed Churches ought by all means to shun conformity with the Church of* Rome; that, *The first Reformed should be a Pattern whereunto all that come after, ought to conform themselves*; that, *Sound Religion may not use the things, which being not commanded of God, have been either devised or abused unto Superstition.* These and the rest of the same consort we have in the Book going before examined. Other Canons they alledge, and Rules not unworthy of approbation; as, *That in all such things the glory of God, and the edification or ghostly good of his People must be sought; that nothing should be undecently or unorderly done.* But forasmuch as all the difficulty is, in discerning what things do

Four general Propositions demanding that which may reasonably be granted concerning matters of Outward form in the exercise of true Religion. And fiftly, of a Rule not false nor reasonable in these cases.

glorifie God, and edifie his Church, what not; when we ſhould think them decent and fit, when otherwiſe: becauſe theſe Rules being too general, come not near enough unto the matter which we have in hand; and the former Principles being nearer the purpoſe, are too far from Truth; we muſt propoſe unto all men certain Petitions incident and very material in Cauſes of this nature, ſuch as no man of moderate judgment hath cauſe to think unjuſt or unreaſonable.

The Firſt Propoſition, touching Judgment, what things are convenient in the outward publick ordering of Church Affairs.

6. The firſt thing therefore which is of force to cauſe Approbation with good conſcience towards ſuch Cuſtoms or Rites, as publickly are eſtabliſhed, is, when there ariſeth from the due conſideration of thoſe Cuſtoms and Rites in themſelves apparent reaſon, although not alwayes to prove them better than any other that might poſſibly be deviſed, (for who did ever require this in man's Ordinances?) yet competent to ſhew their conveniency and fitneſs, in regard of the uſe for which they ſhould ſerve. Now touching the nature of religious Services, and the manner of their due performance, thus much generally we know to be moſt clear, that whereas the greatneſs and dignity of all manner of Actions is meaſured by the worthineſs of the Subject from which they proceed, and of the Object whereabout they are converſant, we muſt of neceſſity in both reſpects acknowledge, that this preſent World affordeth not any thing comparable unto the publick Duties of Religion. For if the beſt things have the perfecteſt and beſt operations; it will follow, that ſeeing Man is the worthieſt Creature upon earth, and every Society of Men more worthy than any Man; and of Societies that moſt excellent which we call the Church; there can be in this World no work performed equal to the exerciſe of true Religion, the proper operation of the Church of God. Again, foraſmuch as Religion worketh upon him, who in Majeſty and Power is infinite, as we ought we account not of it, unleſs we eſteem it even according to that very height of Excellency which our hearts conceive, when Divine ſublimity it ſelf is rightly conſidered. In the powers and faculties of our Souls God requireth the uttermoſt which our unfeigned affection towards him is able to yield: So that if we affect him not farr above and before all things, our Religion hath not that inward perfection which it ſhould have, neither do we indeed worſhip him as our God. That which inwardly each man ſhould be, the Church outwardly ought to teſtifie. And therefore the Duties of our Religion which are ſeen, muſt be ſuch as that affection which is unſeen ought to be. Signs muſt reſemble the Things they ſignifie. If Religion bear the greateſt ſway in our Hearts, our outward religious Duties muſt ſhew it as farr as the Church hath outward Ability. Duties of Religion, performed by whole Societies of men, ought to have in them, according to our power, a ſenſible Excellency, correſpondent to the Majeſty of Him whom we worſhip. Yea, then are the publick Duties of Religion beſt ordered, when the Militant Church doth reſemble by ſenſible means, as it may in ſuch caſes, that hidden Dignity and Glory wherewith the Church Triumphant in Heaven is beautified. Howbeit, even as the very heat of the Sun it ſelf, which is the life of the whole World, was to the people of God in the Deſert a grievous annoyance, for eaſe whereof his extraordinary Providence ordained a Cloudy Pillar to over-ſhadow them: So things of general uſe and benefit (for in this world, What is ſo perfect, that no Inconvenience doth ever follow it?) may by ſome accident be incommodious to a few. In which caſe, for ſuch private Evils, remedies there are of like condition, though publick Ordinances wherein the Common good is reſpected, be not ſtirred. Let our firſt Demand be therefore, That in the External Form of Religion ſuch things as are apparently, or can be ſufficiently proved effectual and generally fit to ſet forward Godlineſs, either as betokening the greatneſs of God, or as beſeeming the Dignity of Religion, or as concurring with Celeſtial Impreſſions in the mindes of men, may be reverently thought of; ſome few, rare, caſual, and tollerable, or otherwiſe curable Inconveniences notwithſtanding.

John 4. 24. Wiſd. 6. 10. 1 Chron. 29. 17.

2 Chron. 2. 5.

Ἐκκλησία ὅλην δημεῖθ ἁγιάνδρος, Germa. θεῖ τῶν ἱερεργεγλύων. Delectatio Domini in Eccleſia eſt; Eccleſia verò eſt imago Cœleſtium, Ambroſ. de interpel. Dan. Facit in terris opera cœlorum, Sidon. Apol. Epiſt. lib. 6.

The Second Propoſition.

7. Neither may we in this Caſe lightly eſteem what hath been allowed as fit in the judgment of Antiquity, and by the long continued practiſe of the whole Church; from which unneceſſarily to ſwerve, Experience never as yet hath found it ſafe. For Wiſdom's ſake we reverence them no leſs that are young, or not much leſs, then if they were ſtricken in years. And therefore of ſuch it is rightly ſaid, That the ripe-

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ness of Understanding is *gray Hair*, and their Vertues *old Age*. But because Wisdom and Youth are seldom joyned in one, and the ordinary course of the World is more according to *Job*'s Observation, who giveth men advice to seek Wisdom *amongst the Antient, and in the length of Dayes* Understanding; therefore if the Comparison do stand between Man and Man, which shall hearken unto other, sith the Aged for the most part are best experienced, least subject to rash and unadvised Passions; it hath been ever judged reasonable, That their Sentence in matter of Counsel should be better trusted, and more relyed upon than other mens. The goodness of God having furnished men with two chief Instruments, both necessary for this life, Hands to execute, and a Mind to devise great things; the one is not profitable longer than the vigour of Youth doth strengthen it; nor the other greatly, till Age and Experience have brought it to Perfection. In whom therefore Time hath not perfected Knowledge, such must be contented to follow them in whom it hath. For this Cause none is more attentively heard, than they whose Speeches are, as *Davids* were, *I have been Young, and now am Old*, much I have seen and observed in the World. Sharp and subtile discourses of Wit procure many times very great applause; but being laid in the Ballance with that which the habit of sound Experience plainly delivereth, they are over-weighed. God may endue Men extraordinarily with Understanding as it pleaseth him: But let no Man presuming thereupon neglect the Instructions, or despise the Ordinances of his Elders, sith he, whose gift Wisdom is, hath said, *Ask thy Father, and he will shew thee; thine Antients, and they shall tell thee.* It is therefore the Voyce both of God and Nature, not of Learning only, that, especially in matters of Action and Policy, *The sentences and judgements of Men experienced, aged and wise, yea though they speak without any proof or demonstration, are no less to be hearkned unto, than as being Demonstrations in themselves, because such Mens long Observation is as an Eye, wherewith they presently and plainly behold those Principles which sway over all Actions.* Whereby we are taught both the Cause wherefore Wise-mens Judgments should be credited, and the Mean how to use their Judgments to the increase of our own Wisdom. That which sheweth them to be Wise, is, the gathering of Principles out of their own particular Experiments. And the framing of our particular Experiments according to the Rule of their Principles, shall make us such as they are. If therefore, even at the first, so great account should be made of Wise mens Counsels touching things that are Publickly done; as time shall add thereunto continuance and approbation of succeeding Ages, their Credit and Authority must needs be greater. They which do nothing but that which men of Account did before them, are, although they do amiss, yet the less faulty, because they are not the Authors of harm. And doing well, their Actions are freed from prejudice and novelty. To the best and wisest, while they live, the World is continually a froward Opposite, a curious Observer of their Defects and Imperfections; their Vertues, it afterwards as much admireth. And for this cause many times that which most deserveth approbation, would hardly be able to finde favour, if they which propose it, were not content to profess themselves therein Scholars and Followers of the Antients. For the World will not endure to hear that we are wiser than any have been which went before. In which consideration there is cause why we should be slow and unwilling to change, without very urgent necessity, the antient Ordinances, Rites, and long approved Customs of our venerable Predecessors. The love of things Antient doth argue (*b*) stayedness; but levity and want of Experience maketh apt unto Innovations. That which Wisdom did first begin, and hath been with Good men long continued, challengeth allowance of them that succeed, although it plead for it self nothing. That which is new, if it promise not much, doth fear Condemnation before Tryal; till Tryal, no man doth acquit or trust it, what good soever it pretend and promise. So that in this kinde, there are few things known to be Good, till such time as they grow to be Antient. The vain pretence of those glorious Names, where they could not be with any truth, neither in reason ought to have been so much alledged, hath wrought such a prejudice against them in the mindes of the Common sort, as if they had utterly no force at all; whereas (especially for these Observances which concern our present Question) Antiquity, Custom, and Consent in the Church of God, making with that which

Wisdom 4. 9.

Job 10 12.

Deut. 32. 7.

Arist. Eth. 6. cap. 11.

a Πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ παλαιῶν, φθόνῳ δοκοῦντας φέρειν. Philo. Πᾶσα δυσμένεια τῷ βίῳ τέτῳ συναποτίθεται. Synes. Τὸ ἐκ παλαιῶν δυτ' ἀντιπίπτειν χὴ πεπωκέναι ἀεθάνως. Gregor. Nazian. Στιχ. (*b*) Οὐ σεισθήσεται δ' εὐσταθεία τρόπων τὸ τῆς ἀσχαλάσεως σεμνὸν τῷ κεκοσμῆσθαι ὡς πρέπει μηδὲν καινοπρεπὲς ἀπαραίτητον τῶν πατέρων διευλαβούμενον παράδοσιν κατά τε χώραν καὶ πόλιν τοῦτο κέχρηται τῇ φύσει. Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. cap. 7.

Ὁ μὲν μικρὸν τοῦ εὖ παρεκβαίνων, οὐ ψέγεται. Arist. Ethic. 2. c. 9. Modici nulla fere ratio haberi solet. Tiraquel de jud. in reb. exig. cap. 10.

Law doth establish, are themselves most sufficient reasons to uphold the same, unless some notable publick inconvenience inforce the contrary. For a small thing in the eye of Law is as nothing. We are therefore bold to make our second Petition this, That in things, the fitness whereof is not of it self apparent, nor easie to be made sufficiently manifest unto all, yet the Judgment of Antiquity concurring with that which is received, may induce them to think it not unfit, who are not able to alledge any known weighty Inconvenience which it hath, or to take any strong Exception against it.

The Third Proposition.

8. All things cannot be of antient continuance, which are expedient and needful for the ordering of Spiritual Affairs: but the Church being a Body which dieth not, hath always power, as occasion requireth, no less to ordain that which never was, than to ratifie what hath been before. To prescribe the Order of doing in all Things, is a peculiar Prerogative which *Wisdom* hath, as a Queen or soveraign Commandress over other Vertues. This in every several Man's Actions of Common Life appertaineth unto *Morall*; in Publick and Politick secular Affairs unto *Civil* Wisdom. In like manner, to devise any certain Form for the outward Administration of Publick Duties in the Service of God, or Things belonging thereunto, and to find out the most convenient for that use, is a point of Wisdom *Ecclesiastical*. It is not for a Man, which doth know, or should know what Order is, and what Peaceable Government requireth, to ask, *Why we should hang our Judgment upon the Churches Sleeve*, and, *why in Matters of Order, more than in Matters of Doctrine*. The Church hath Authority to Establish That for an Order at one time, which at another time it may Abolish, and in both do well: But, That which in Doctrine the Church doth now deliver rightly as a Truth, no Man will say that it may hereafter recall, and as rightly avouch the contrary. Laws touching Matter of Order are changeable, by the Power of the Church; Articles concerning Doctrine, not so. We read often in the Writings of Catholick and Holy men touching Matters of Doctrine, *This we believe, This we hold, This the Prophets and Evangelists have declared, This the Apostles have delivered, This Martyrs have sealed with their Blood, and confessed in the midst of Torments, to This We cleave; as to the Anchor of Our Souls; against This, though an Angel from Heaven should Preach unto us, We would not believe.* But, did we ever in any of Them read touching Matters of mere Comeliness, Order, and Decency, neither Commanded nor Prohibited by any Prophet, any Evangelist, any Apostle, *Although the Church wherein we live do ordain them to be kept, although they be never so generally observed, though all the Churches in the World should Command them, though Angels from Heaven should require our Subjection thereunto*, I would hold him accursed that *doth obey?* Be it in Matter of the one kind or of the other, what Scripture doth plainly deliver, to that the First place both of Credit and Obedience is due; The Next whereunto is, whatsoever any Man can necessarily conclude by Force of Reason; After These, the Voyce of the Church succeedeth. That which the Church by her Ecclesiastical Authority shall probably think and define to be True or Good, must in congruity of Reason over-rule all other Inferiour Judgements whatsoever. To them which ask; Why we thus hang our Judgment on the Churches Sleeve, I answer with *Solomon*, Because (*a*) *Two are better than One. Yea Simply* (saith (*b*) *Basil*) *and Universally, whether it be in Works of Nature, or of Voluntary Choice and Counsel, I see not any thing done as it should be, if it be wrought by an Agent singling it self from Consorts.* The Jews have a Sentence of good advice, (*c*) *Take not upon Thee to be a Judge alone, there is no sole Judge but One only; Say not to Others, Receive my Sentence, when their Authority is above thine.* The bare consent of the whole Church should it self in These things stop their Mouths, who living under it, dare presume to bark against it. *There is* (saith (*d*) *Cassianus*) *no Place of Audience left for them, by whom Obedience is not yielded to that which all have agreed upon.* Might we not think it more than wonderful, that Nature should in all Communities appoint a Predominant Judgment to sway and over-rule in so many things; or that God himself should allow so much Authority and Power unto every Poor Family, for the ordering of All which are in it; and the City of the Living God, which is his Church, be able neither to Command, nor yet to Forbid any thing, which the Meanest shall in that respect, and for her sole Authorities sake be bound to obey? We cannot hide or dissemble that Evil, the grievous inconvenience

Ἡ μὲν φρόνησις περὶ τὰ ποιητέα ὅρους ἀνθρώποις τιθεῖσα. Philo. pag. 35.

T. C. lib. 3. pag. 171.

1

2

3

a Eccles. 4. 9.
b Basil. Ep. 68. d. 8 c. Quæ contra Turpis est omnis pars universo suo non congruens.
c R. Ismael in Cap. Pat.
d Cassian de Incarn. l. 2. c. 6.

venience whereof we feel. Our dislike of them, by whom too much hererofore hath been attributed unto the Church, is grown to an Error on the contrary hand; so that now from the Church of God too much is derogated. By which removal of one Extremity with another, the World seeking to procure a Remedy, hath purchased a meer Exchange of the Evil which before was felt. Suppose we, that the Sacred Word of God can at their hands receive due honour, by whose Incitement the Holy Ordinances of the Church endure every where open contempt? No, it is not possible they should observe as they ought the One, who from the Other withdraw unnecessarily their Own, or their Brethrens Obedience. Surely the Church of God in this Business is neither of Capacity, I trust, so weak; nor so unstrengthened, I know, with Authority from Above; but that her Laws may exact Obedience at the hands of her own Children, and injoyn Gain-sayers silence, giving them roundly to understand, That where our Duty is Submission, weak Oppositions betoken Pride. We therefore crave, Thirdly, to have it granted, That where neither the Evidence of any Law Divine, nor the Strength of any Invincible Argument otherwise found out by the Light of Reason, nor any Notable Publick Inconvenience doth make against that which our own Laws Ecclesiastical have, although but Newly instituted, for the Ordering of these Affairs, the very Authority of the Church it self, at the least in such Cases, may give so much Credit to her own Laws, as to make their Sentence touching Fitness and Convenicency, weightier than any bare or naked Conceit to the contrary; especially in them, who can owe no less than Childe-like obedience to her that hath more than Motherly Power.

The Fourth Proposition.

9. There are Antient Ordinances, Laws (which on all sides are allowed to be Just and Good, yea Divine and Apostolick Constitutions) which the Church, it may be, doth not always keep, nor always justly deserve blame in that respect. For in Evils that cannot be removed without the manifest danger of Greater to succeed in their rooms; Wisdom (of necessity) must give place to Necessity. All it can do in those Cases, is, to devise, how that, which must be endured, may be mitigated, and the Inconveniences thereof countervailed as neer as may be; that when the Best things are not possible, the best may be made of Those that are. Nature, than which there is nothing more constant, nothing more uniform in all her ways, doth notwithstanding stay her Hand, yea, and change her Course, when That, which God by Creation did command, he doth at any time by Necessity countermand. It hath therefore pleased himself sometime to unloose the very Tongues even of Dumb Creatures, and to teach them to plead This in their Own Defence, lest the Cruelty of Man should persist to afflict them for not keeping their wonted Course, when some invincible Impediment hath hindred. If we leave Nature, and look into Art, the Work-man hath in his Heart a Purpose, he carrieth in mind the whole Form which his Work should have; there wanteth not him Skill and Desire to bring his Labour to the best effect, only the Matter which he hath to work on is unframable. This Necessity excuseth him; so that nothing is derogated from his Credit, although much of his Work's perfection be found wanting. Touching Actions of Common Life, there is not any Defence more favourably heard than theirs, who alledge sincerely for themselves, That they did as Necessity constrained them. For when the Mind is rightly ordered and affected as it should be, in case some external Impediment crossing well-advised Desires, shall potently draw Men to leave what they principally wish, and to take a Course which they would not, if their Choyce were free; what Necessity forceth Men unto, the same in This Case it maintaineth, as long as nothing is committed simply in it self evil, nothing absolutely sinful or wicked, nothing repugnant to that Immutable Law, whereby, whatsoever is condemned as Evil, can never any way be made Good. The casting away of Things profitable for the sustenance of Man's Life, is an unthankful Abuse of the Fruits of God's good Providence towards Mankind. Which Consideration, for all that, did not hinder Saint *Paul* from throwing Corn into the Sea, when care of saving Mens Lives made it necessary, to loose that which else had been better saved. Neither was this to do Evil, to the end that Good might come of it; For of Two such Evils, being not both evitable, the choyce of the Less is not Evil. And Evils must be in our constructions judged inevitable, if there be no apparent ordinary way to avoid them; Because, where Counsel and Advice bear rule, of God's extraordinary

Numb. 22. 28.

Necessitas, quicquid coegit, defendit. *Senec. Controv. lib. 2.*

Acts 27. 38.

traordinary Power, without extraordinary Warrant, we cannot presume. In Civil Affairs, to declare what sway Necessity hath ever been accustomed to bear, were labour infinite. The Laws of all States and Kingdoms in the World have scarcely of any thing more common use: Should then only the Church shew it self inhuman and stern, absolutely urging a rigorous observation of Spiritual Ordinances, without relaxation or exception, what Necessity soever happen? We know the contrary Practise to have been commended by him, upon the warrant of whose Judgement the Church, most of all delighted with merciful and moderate courses, doth the oftner condescend unto like equity, permitting in cases of Necessity that, which otherwise it disalloweth and forbiddeth. Cases of Necessity being sometime but urgent, sometime extream, the consideration of Publick Utility is with very good advice judged at the least equivalent with the easier kinde of Necessity. Now that which causeth numbers to storm against some necessary tolerations, which they should rather let pass with silence, considering that in Polity, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil, there are and will be always Evils, which no art of man can cure, breaches and leaks moe than man's wit hath hands to stop; that which maketh odious unto them many things, wherein notwithstanding the truth is, that very just regard hath been had of the Publick good; that which in a great part of the weightiest Causes belonging to this present Controversie, hath insnared the Judgments both of sundry good, and of some well learned men, is the manifest truth of certain general Principles, whereupon the Ordinances that serve for usual practise in the Church of God are grounded. Which Principles men knowing to be most sound, and that the ordinary practise accordingly framed is good, whatsoever is over and besides that ordinary, the same they judge repugnant to those true Principles. The cause of which Error is Ignorance, what restraints and limitations all such Principles have, in regard of so manifold varieties, as the matter whereunto they are applyable, doth commonly afford. These varieties are not known but by much experience, from whence to draw the true bounds of all Principles, to discern how farr forth they take effect, to see where and why they fail, to apprehend by what degrees and means they lead to the practise of things in show, though not indeed repugnant and contrary one to another, requireth more sharpness of Wit, more intricate circuitions of Discourse, more industry and depth of Judgment, than common Ability doth yield. So that general Rules, til their limits be fully known, (especially in matter of Publick and Ecclesiastical affairs) are, by reason of the manifold secret Exceptions which lye hidden in them, no other to the eye of man's understanding, than Cloudy mists cast before the eye of Common sense. They that walk in darkness know not whither they go. And even as little is their certainty, whose opinions Generalities only do guide. With gross and popular Capacities nothing doth more prevail, than unlimited Generalities, because of their plainness at the first sight; nothing less with men of Exact Judgment, because such Rules are not safe to be trusted over-farr. General Laws are like general Rules of Physick, according whereunto, as no Wise man will desire himself to be cured, if there be joyned with his Disease some special Accident, in regard whereof that whereby others in the same Infirmity, but without the like Accident, recover health, would be to him either hurtful, or at the least unprofitable: So we must not, under a colourable commendation of holy Ordinances in the Church, and of reasonable causes whereupon they have been grounded for the Common good, imagine that all men's cases ought to have one measure. Not without singular wisdom therefore it hath been provided, That as the ordinary course of Common affairs is disposed of by General Laws, so likewise mens rarer incident Necessities and utilities should be with special equity considered. From hence it is, that so many Priviledges, Immunities, Exceptions, and Dispensations have been always with great equity and reason granted, not to turn the edge of Justice, nor to make void at certain times, and in certain men, through meer voluntary grace or benevolence, that which continually and universally should be of force (as some men understand it) but in very truth to practise General Laws according to their right meaning. We see in Contracts, and other dealings which daily pass between man and man, that, to the utter undoing of some, many things by strictness of Law may be done, which equity and honest meaning forbiddeth. Not that the Law is unjust, but unperfect; nor Equity against, but above the Law; binding mens Consciences in things which Law cannot reach unto. Will any man say, That the vertue of private Equity is

opposite

Luke 6. 4.

Causa necessitatis & utilitatis æquiparantur in jure. Ab Panor. ad c. ut super. nu. 15. de Reb. Eccles. non alien.

Ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὰς πράξεις λόγοις, οἱ μὲν καθόλου κενώτεροί εἰσιν, οἱ δ' ὅπι μέρους ἀληθινώτεροι, περὶ γὰρ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα αἱ πράξεις. Arist. Eth. l. 1. c. 7.

oppoſite and repugnant to that Law, the ſilence whereof it ſupplieth in all ſuch private Dealing? No more is publick Equity againſt the Law of publick Affaires; albeit the one permit unto ſome, in ſpecial Conſiderations, that which the other, agreeably with general Rules of Juſtice, doth in general ſort forbid. For, ſith all good Laws are the Voyces of right Reaſon, which is the Inſtrument wherewith God will have the World guided; and impoſſible it is, that Right ſhould withſtand Right; it muſt follow, that Principles and Rules of Juſtice, be they never ſo generally uttered, do no leſs effectually intend, then if they did plainly expreſs an Exception of all Particulars, wherein their literal Practiſe might any way prejudice Equity. And becauſe it is natural unto all men to wiſh their own extraordinary Benefit, when they think they have reaſonable Inducements ſo to do; and no man can be preſumed a competent Judge what Equity doth require in his own Caſe: the likelieſt Mean whereby the wit of man can provide, that he which uſeth the benefit of any ſpecial benignity above the common courſe of others, may enjoy it with good Conſcience, and not againſt the true purpoſe of Laws, which in outward ſhew are contrary, muſt needs be to arm with Authority ſome fit both for Quality and Place to adminiſter that, which in every ſuch particular ſhall appear agreeable with Equity: wherein, as it cannot be denyed, but that ſometimes the practiſe of ſuch Juriſdiction may ſwarve through errour even into the very beſt, and for other reſpects, where leſs Integrity is. So the watchfulleſt Obſervers of Inconveniences that way growing, and the readieſt to urge them in diſgrace of authorized Proceedings, do very well know, that the diſpoſition of theſe things reſteth not now in the hands of Popes, who live in no Worldly awe or ſubjection, but is committed to them whom Law may at all times bridle, and Superiour power controll; yea to them alſo in ſuch ſort, that Law it ſelf hath ſet down, to what Perſons, in what Cauſes, with what Circumſtances, almoſt every faculty or favour ſhall be granted, leaving in a manner nothing unto them, more than only to deliver what is already given by Law. Which maketh it by many degrees leſs reaſonable, that under pretence of inconveniences ſo eaſily ſtopped, if any did grow, and ſo well prevented, that none may, men ſhould be altogether barred of the liberty that Law with equity and reaſon granteth. Theſe things therefore conſidered, we laſtly require, That it may not ſeem hard, if in Caſes of Neceſſity, or for Common utilities ſake, certain profitable Ordinances ſometimes be releaſed, rather than all men, always, ſtrictly bound to the general rigor thereof.

10. Now where the Word of God leaveth the Church to make choyce of her own Ordinances, if againſt thoſe things which have been received with great reaſon, or againſt that which the Antient practiſe of the Church hath continued time out of mind, or againſt ſuch Ordinances as the Power and Authority of that Church under which we live hath in it ſelf deviſed, for the Publick good, or againſt the diſcretion of the Church in mitigating ſometimes with favourable Equity, that rigour which otherwiſe the literal generality of Eccleſiaſtical Laws hath judged to be more convenient and meet; if againſt all this it ſhould be free for men to reprove, to diſgrace, to reject at their own liberty what they ſee done and practiſed according to Order ſet down; if in ſo great varietie of ways, as the wit of man is eaſily able to finde out towards any purpoſe; and in ſo great liking as all men eſpecially have unto thoſe Inventions, whereby ſome one ſhall ſeem to have been more inlightned from above than many thouſands, the Church did give every man licence to follow what himſelf imagineth that *God's Spirit doth reveal* unto him, or what he ſuppoſeth that God is likely to have revealed to ſome ſpecial Perſon, whoſe Vertues deſerve to be highly eſteemed, What other effect could hereupon enſue, but the utter confuſion of his Church, under pretence of being taught, led, and guided by his Spirit? the gifts and graces whereof do ſo naturally all tend unto Common peace, that where ſuch ſingularity is, they, whoſe Hearts it poſſeſſeth, ought to ſuſpect it the more, in as much as if it did come of God, and ſhould for that cauſe prevail with others, the ſame God which revealeth it to them, would alſo give them power of confirming it unto others, either with miraculous operation, or with ſtrong and invincible remonſtrance of ſound Reaſon, ſuch as whereby it might appear that God would indeed have all mens Judgments give place unto it; whereas now the errour and unſufficience of

The Rule of Mens private ſpirits not ſafe in theſe Caſes to be followed.

of their Arguments doth make it on the contrary ſide againſt them a ſtrong preſumption, that God hath not moved their hearts to think ſuch things, as he hath not enabled them to prove. And ſo from Rules of general Direction it reſteth, that now we deſcend to a more diſtinct explication of Particulars, wherein thoſe Rules have their ſpecial efficacy.

Places for the Publick ſervice of God.

11. Solemne Duties of Publick Service to be done unto God, muſt have their places ſet and prepared in ſuch ſort, as beſeemeth actions of that regard. *Adam*, even during the ſpace of his ſmall continuance in Paradiſe, had (*a*) where to preſent himſelf before the Lord. *Adam*'s Sons had out of Paradiſe in like ſort (*b*) whither to bring their Sacrifices. The Patriarks uſed (*c*) Altars, and (*d*) Mountains, and (*e*) Groves, to the ſelf-ſame purpoſe. In the vaſt Wilderneſs, when the People of God had themſelves no ſettled Habitation, yet a movable (*f*) Tabernacle they were commanded of God to make. The like Charge was given them againſt the time they ſhould come to ſettle themſelves in the Land which had been promiſed unto their Fathers, (*g*) *Ye ſhall ſeek that Place which the Lord your God ſhall chuſe.* When God had choſen *Jeruſalem*, and in *Jeruſalem* Mount (*h*) *Moriah* there to have his ſtanding Habitation made, it was in the chiefeſt of (*i*) *Davids* deſires to have performed ſo good a work. His grief was no leſs, that he could not have the honour to builde God a Temple, than their anger is at this day, who bite aſunder their own tongues with very wrath, that they have not as yet the Power to pull down the Temples which they never built, and to level them with the ground. It was no mean thing which he purpoſed. To perform a work ſo majeſtical and ſtately was no ſmall Charge. Therefore he incited all men unto bountiful Contribution, and procured towards it with all his Power, Gold, Silver, Braſs, Iron, Wood, Precious Stones, in great abundance. Yea moreover, *Becauſe I have* (ſaith David) *a joy in the Houſe of my God, I have of my own Gold and Silver, beſides all that I have prepared for the Houſe of the Sanctuary, given to the Houſe of my God three thouſand Talents of Gold, even the Gold of Ophir, ſeven thouſand Talents of fined Silver.* After the overthrow of this firſt Houſe of God, a ſecond was inſtead thereof erected, but with ſo great odds, that they wept which had ſeen the former, and beheld how much this later came behinde it, the beauty whereof notwithſtanding was ſuch, that even This was alſo the wonder of the whole World. Beſides which Temple, there were both in other parts of the Land, and even in *Jeruſalem*, by proceſs of time, no ſmall number of Synagogues for men to reſort unto. Our Saviour himſelf, and after him the Apoſtles frequented both the one and the other. The Church of Chriſt which was in *Jeruſalem*, and held that Profeſſion which had not the Publick allowance and countenance of Authority, could not ſo long uſe the exerciſe of Chriſtian Religion but in private only. So that as Jews they had acceſs to the Temple and Synagogues, where God was ſerved after the Cuſtom of the Law, but for that which they did as Chriſtians, they were of neceſſity forced other where to aſſemble themſelves. And as God gave increaſe to his Church, they ſought out both there and abroad for that purpoſe not the fitteſt (for ſo the times would not ſuffer them to do) but the ſafeſt places they could. In proceſs of time, ſome whiles by ſufferance, ſome whiles by ſpecial leave and favour, they began to erect to themſelves Oratories, not in any ſumptuous or ſtately manner; which neither was poſſible, by reaſon of the poor eſtate of the Church, and had been perilous in regard of the World's envy towards them. At length, when it pleaſed God to raiſe up Kings and Emperours favouring ſincerely the Chriſtian Truth, that which the Church before either could not, or durſt not do, was with all alacrity performed. Temples were in all Places erected, No coſt was ſpared, nothing judged too dear which that way ſhould be ſpent. The whole World did ſeem to exult, that it had occaſion of pouring out Gifts to ſo bleſſed a purpoſe. That chearful Devotion which *David* this way did exceedingly delight to behold, and wiſh that the ſame in the Jewiſh People might be perpetual, was then in Chriſtian People every where to be ſeen. Their Actions, till this day always accuſtomed to be ſpoken of with great honour, are now called openly into queſtion. They, and as many as have been followers of their Example in That thing; we eſpecially that worſhip God, either

a Gen. 3. 8.
b Gen. 4. 3.
c Gen. 13. 4
d 22. 1.
e 21. 33.
f Exod. 26.
g Deut. 12. 5.
h 2 Chron. 3. 1.
i 2 Chron. 6. 7. Pſalm 132. 5.
2 Chron. 25. 9.
1 Chron. 29. 3.
Ezr. 3. 12. Agge 2. 4.
Act. 1. 19. & 2. 1. & 2. 46.
1 Chron. 29. 17. 18.

in Temples which their hands made, or which other men sithence have framed by the like pattern, are in that respect charged no less then with the sin of *Idolatry*. Our Churches in the foam of that good spirit, which directeth such fiery tongues, they term spitefully the Temples of *Baal*, idle Synagogues, abominable Styes.

12. Wherein the first thing which moveth them thus to cast up their poysons, are certain Solemnities usual at the first erection of Churches. Now although the same should be blame-worthy, yet this Age (thanks be to God) hath reasonably well forborn to incurr the danger of any such blame. It cannot be laid unto many mens charge at this day living, either that they have been so curious, as to trouble the Bishops with placing the first Stone in the Churches they built; or so scrupulous, as after the erection of them, to make any great ado for their Dedication. In which kind notwithstanding as we do neither allow unmeet, nor purpose the stiff defence of any unnecessary, Custom heretofore received; so we know no reason wherefore Churches should be the worse, if at the first erecting of them, at the making of them publick, at the time when they are delivered, as it were, into God's own possession, and when the use whereunto they shall ever serve is established, Ceremonies fit to betoken such intents, and to accompany such Actions be usual, as (*a*) in the purest times they have been. When (*b*) *Constantine* had finished an House for the Service of God at *Jerusalem*, the Dedication he judged a matter not unworthy, about the solemn performance whereof, the greatest part of the Bishops in Christendom should meet together. Which thing they did at the Emperors motion, each most willingly setting forth that Action to their power, some with Orations, some with Sermons, some with the sacrifice of Prayers unto God for the peace of the World, for the Churches safety, for the Emperour's and his Childrens good. (*c*) By *Athanasius* the like is recorded concerning a Bishop of *Alexandria*, in a work of the like devout magnificence. So that whether Emperours or Bishops in those days were Church-founders, the solemn Dedication of Churches they thought not to be a work in it self either vain, or superstitious. Can we judge it a thing seemly for any man to go about the building of an House to the God of Heaven with no other appearance, than if his end were to rear up a Kitchen, or Parlour, for his own use? Or when a work of such nature is finished, remaineth there nothing but presently to use it, and so an end? It behoveth that the place where God shall be served by the whole Church, be a publick place, for the avoiding of Privy Conventicles, which, covered with pretence of Religion, may serve unto dangerous practises. Yea, though such Assemblies be had indeed for Religions sake; hurtful nevertheless they may easily prove, as well in regard of their fitness to serve the turn of Hereticks, and such as privily will soonest adventure to instill their poyson into mens minds; as also for the occasion, which thereby is given to malicious persons, both of suspecting, and of traducing with more colourable shew those Actions, which in themselves being holy, should be so ordered, that no man might probably otherwise think of them. Which considerations have by so much the greater waight, for that of these inconveniences the Church heretofore had so plain experience, when Christian men were driven to use Secret Meetings, because the liberty of Publick places was not granted them. There are which hold, that the presence of a Christian multitude, and the Duties of Religion performed amongst them, do make the place of their Assembly publick; even as the presence of the King and his Retinue maketh any mans House a Court. But this I take to be an errour, in as much as the only thing which maketh any Place publick, is the publick assignment thereof unto such Duties. As for the Multitude there assembled, or the Duties which they perform, it doth not appear how either should be of force to infuse any such Prerogative. Nor doth the solemn Dedication of Churches serve only to make them publick, but farther also to surrender up that right which otherwise their Founders might have in them, and to make God himself their Owner. For which cause, at the Erection and Consecration as well of the Tabernacle, as of the Temple, it pleased the Almighty to give a manifest sign that he took possession of both. Finally, it notifieth in solemn manner the Holy and Religious use whereunto it is intended such Houses shall be put. These things the wisdom of *Solomon* did not account superfluous. He knew how easily that which was meant should be

The solemnity of erecting Churches condemned by *Bar.* p. 130.

The hallowing and dedicating of them scorned, p. 141.

Durand rational. lib. 1. cap. 6. & de consecr. d. 1. c. tabernaculum Greg. Mag. lib. 10. epist. 12. & lib. 7. epist. 71. & 1. 8. epist. 63.

a Ἐγκαίνια τιμᾶσθαι πάλαι θ' ἡμῶν, καὶ καλῶς ἔχειν, μᾶλλον δὲ τὰ νέα τιμᾶσθαι δι' ἐξαιρίαν. Καὶ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀπὸ ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλαχοῦ ἐφέρετο τὸ ἐνιαυτοῦ τοῦ τρισπὶς ἡμέραν αὐτὴν ἄγεσθαι ἐπαγόμενος, ἵνα ὦσι ἐξίτηλα τῷ χρόνῳ γε τὰ αὐτὰ καλά. Greg. Nazian. orat. εἰς τ' ἁγειασμόν.

b Vide Euseb. de vita Constant. l. 1. c. 41. 43. 44.

c Athanasius Apol. ad Constantium.

Exod. 40. 34 1 Reg. 8. 11.

Exod. 40. 9. 1 Reg. 8.

holy and ſacred, might be drawn from the uſe whereunto it was firſt provided; he knew how bold men are to take even from God himſelf; how hardly that Houſe would be kept from impious profanation, he knew; and right wiſely therefore endeavoured by ſuch Solemnities to leave in the minds of men that impreſſion, which might ſomewhat reſtrain their boldneſs, and nouriſh a reverend affection towards the Houſe of God. For which cauſe when the firſt Houſe was deſtroyed, and a new in the ſtead thereof erected by the Children of *Iſrael* after their return from captivity, they kept the dedication even of this Houſe alſo with joy.

Levit. 16. 2. The place named holy.

Ezr. 6. 16.

The Argument which our Saviour uſeth againſt Prophaners of the Temple, he taketh from the uſe whereunto it was with Solemnity conſecrated. And as the Prophet *Jeremy* forbiddeth the carrying of Burdens on the Sabbath, becauſe that was a Sanctified day: So becauſe the Temple was a Place ſanctified, our Lord would not ſuffer, no not the carriage of a Veſſel through the Temple: Theſe two Commandements therefore are in the Law conjoyned, *Ye ſhall keep my Sabbaths, and reverence my Sanctuary.* Out of thoſe the Apoſtles words, *Have ye not Houſes to eat and drink in?* albeit Temples, ſuch as now, were not then erected for the exerciſe of Chriſtian Religion, it hath been nevertheleſs not abſurdly conceived, that he teacheth what difference ſhould be made between Houſe and Houſe; that what is fit for the Dwelling Place of God, and what for Mans Habitation he ſheweth; requireth that Chriſtian men at their Own home take Common food, and in the Houſe of the Lord none but that food which is heavenly; he inſtructeth them, that as in the one place they uſe to refreſh their Bodies, ſo they may in the other learn to ſeek the nouriſhment of their Souls; and as there they ſuſtain Temporal life, ſo here they would learn to make proviſion for Eternal. Chriſt could not ſuffer that the Temple ſhould ſerve for a place of Mart, nor the Apoſtle of Chriſt, that the Church ſhould be made an Inne. When therefore we ſanctifie or hallow Churches, that which we do is only to teſtifie that we make them Places of publick reſort, that we inveſt God himſelf with them, that we ſever them from Common uſes. In which action, other Solemnities than ſuch as are decent and fit for that purpoſe we approve none. Indeed we condemn not all as unmeet, the like whereunto have either been deviſed or uſed haply amongſt Idolaters. For why ſhould conformity with them in matter of Opinion be lawful, when they think that which is true, if in action, when they do that which is meet, it be not lawful to be like unto them? Are we to forſake any true Opinion, becauſe Idolaters have maintained it? or to ſhun any requiſite action, only becauſe we have in the practiſe thereof been prevented by Idolaters. It is no impoſſible thing, but that ſometimes they may judge as rightly what is decent about ſuch external affairs of God, as in greater things what is true. Not therefore whatſoever Idolaters have either thought or done, but let whatſoever they have either thought or done *idolatrouſly*, *be ſo far forth* abhorred. For of that which is good even in evil things, God is Author.

Matth. 21. 13.

Jer. 17. 24.

Mark 11. 16.

Levit. 29. 2.

1 *Cor.* 11. 22.

Pet. Cluniac.

Of the names whereby we diſtinguiſh our Churches.

13. Touching the names of Angels and Saints, whereby the moſt of our Churches are called; as the cuſtome of ſo naming them is very antient, ſo neither was the cauſe thereof at the firſt, nor is the uſe and continuance with us at this preſent hurtful. That Churches were conſecrated unto none but the Lord only, the very General name it ſelf doth ſufficiently ſhew, is as much as by plain Grammatical conſtruction, *Church* doth ſignifie no other thing than *the Lords Houſe.* And becauſe the multitude, as of Perſons, ſo of things particular cauſeth variety of Proper names to be deviſed for Diſtinction ſake, Founders of Churches did herein that which beſt liked their own conceit at the preſent time; yet each intending, that as oft as thoſe Buildings came to be mentioned, the name ſhould put men in mind of ſome memorable thing or perſon. Thus therefore it cometh to paſs, that all Churches have had their names, (*h*) ſome as memorials of peace, ſome of wiſdom, ſome in memory of the Trinity it ſelf; ſome of Chriſt under ſundry Titles; of the bleſſed Virgin not a few, many of one Apoſtle, Saint, or Martyr, many of all. In which reſpect their commendable purpoſe being not of every one underſtood, they have been in latter ages, conſtrued as though they had ſuperſtitiouſly meant, either that thoſe places which where denominated of Angels and Saints, ſhould ſerve for the worſhip of ſo glorious Creatures, or elſe thoſe glorified Creatures, for defence, protection, and patronage of ſuch places.

g From Κυεριακὴ Κυρε, and by adding letters of aſpiration, *Chyrch.*

h *Vid. Soc. l.* 1. *c.* 16. *Ev. lib.* 4. *c.* 30. *Hiſt. Trip. l.* 4. *c.* 11.

A thing which the Antients do utterly disclaim. To them saith St. *Augustine*, we appoint no Churches, because they are not to us as Gods. Again, *The Nations to their Gods erected Temples, we not Temples unto our Martyrs as unto Gods, but Memorials as unto dead men, whose spirits with God are still living.* Divers considerations there are, for which Christian Churches might first take their names of Saints: as either because by the Ministry of Saints it pleased God there to shew some rare effect of his power; or else in regard of death, which those Saints having suffered for the testimony of Jesus Christ, did thereby make the places where they dyed venerable; or thirdly, for that it liked good and vertuous men to give such occasion of mentioning them often, to the end that the naming of their Persons might cause enquiry to be made, and meditation to be had of their vertues. Wherefore, seeing that we cannot justly account it Superstition, to give unto Churches those fore-rehearsed names, as memorials either of holy Persons or Things; if it be plain that their Founders did with such meaning name them, shall not we, in otherwise taking them, offer them injury? Or if it be obscure or uncertain what they meant, yet this construction being more favourable, Charity (I hope) constraineth no man which standeth doubtful of their minds, to lean to the hardest and worst interpretation that their words can carry. Yea, although it were clear, that they all (for the error of some is manifest in this behalf) had therein a superstitious intent, Wherefore should their fault prejudice us, who (as all men know) do use by way of mere Distinction the names which they of Superstition gave? In the use of those names whereby we distinguish both days and months, are we culpable of Superstition, because they were, who first invented them? The sign *Castor* and *Pollux* superstitiously given unto that Ship wherein the Apostle sailed, polluteth not the Evangelists pen, who thereby doth but distinguish that Ship from others. If to *Daniel* there had been given no other name, but only *Beltishazzar*, given him in honour of the Babylonian Idol *Belti*, Should their Idolatry, which were the Authors of that Name, cleave unto every man which had so termed him by way of personal difference only? Were it not to satisfie the minds of the simpler sort of men, these nice curiosities are not worthy the labour which we bestow to answer them.

V. Aug. l 8. de civ. Dei, c. 27. l. 22 c. 10. Epi. 49. ad Deo gra.

The duty which Christian men performed in keeping Festival dedications

S. *Basil* termeth λατρείαν τῶν θεῶν acknowledging the same to have been withall τιμὴν εἰς τοὺς μάρτυρας. *Basil.* in Psa. 114.

Acts 28. 11.

Dan. 4. 5. Vide Scal. de emendat. temp. l. 6. p. 277.

14. The like unto this is a fancy, which they have against the fashion of our Churches, as being framed according to the pattern of the Jewish Temple. A fault no less grievous, if so be it were true, than if some King should build his Mansion-house by the model of *Solomons* Palace. So far forth as our Churches and their Temple have one end, What should lett, but that they may lawfully have one form? The Temple was for Sacrifice, and therefore had Rooms to that purpose, such as ours have none. Our Churches are places provided, that the people might there assemble themselves in due and decent manner, according to their several degrees and orders. Which thing being common unto us with Jews, we have in this respect our Churches divided by certain partitions, although not so many in number as theirs. They had their several for Heathen Nations, their several for the people of their own Nation, their several for Men, their several for Women, their several for their Priests, and for the High Priest alone their several. There being in ours for local distinction between the Clergy and the rest (which yet we do not with any great strictness or curiosity observe neither) but one partition, the cause whereof at the first (as it seemeth) was, that as many as were capable of the holy Mysteries, might there assemble themselves, and no other creep in amongst them; this is now made a matter so hainous, as if our Religion thereby were become even plain Judaism; and as though we retained a Most Holy Place, whereinto there might not any but the High Priest alone enter, according to the custome of the Jews.

Of the fashion of our Churches.

15. Some it highly displeaseth, that so great expences this way are imployed: *The Mother of such Magnificence* (they think) *is but only a proud ambitious desire to be spoken of far and wide. Suppose we that God himself delighteth to dwell sumptuously? or taketh pleasure in chargeable pomp? No; Then was the Lord most acceptably served, when his Temples were rooms borrowed within the houses of poor men. This was suitable unto the nakedness of Jesus Christ, and the simplicity of his Gospel.* What thonghts or cogitations they had which were Authors of those things, the use and benefit whereof hath descended unto our selves, as we do not know, so we need not

The sumptuousnes of Churches.

ſearch. It commeth (we grant) many times to paſs, that the works of men being the ſame, their drifts and purpoſes therein are divers. The charge of *Herod* about the Temple of God was ambitious; yet *Solomon*'s vertuous, *Conſtantine*'s holy. But howſoever their hearts are diſpoſed by whom any ſuch thing is done in the World, ſhall we think that it baneth the work which they leave behind them, or taketh away from others the uſe and benefit thereof? Touching God himſelf, hath he any where revealed, that it is his delight to dwell beggerly? and that he taketh no pleaſure to be worſhipped, ſaving only in poor Cottages? Even then was the Lord as acceptably honoured of his people as ever, when the ſtatelyeſt places and things in the whole World were ſought out to adorn his Temple. This is moſt ſuitable, decent, and fit for the greatneſs of Jeſus Chriſt, for the ſublimity of his Goſpel, except we think of Chriſt and his Goſpel as (*a*) the Officers of *Julian* did. As therefore the Son of *Syrach* giveth verdict concerning thoſe things, which God hath wrought, (*b*) *A man need not ſay, This is worſe than that, this more acceptable to God, that leſs; for in their ſeaſon they are all worthy praiſe:* the like we may alſo conclude, as touching theſe two ſo contrary ways of providing, in meaner or in coſtlier ſort, for the honour of Almighty God, *A man need not ſay, This is worſe than that, this more acceptable to God, that leſs; for with him they are in their ſeaſon both allowable*; the one, when the ſtate of the Church is poor; the other, when God hath enriched it with plenty. When they, which had ſeen the beauty of the firſt Temple, built by *Solomon* in the days of his great proſperity and peace, beheld how farr it excelled the ſecond, which had not Builders of like ability, the tears of their grieved eyes the Prophets (*c*) endeavoured with comforts to wipe away. Whereas if the Houſe of God were by ſo much the more perfect, by how much the glory thereof is leſs, they ſhould have done better to rejoyce than weep, their Prophets better to reprove than comfort. It being objected againſt the Church in the times of univerſal perſecution, that her Service done to God was not ſolemnly performed in Temples fit for the honour of Divine Majeſty, their moſt convenient anſwer was, that (*d*) *The beſt Temples which we can dedicate to God, are our ſanctified Souls and Bodies.* Whereby it plainly appeareth, how the Fathers, when they were upbraided with that defect, comforted themſelves with the meditation of Gods moſt gracious and merciful nature, Who did not therefore the leſs accept of their hearty affection and zeal rather, than took any great delight, or imagined any high perfection in ſuch their want of external Ornaments, which when they wanted, the cauſe was their only lack of ability; ability ſerving, they wanted them not. Before the Emperour *Conſtantines* time, under *Severus*, *Gordian*, *Philip*, and *Galienus*, the ſtate of Chriſtian affairs being tolerable, the former Buildings which were but of mean and ſmall eſtate contented them not; ſpacious and ample Churches they erected throughout every City. No Envy was able to be their hindrance, no practiſe of Satan or fraud of men available againſt their proceedings herein, while they continued as yet worthy to feel the aide of the arm of God extended over them for their ſafety. Theſe Churches *Diocleſian* cauſed by ſolemn Edict to be afterwards overthrown. *Maximinus* with like authority giving leave to erect them, the hearts of all men were even rapt with Divine joy, to ſee thoſe places, which tyrannous impiety had laid waſte, recovered, as it were, out of mortal calamity, Churches *reared up to an height immeaſurable, and adorned with far more beauty in their reſtauration than their Founders before had given them.* Whereby we ſee, how moſt Chriſtian minds ſtood then affected, we ſee how joyful they were to behold the ſumptuous ſtatelineſs of Houſes built unto Gods glory. If we ſhould, over and beſides this, alledge the care which was had, that all things about the Tabernacle of *Moſes* might be as beautiful, gorgeous, and rich, as Art could make them; or what travel and coſt was beſtowed, that the goodlineſs of the Temple might be a Spectacle of admiration to all the world; this, they will ſay, was figurative, and ſerved by Gods appointment but for a time, to ſhadow out the true everlaſting glory of a more Divine Sanctuary; whereinto Chriſt being long ſithence entred, it ſeemeth that all thoſe curious exornations ſhould rather ceaſe. Which thing we alſo our ſelves would grant, if the uſe thereof had been meerly and only myſtical. But, ſith the Prophet *David* doth mention a natural conveniency which ſuch

"Ἐχουν τὸ μέγα, καὶ καλὸν τίμιον· τὸ γὰρ τοιοῦτο ἡ θεωρία θαυμαστή. Ariſt. Eth. l. 4. c. 2. Τὰ αἰσθήσει καλὰ καὶ νοήσει καλῶν εἰκόνες. Philo. Jud.

a Fœlix, theſauri imperialis quæſtor, conſpicatus ſacrorum vaſorum pretia; En inquit qualibus vaſis miniſtratur Mariæ filio! Theodoret. hiſt. Eccleſ. l. 3. c. 12.

b Eccleſ. 39. 34.

c Agge 2. 5. 10

d Minut. Fæl. in Octav.

Euſeb. l. 8. c. 1.

Euſeb. l. 8. c. 8.

Euſeb. l. 10. c. 2.

such kind of bounteous Expences have, as well for that we do thereby give unto God a testimony of our chearful affection, which thinketh nothing too dear to be bestowed about the furniture of his Service, as also becaufe it serveth to the world for a witness of his Almightiness, whom we outwardly honour with the chiefest of outward things, as being of all things Himself incomparably the greatest. Besides, were it not also strange, if God should have made such store of glorious Creatures on Earth, and leave them all to be consumed in Secular vanity, allowing none but the baser sort to be imployed in his own service? To set forth the Majesty of Kings, his Vicegerents in this world, the most gorgeous and rare treasures which the world hath, are procured. We think, belike, that he will accept what the meanest of them would disdain. If there be great care to build and beautifie these corruptible Sanctuaries, little or none, that the living Temples of the Holy Ghost, the dearly redeemed Souls of the people of God may be edified; huge expences upon Timber and Stone, but towards the relief of the poor, small devotion; Cost this way infinite, and in the mean while Charity cold: we have in such case just occasion to make complaint as Saint *Jerom* did, *The walls of the Church there are enow contented to build, and to underset it with goodly Pillars, the Marbles are polished, the Roofs shine with Gold, the Altar hath Precious Stones to adorn it; and of Christs Ministers no choyce at all.* The same *Jerom*, both in that place and elsewhere, debaseth with like intent the glory of such Magnificence (a thing whereunto mens affections in those times needed no spurr) thereby to extoll the necessity sometimes of Charity and Alms, sometimes of other the most principal Duties belonging unto Christian men; which Duties were neither so highly esteemed as they ought, and being compared with that in question, the directest Sentence we can give of them both, as unto me it seemeth, is this; *God who requireth the one as necessary, accepteth the other also as being an honourable work.*

1 Chron. 28. 14.
2 Chron. 2. 5.
Matth. 6. 29.
Malac. 1. 8.
Ad Nepotian. de vita Cleric.
Ad Demetr. Epist. 12. ad Gaudentium.

16. Our opinion concerning the force and vertue which such Places have, is, I trust, without any blemish or stain of Heresie. Churches receive, as every thing else, their chief perfection from the end whereunto they serve. Which end being the publick worship of God, they are, in this consideration, Houses of greater Dignity, than any provided for meaner purposes. For which cause they seem after a sort even to mourn, as being injured and defrauded of their right, when places, not sanctified as they are, prevent them *unnecessarily* in that preheminence and honour. Whereby also it doth come to pass, that the Service of God hath not then it self *such perfection of grace and comelineſs*, as when the dignity of place which it wisheth for doth concurr. Again, albeit the true worship of God be to God in it self acceptable, who respecteth not so much in what place, as with what affection he is served; and therefore *Moses* in the midst of the Sea, *Job* on the Dunghil, *Ezechias* in Bed, *Jeremy* in Mire, *Jonas* in the Whale, *Daniel* in the Den, the Children in the Furnace, the Thief on the Cross, *Peter* and *Paul* in Prison, calling unto God, were heard; as S. *Basil* noteth: manifest notwithstanding it is, that the very majesty and holyness of the place where God is worshipped, hath *in regard of us* great vertue, force and efficacy, for that it serveth as a sensible help to stirr up devotion, and *in that respect*, no doubt, *bettereth* even our holiest and best actions in this kind. As therefore we every where exhort all men to worship God; even so, for performance of this Service by the people of God assembled, we think not any place *so good* as the Church, neither any exhortation so fit as that of *David*, *O worship the Lord in the beauty of holineſs.*

What Holiness and Vertue we ascribe to the Church, more than other places.
Exhort. ad bapt. & pœnitent.
Psal. 96. 9.

17. For of our Churches thus it becometh us to esteem, howsoever others rapt with the pang of a furious zeal, do pour out against them devout blasphemies, crying, (*a*) *Down with them, down with them, even to the very ground; For to Idolatry they have been abused. And the places where Idols have been worshipped, are by* (*b*) *the Law of God devote to utter destruction. For execution of which Law, the* (*i*) *Kings that were godly, as* Asa, Jehosaphat, Ezechia, Josia, *destroyed all the High places, Altars, and Groves, which had been erected in* Juda *and* Israel. *He that said, Thou shalt have no other gods before my face, hath likewise said, Thou shalt utterly deface and destroy all these Synagogues and places where such Idols have been worshipped. This Law containeth the Temporal punishment which God hath set down, and willeth that men*

Their pretence that would have Churches utterly razed.
a Psal. 137. 7.
b Deut. 12. 2.
c 2 Chron. 17. 6. 2 Chron. 29. 2 Chron. 3.

men execute, for the breach of the other Law. They which ſpare them therefore, do but reſerve, as the Hypocrite Saul *did, execrable things, to worſhip God withall.* The truth is, that as no man ſerveth God, and loveth him not; ſo neither can any man ſincerely love God, and not extreamly abhor that ſin, which is the higheſt degree of Treaſon againſt the Supream Guide and Monarch of the whole world, with whoſe Divine Authority and Power it inveſteth others. By means whereof the ſtate of Idolaters is two wayes miſerable. Firſt, In that which they worſhip, (*a*) they find no ſuccour; and ſecondly, At his hands whom they ought to ſerve, there is no other thing to be looked for, but the effects of moſt juſt diſpleaſure, the (*b*) withdrawing of Grace, (*c*) dereliction in this world, and in the world to come (*d*) confuſion. (*e*) *Paul* and *Barnabas*, when Infidels admiring their vertues went about to ſacrifice unto them, rent their Garments in token of horrour, and, as frighted perſons, ran crying thorow the preſs of the people, *O men, wherefore do ye theſe things?* They knew the force of that dreadful (*f*) Curſe whereunto Idolatry maketh ſubject. Nor is there cauſe why the guilty ſuſtaining the ſame, ſhould grudge or complain of Injuſtice. For, whatſoever Evil befalleth in that reſpect, (*g*) themſelves have made themſelves worthy to ſuffer it. As for thoſe things either *whereon*, or elſe *wherewith* Superſtition worketh, polluted they are by ſuch *abuſe*, and deprived of that Dignity which their Nature delighteth in. For there is nothing which doth not grieve, and, as it were, even loath it ſelf, whenſoever iniquity cauſeth it to ſerve unto vile purpoſes. Idolatry therefore maketh, whatſoever it toucheth, the worſe. Howbeit ſith Creatures which have no underſtanding can ſhew no will; and where no will is, there is no ſin; and only that which ſinneth, is ſubject to *puniſhment*; Which way ſhould any ſuch Creature be *puniſhable* by the Law of God? There may be cauſe ſometime to *aboliſh* or to *extinguiſh* them; But ſurely, never by way of puniſhment *to the things themſelves.* Yea farther, howſoevet the Law of *Moſes* did puniſh Idolaters, we find not that God hath appointed for us any definite or *certain temporal judgment*, which the Chriſtian Magiſtrate *is of neceſſity for ever* bound to execute upon *Offenders* in that kind, much leſs upon *things* that way abuſed as mere *inſtruments.* For what God did command touching *Canaan*, the ſame concerneth not us any otherwiſe than only as a fearful pattern of his juſt diſpleaſure and wrath againſt ſinful Nations. It teacheth us, how *God thought good* to plague and afflict them; it doth not appoint in what form and manner *we ought* to puniſh the ſin of *Idolaty in all others.* Unleſs they will ſay, that becauſe the Iſraelites were commanded to make no Covenant with the people of that Land, therefore Leagues and Truces made between Superſtitious Perſons, and ſuch as ſerve God aright, are unlawful altogether; or, becauſe God commanded the Iſraelites to ſmite the Inhabitants of *Canaan*, and to root them out, that therefore reformed Churches are bound to put all others to the edge of the ſword. Now whereas *Commandment* was alſo given to deſtroy all places where the Canaanites had ſerved their gods, and not to convert any one of them to the honour of the true God: *this Precept had reference unto a ſpecial intent and purpoſe*, which was, that there ſhould be *but one only Place* in the whole Land, whereunto the People might bring ſuch Offerings, Gifts, and Sacrifices, as their *Levitical Law* did require. By which Law, ſevere charge was given them in that reſpect, not to convert *thoſe places* to the worſhip of the living God, where Nations before them had ſerved Idols, *But to ſeek the place which the Lord their God ſhould chuſe out of all their Tribes.* Beſides, it is reaſon we ſhould likewiſe conſider how great a difference there is between their proceedings, who erect a new Common-wealth, which is to have neither People nor Law, neither Regiment nor Religion the ſame that was; and theirs, who only reform a decayed eſtate, by reducing it to that perfection from which it hath ſwarved. In this caſe we are to retain as much, in the other as little of former things as we may. Sith therefore Examples have not *generally* the force of Laws which all men ought to keep, but of Counſels only and Perſwaſions not amiſs to be followed by them whoſe Caſe is the like; ſurely where Caſes are ſo unlike as theirs and ours, I ſee not how that which they did, ſhould induce, much leſs any way enforce us to the ſame practiſe, eſpecially conſidering that *Groves* and *Hill-altars* were, while they did remain, both dangerous in regard of the ſecret acceſs, which People, ſuperſtitiouſly given, might have always thereunto with eaſe; neither could they remaining

a Iſa. 8. 21. 4. 20. Hoſ. 14. 4. Iſa. 41. 24.
b Pſal. 115. 8. 81. 13. Rom 1. 24.
c Judic. 6. 13.
d Apoc. 21. 8. Iſa. 2. 21.
e Acts 14. 14.
f Deut. 28. 20.
g Jer. 2. 17.

Deut. 12. 2.

Deut. 12. 4, 5.

ing serve with any fitness unto better purpose: whereas our Temples (their former abuse being by order of Law removed) are not only free from such peril, but withall so conveniently framed for the people of God to serve and honour him therein; that no man beholding them, can chuse but think it exceeding great pity they should be ever any otherwise employed. Yea but the Cattel of *Amalek* (you will say) were *fit* for sacrifice; and this was the very conceit which sometime deceived *Saul*. It was so. Nor do I any thing doubt, but that *Saul* upon this conceit might even lawfully have offered to God those reserved spoyls, had not the Lord *in that particular case* given *special charge* to the contrary. And therefore notwithstanding the commandement of *Israel* to destroy Canaanites, Idolaters may be converted and live: So the Temples which have served Idolatry as Instruments, may be sanctified again and continue, albeit, to *Israel* commandement have been given that *they* should destroy all Idolatrous places *in their Land*; and to the good Kings of *Israel* commendation for fulfilling, to the evil for disobeying the same Commandement, sometimes punishment, always sharp and severe reproof hath even from the Lord himself befallen. Thus much it may suffice to have written in defence of those Christian Oratories, the overthrow and ruine whereof is desired, not now by Infidels, Pagans, or Turks, but by a special refined Sect of Christian Believers; pretending themselves exceedingly grieved at our Solemnities in erecting Churches, at the Names which we suffer them to hold, at their form and fashion, at the statelinesse of them and costlinesse, at the opinion which we have of them, and at the manifold superstitious abuses whereunto they have been put.

18. Places of publick resort being thus provided for, our repair thither is especially for mutual conference, and as it were commerce to be had between God and us. Because therefore want(*a*) of the knowledge of God is the cause of all iniquity amongst men, as contrariwise, the ground of all our happinesse, and the seed of whatsoever perfect vertue groweth from us, is a right opinion touching things divine, this kind of knowledge we may justly set down for the first and chiefest thing which God imparteth unto his People, and our duty of receiving this at his merciful hands, for the first of those religious Offices wherewith we publickly honour him on earth. For the instruction therefore of all sorts of men to eternal life, it is necessary, that the sacred and saving truth of God be openly published unto them. Which open publication of *heavenly mysteries*, is by an excellency termed *preaching*. For otherwise there is not any thing *publickly notified*, but we may in that respect, rightly and properly say it is *preached*. So that when the School of God doth use it as *a word of Art*, we are accordingly to understand it with restraint to such special matter as that School is accustomed to publish. We find not in the World any People that have lived altogether without Religion. And yet this duty of Religion, which provideth that publickly all sorts of men may be instructed in the fear of God, is to the Church of God, and hath been always so peculiar, that none of the Heathens, how curious soever in searching out all kinds of outward Ceremonies like to ours, could ever once so much as endeavour to resemble *herein* the Churches care for the endless good of her Children. Ways of teaching there have been sundry always usual in Gods Church. For the first introduction of youth, to the knowledge of God, the Jews even till this day have their Catechisms. With Religion it fareth as with other Sciences, the first delivery of the Elements thereof must, for like consideration, (*b*) be framed according to the weak and slender capacity of young Beginners: unto which manner of teaching Principles in Christianity, the Apostle in the sixth to the

Of publick teaching, or preaching, and the first kind thereof, Catechising.

(*a*) Contraria fortia in quibus homines sibi invicem opponantur secundum exercitia & desideria & opiniones omnia proveniunt ex ignorantia: sicut cæcus ex privatione sui visus vagatur ubique & læditur. Scientia veritatis tollit hominum inimicitiam & odium. Hoc promisit sancta Theologia dicens, Habitabit agnus cum lupo. Et assignat rationem, repleta est terra sapientia Domini. *Moses* Ægpt. in Mor. Hannebuch. lib. 3. cap. 12.

Luc. 8. 39. 12. 3.

Vide Tertul. de præscr. adverſ. hær.

The Jews *Catech.* called *Lecach*, Tob.

(*b*) Incipientibus breviùs ac simpliciùs tradi præcepta magis convenit. Aut enim difficultate institutionis tam numerosæ atque perplexe deterreri solent; aut eo tempore quo præcipuè alenda ingenia atque indulgentia quadam enutrienda sunt, asperiorum rerum tractatu atteruntur. *Fab. proœm. l.* 1. Incipientibus nobis exponere jura populi Romani, ita videntur posse tradi commodissimè, si primo levi ac simplici via, post deinde diligentissima atque exactissima interpretatione singula tradantur. Alioqui si statim ab initio rudem adhuc & infirmum animum studiosi multitudine ac varietate rerum oneraverimus, duorum alterum, aut desertorem studiorum afficiemus, aut cum magno labore, ejus, sæpe etiam cum diffidentia (quæ plerumque juvenes avertit) serius ad id perducemus, ad quod leviore via ductus sine magno labore & sine ulla diffidentia maturius perduci potuisset. *Institut. Imper. l.* 1. *tit* 1.

Hebrews is himſelf underſtood to allude. For this cauſe therefore, as the Decalogue of *Moſes* declareth ſummarily thoſe things which we ought to do; the Prayer of our Lord, whatſoever we ſhould requeſt or deſire: ſo either by the Apoſtles, or at the leaſt-wiſe out of their Writings, we have the ſubſtance of Chriſtian Belief compendiouſly drawn into few and ſhort Articles, to the end that the weakneſs of no mans wit might either hinder *altogether* the knowledge, or excuſe the utter ignorance of needful things. Such as were trained up in theſe Rudiments, and were ſo made fit to be afterward by Baptiſm received into the Church, the Fathers uſually in their Writings do term *Hearers*; as having no farther communion or fellowſhip with the Church, than only this, that they were admitted to hear the Principles of Chriſtian Faith made plain unto them. Catechizing may be in Schools, it may be in private Families; But when we make it a kind of Preaching, we mean always the publick performance thereof in the open hearing of men, becauſe things are preached not in that they are taught, but in that they are publiſhed.

Vide Ruff. in Symb.

Tert. de pœnitent. An alius eſt tinctis Chriſtus? Alius audientibus? Audientes optare intinctionem non præſumere oportet-diens quiſque

Cyprian. Epiſt. 17. l. 3. Audientibus vigilantia veſtra non deſit. Rupert. de divin. offic. lib. 4. cap. 18. Audiens regulam fidei, Catechumenus dicitur. Catechumenus namque Auditor interpretatur.

Of Preaching, by reading publickly the Books of holy Scripture; and concerning ſuppoſed untruths in thoſe Tranſlations Scripture which we allow to be read; as alſo of the choyce which we make in reading.

19. *Moſes* and the Prophets, Chriſt and his Apoſtles, were in their times all Preachers of Gods Truth; ſome by Word, ſome by Writing, ſome by both. This they did partly as faithful *Witneſſes*, making meer *relation* what God himſelf had *revealed* unto them; and partly as careful *Expounders*, Teachers, Perſwaders thereof. The Church in like caſe *Preacheth* ſtill, firſt publiſhing by way of *Teſtimony* or relation, the truth which from them ſhe hath received, even in ſuch ſort as it was received, *written in the ſacred volumes of Scripture*: Secondly, by way of *explication*, diſcovering the myſteries which lye hid therein. The Church as a Witneſs, preacheth his meer revealed Truth, by reading *publickly* the Sacred Scripture. So that a ſecond kind of preaching is the reading of holy Writ. For thus we may the boldlier ſpeak, being ſtrengthened (*a*) with the examples of ſo reverend a Prelate as ſaith, that *Moſes* from the time of antient Generations and Ages long ſince paſt, had amongſt the Cities of the very Gentiles them that preached him, *in that* he was read every Sabbath day. For ſo of neceſſity it muſt be meant, in as much as we know, that the Jews have alwayes had their weekly Readings of the *Law of Moſes*; but that they always had in like manner their weekly *Sermons upon ſome part of the Law of Moſes*, we no where find. Howbeit ſtill we muſt here remember, that the Church; by her publick reading of the Book of God, preacheth only *as a Witneſs*. Now the principal thing required in a Witneſs, is Fidelity. Wherefore as we cannot excuſe that Church, which either through corrupt tranſlations of Scripture, delivereth, inſtead of divine Speeches, any thing repugnant unto that which God ſpeaketh; or, through falſified additions, propoſeth that to the people of God as Scripture, which is in truth no Scripture: So the blame, which in both theſe reſpects hath been laid upon the Church of *England*, is ſurely altogether without cauſe. Touching Tranſlations of Holy Scripture, albeit we may not diſallow of their painful travels herein, who ſtrictly have tyed themſelves to the very Original letter; yet the judgment of the Church, as we ſee by the practiſe of all Nations, *Greeks*, *Latines*, *Perſians*, *Syrians*, *Æthiopians*, *Arabians*, hath been ever, That the fitteſt for publick Audience are ſuch, as following a middle courſe between the rigor of literal Tranſlators, and the liberty of Paraphraſts, do with greateſt ſhortneſs and plainneſs deliver the meaning of the Holy Ghoſt. Which being a labour of ſo great difficulty, the exact performance thereof we may rather wiſh than look for. So that, except between the *words of tranſlation* and the *mind of Scripture* it ſelf, there be *Contradiction*, every little difference ſhould not ſeem an intolerable blemiſh neceſſarily to be ſpunged out. Whereas therefore the Prophet *David* in a certain Pſalm doth ſay concerning *Moſes* and *Aaron*, that they were obedient to the word of God, and in the ſelf-ſame place our allowed Tranſlation ſaith, they *were not* obedient, we are for this cauſe challenged as manifeſt Gain-ſayers of Scripture, even in that which we read for Scripture unto the people. But for as much as words are reſemblances of that which the mind of the Speaker conceiveth, and Conceits are Images repreſenting that which is ſpoken of; it followeth that they who will judge of words, ſhould have recourſe

(*a*) Acts 15. 21.

Pſal. 105. 28.

recourse to the things themselves from whence they rise. In setting down that Miracle, at the sight whereof *Peter* fell down astonished before the feet of Jesus, and cryed, *Depart, Lord, I am a Sinner*, the (*k*) Evangelist St. *Luke* saith, the store of the Fish which they took was such, that the Net they took it in *brake*, and the Ships which they loaded therewith sunk; (*l*) St. *John* recording the like Miracle, saith, That albeit the Fishes in number were so many, yet the Net with so great a weight was *not broken*. Suppose they had written both of one Miracle. Although there be in their Words a manifest shew of jar; yet none, if we look upon the difference of matter, with regard whereunto they might both have spoken even of one Miracle, the very same which they spake of divers, the one intending thereby to signifie that the greatness of the burden exceeded the natural ability of the instruments which they had to bear it; the other, that the weakness thereof was supported by a supernatural and miraculous addition of strength. The Nets, as touching themselves, *brake*, but through the power of God they *held*. Are not the words of the (*a*) Prophet *Micheas* touching *Bethleem*, Thou *Bethleem* the least? and doth not the very (*b*) Evangelist translate these words, *Thou Bethleem not the least?* the one regarding the quantity of the Place, the other the dignity. *Micheas* attributeth unto it smallness, in respect of circuit; *Matthew* greatness, in regard of honor and estimation, by being the native soyle of our Lord and Saviour Christ. Sith therefore Speeches, which gain-say one another, must of necessity be applyed both unto one and the self-same Subject; sith they must also the one affirm, the other deny the self-same thing: what necessity of contradiction can there be between the Letter of the Prophet *David*, and our authorised Translation thereof, if he understanding *Moses* and *Aaron* do say, *They were not disobedient*; we applying our speech to *Pharaoh* and the *Ægyptians*, do say of them, *They were not obedient*? Or (which the matter it self will easily enough likewise suffer) if the *Ægyptians* being meant by both, it be said that *they* in regard of (*c*) their offer to let go the People, when they saw the fearful darkness, *disobeyed not* the Word of the Lord; and yet that they *did not obey* his Word; in as much as the Sheep and Cattel at the self-same time they with-held. Of both Translations, the better I willingly acknowledge that which cometh nearer to the very letter of the Original verity: yet so, that the other may likewise safely enough be read, without any peril at all of gain-saying, as much as the least jot or syllable of God's most sacred and precious Truth. Which Truth, as in this we do not violate, so neither is the same gain-sayed or crost, no not in those very Preambles placed before certain readings, wherein the steps of the Latin Service-Book have been somewhat too nearly followed. As when we say, Christ spake (*d*) *to his Disciples*, That which the Gospel declareth he spake (*e*) *unto the Pharisees*. For doth the Gospel affirm, he spake to the Pharisees *only*? doth it mean that they, and besides them, no man else was at that time spoken unto by our Saviour Christ? If not, then is there in this diversity no contrariety. I suppose it somewhat probable, that St. *John* and St. *Matthew*, which have recorded those Sermons, heard them, and being Hearers, did think themselves as wel respected as the *Pharisees* in that which their Lord and Master taught, concerning the Pastoral care he had over his own Flock, and his offer of Grace made to the whole World; which things are the matter whereof he treateth in those Sermons. Wherefore as yet there is nothing found, wherein we read for the Word of God that which may be condemned as repugnant unto his Word. Furthermore, somewhat they are displeased, in that we follow not the method of Reading, which (*f*) in their judgement is most commendable, the method used in some foreign Churches, where Scriptures are read *before* the time of Divine-Service, and without either *choyce* or *stint appointed* by any *determinate* Order. Nevertheless, till such time as they shall vouchsafe us some just and sufficient reason to the contrary, we must by their patience, if not allowance, retain the (*g*) antient received Custom which we now observe. For with us the reading of the Scripture in the Church is a part of our Church-Liturgy, a special Portion of the Service which we do to God, and not an exercise to spend the time when one doth wait for anothers coming, till the assembly of them which shall afterwards worship him be compleat. Wherefore, as the form of our Publick Service is not voluntary, so neither are the parts thereof left uncertain, but they are all

k Luke 5. 6, 7.

l John 21. 21.

a Matth. 5 2.

b Matth. 2 6.

c Exod. 10. 24

d The Gospel on the second Sunday after Easter, and on the twentieth after Trinity.

e John 10. 11. Matth. 22 1.

f T. C. l. 2. p. 381. Although it be very convenient which is used in some Churches, where before Preaching time the Church assembled hath the Scriptures read, yet neither is this, nor any other Order of bare Publick reading in the Church necessary had.

g Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 22. *c.* 8. Facto silentio, Scripturarum sunt lecta divina solennia. That for several times several pieces of Scripture were read as parts of the Service of the Greek Church the Fathers thereof in their sundry Homilies and other Writings do all testifie the like Order in the Syrian Churches, is clear by the very inscriptions of Chapters throughout their Translation of the New Testament. See the Edition at *Vienna*, *Paris* and *Antwerp*.

all set down in such order, and with such choyce, as hath in the wisdom of the Church seemed best to concur as well with the special occasions, as with the general purpose which we have to glorifie God.

Of Preaching by the Publick reading of other profitable instructions; and concetning Books Apocryphal.

20. Other Publick readings there are of Books and Writings not Canonical, whereby the Church doth also preach, or openly make known, the Doctrine of vertuous conversation; whereupon, besides those things, in regard whereof we are thought to read the Scriptures of God amiss, it is thought amiss, that we read in our Churches any thing at all besides the Scriptures. To exclude the reading of any such profitable instruction, as the Church hath devised for the better understanding of Scripture, or for the easier trayning up of the People in holiness and righteousness of life, they (*a*) plead, that God in the Law would have *nothing* brought into the Temple, neither Besomes, nor Flesh-hooks, nor Trumpets, but those only which were sanctified; that for the expounding of darker places, we *ought* to follow the Jews * Polity, who under *Antiochus*, where they had not the commodity of Sermons, appointed always at their Meetings somewhat out of the Prophets to be read together with the Law, and so by the one made the other plainer to be understood; That before and after our Saviours comming they neither read *Onkelos* nor *Jonathan*'s Paraphrase, though having both, but contented themselves (*b*) with the reading only of Scriptures; that if in the Primitive Church there had been any thing read besides the Monuments of the Prophets and Apostles, (*c*) *Justin Martyr* and *Origen*, who mention these, would have spoken of the other likewise; that (*d*) the most antient and best Councels forbid any thing to be read in Churches, saving Canonical Scripture onely; that when (*e*) other things were afterwards permitted (*f*) fault was found with it, it succeeded but ill, the Bible it self was thereby in time quite and clean thrust out. Which Arguments, if they be only brought in token of the Authors good-will and meaning towards the cause which they would set forward, must accordingly be accepted of by them, who already are perswaded the same way. But if their drift and purpose be to perswade others, it would be demanded, by what Rule the legal *hallowing* of Besomes and Flesh-hooks must needs exclude all other readings in the Church save Scripture. Things sanctified were thereby in such sort appropriated unto God, as that they might never afterwards again be made common. For which cause, the Lord, to sign and mark them as his own, (*g*) appointed oyle of holy oyntment, the like whereunto it was not lawful to make for ordinary and daily uses. Thus the (*h*) anoynting of *Aaron* and his Sons tyed them to the Office of the Priest-hood for ever; the anoynting not of those Silver Trumpets (which (*i*) *Moses* as well for Secular as Sacred uses was commanded to make, not to sanctifie) but the Unction of the (*k*) Tabernacle, the Table, the Laver, the Altar of God, with all the instruments appertaining thereunto, this made them for ever holy unto him; in whose service they were imployed. But what of this? Doth it hereupon follow, that all things now in the Church, from the greatest *to the least*, are unholy, which the Lord hath not himself precisely instituted? for so (*l*) those Rudiments, they say, do import. Then is there nothing holy, which the Church by her Authority hath appointed; and consequently all positive Ordinances that ever were made by Eccleſiastical Power, touching Spiritual affairs, are prophane, they are unholy. I would not wish them to undertake a Work so desperate as to prove, that for the Peoples instruction no kinde of Reading is good, but only that which the Jews devised under *Antiochus*, although, even that be also mistaken. For, according to (*m*) *Elias* the Levite (out of whom it doth seem borrowed) the thing which *Antiochus* forbad, was the Publick reading of the Law, and not *Sermons* upon the Law. Neither did the Jews read a Portion of the Prophets together with the Law, to serve for an Interpretation thereof, because Sermons were not permitted them; But, instead of the Law, which they might not read openly, they read of the Prophets that, which in likeness of matter came neareſt to each Section of their Law. Whereupon, when afterwards the liberty of reading the Law (*n*) was restored, the self-same Custom

a T. C. l. 1. p. 196. Neither the Homiles nor the Apocrypha are at all to be read in the Church. Wherein, first, It is good to consider the Order which the Lord kept with his People in times past, when he commanded, *Exod.* 30. 29. that no Vessel nor no instrument, either Besome or Flesh hook, or Pan, should once come into the Temple, but those only which were sanctified and set apart for that use. And in the Book of *Numbers* he will have no other Trumpets blown to call the People together, but those only which were set apart for that purpose. *Numb.* 10. 2.

* T. C. l. 1 p. 197. Besides this, the Polity of the Church of God is times past is to be followed, &c.

b Acts 13. 15. Acts 15. 21.

c Justin. Apol. 2. Origen. Hom. 1. super Exod. & in Judic.

d Concil. Laod. c. 59.

e Concil. Vasens. 2.

f Concil. Colon. par. 2.

g Ex. 30. 25. 32.

h Exod. 40. 15

i Numb. 10. 2.

k Exod. 27. 3. & 30. 26, 27, 28.

l T. C. l. 1. p. 197. The Lord would by these Rudiments and Pædagogies teach, that he would have nothing brought into the Church but that which he had appointed.

m Elias Thesh. in verbo Patar.

n Acts 15. 21.

Cuſtom (*o*) as touching the Prophets did continue ſtill. If neither the Jews have uſed publickly to read their Paraphraſts, nor (*p*) the Primitive Church for a long time any other Writings than Scripture, except the Cauſe of their not doing it, were ſome Law of God, or Reaſon forbidding them to do that which we do, why ſhould the latter Ages of the Church be deprived of the Liberty the former had? Are we bound while the World ſtandeth, to put nothing in practice, but onely that which was at the very firſt? Concerning the Council of *Laodicea*, as it forbiddeth the reading of thoſe things which are not Canonical, ſo it maketh ſome things not Canonical which are. Their Judgment in this we may not, and in that we need not follow. We have by thus many years experience found, that exceeding great good, not incumbred with any notable inconvenience, hath grown by the Cuſtome which we now obſerve. As for the harm whereof judicious men have complained in former times; it came not of this, that other things were read beſides the Scripture, but that ſo evil choyce was made. With us there is never any time beſtowed in Divine Service, without the reading of a great part of the holy Scripture, which we acount a thing moſt neceſſary. We dare not admit any ſuch Form of Liturgy, as either appointeth no Scripture at all, or very little to be read in the Church. And therefore the thruſting of the Bible out of the Houſe of God, is rather there to be feared, where men eſteem it a matter [a] ſo indifferent, whether the ſame be by ſolemn appointment read publickly, or not read, the bare Text excepted, which the Preacher haply chuſeth out to expound. But let us here conſider what the Practiſe of our Fathers before us hath been, and how far-forth the ſame may be followed. We find, that in antient times there was publickly read firſt the [b] Scripture, as namely, ſomething out of the Books of the [c] Prophets of God, which were of old; ſomething out of [d] the Apoſtles Writings; and laſtly out of the holy [e] Evangeliſts, ſome things which touched the Perſon of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt himſelf. The cauſe of their reading firſt the old Teſtament, then the New, and always ſomewhat out of both, is moſt likely to have been that which *Juſtin Martyr* and Saint *Auguſt.* obſerve in comparing the two Teſtaments. *The Apoſtles* (ſaith the one) *hath taught us as themſelves did learn, firſt the Precepts of the Law, and then the Goſpels. For what elſe is the Law, but the Goſpel foreſhewed? What other the Goſpel, than the Law fulfilled?* In like ſort the other, *What the old Teſtament hath, the very ſame the New containeth; but that which lyeth there as under a ſhadow, is here brought forth into the open Sun. Things there prefigured, are here performed.* Again, *In the Old Teſtament there is a cloſe comprehenſion of the New; in the New, an open diſcovery of the Old.* To be ſhort, the method of their Publick readings either purpoſely did tend, or at the leaſt-wiſe doth fitly ſerve, *That from ſmaller things the mindes of the Hearers may go forward to the Knowledge of greater, and by degrees climbe up from the loweſt to the higheſt things.* Now, beſides the Scripture, the Books which they called *Eccleſiaſtical*, were thought not unworthy ſometime to be brought into publick audience, and with that Name they intituled the Books which we term *Apocryphal.* Under the ſelf-ſame Name they alſo compriſed certain, no otherwiſe annexed unto the New, than the former unto the Old Teſtament, as a Book of *Hermes*, Epiſtles of *Clement*, and the like. According therefore to the Phraſe of Antiquity, theſe we may term the New, and the other the Old Eccleſiaſtical Books or Writings. For we being directed by a Sentence (I ſuppoſe) of Saint *Jerom*, who ſaith, That *All Writings not Canonical are Apocryphal*, uſe not now the Title *Apocryphal*, as the reſt of the Fathers ordinarily have done, whoſe Cuſtom is ſo to name for the moſt

[o] Acts 13. 15

[p] *T. C.* l. 1. 197. This Practice continued ſtill in the Churches of God after the Apoſtles times, as may appear by the ſecond Apology of *Juſtin Martyr*. *Idem*, *p.* 198. It was decreed in the Councel of *Laodicea*, that nothing ſhould be read in the Church but the Canonical Books of the Old and New Teſtament. Afterwards, as corruptions grew in the Church, the reading of Homilies and of Martyrs lives was permitted. But, beſides the evil ſucceſs thereof, that Uſe and Cuſtom was controlled, as may appear by the Councel of *Collen*, albeit otherwiſe Popiſh. The bringing in of Homilies and Martyrs lives, hath thruſt the Bible clean out of the Church, or into a Corner.

The Apocalyps.

[a] *T. C.* l. 2. p. 381. It is untrue, that *ſimple reading* is neceſſary in the Church. A number of Churches which have no ſuch Order of *ſimple reading*, cannot be in this point charged with the breach of God's Commandment, which they might be, if *ſimple reading* were *neceſſary*. [By *ſimple reading* he meaneth the Cuſtom of bare Reading more than the Preacher at the ſame time expoundeth unto the People.] b Coimus ad divinarum literarum commemorationem *Tertul.* Apol. p. 692. c Judaicarum Hiſtoriarum libri traditi ſunt ab Apoſtolis legendi in Eccleſiis. *Orig.* in Joſ. Hom. 15. d Πολλῶν κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγρους μιμούμενων ὅπερ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν Ἀποστόλων, ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν Προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκεται. *Juſtin.* Apol. 2. p. 162. Factum eſt ut iſta die Dominica, Prophetica lectione jam lecta, ante altare adſtante, qui lectionem S. *Pauli* proferret, beatiſſimus Antiſtes Ambroſius, *&c.* Sulpit. Sever. l. 3. de vita S. *Mart.* e Vide Concil. Vaſ. 2. habitum an. Dom. 444. tom. Concil. 2. p. 19. Item Synod. Laod. c. 16. Cypr. l. 2. epiſt. 5. & l. 4. epiſt. 5. Amb. l. 1. Offic. c. 8. & epiſt. 75. & lib. de Helia atque jejunio, cap. 20.

Juſt. quæſt. 101

Auguſt. quæſt. 33. in Num.

Walf. Strab. de rebus Eccleſiaſt. cap. 22.

Hieron. in Prolog. Galeat.

part only, ſuch as might not publickly be read or divulged. *Ruffinus* therefore having rehearſed the ſelf-ſame Books of Canonical Scripture, which with us are held to be alone Canonical, addeth immediately, by way of caution, *We muſt know that other Books there are alſo, which our Fore-fathers have uſed to name not Canonical, but Eccleſiaſtical Books, as the Book of* Wiſdom, Eccleſiaſticus, Toby, Judith, *the* Macchabees, *in the Old Teſtament; in the New, the Book of* Hermes, *and ſuch others: All which Books and Writings they willed to be read in Churches, but not to be alleadged, as if their authority did binde us to build upon them our Faith. Other Writings they named Apocryphal, which they would not have read in Churches. Theſe things delivered unto us from the Fathers, we have in this place thought good to ſet down.* So far *Ruffinus*. He which conſidereth notwithſtanding what ſtore of falſe and forged Writings, dangerous unto Chriſtian Belief, and yet bearing [a] glorious Inſcriptions, began ſoon upon the Apoſtles times to be admitted into the Church, and to be honoured as if they had been indeed Apoſtolick, ſhall eaſily perceive what cauſe the Provincial Synod of [b] *Laodicea* might have as then to prevent, eſpecially the danger of Books made newly Eccleſiaſtical, and, for fear of the fraud of Hereticks, to provide, that ſuch Publick readings might be altogether taken out of Canonical Scripture. Which Ordinance, reſpecting but that abuſe which grew through the intermingling of Leſſons Human with Sacred at ſuch time as the one both affected the Credit, and uſurped the Name of the other (as by the Canon of [c] a later Council providing remedy for the ſelf-ſame Evil, and yet allowing the old Eccleſiaſtical Books to be read, it doth more plainly and clearly appear) neither can be conſtrued, nor ſhould be urged utterly to prejudice our uſe of thoſe old Eccleſiaſtical Writings; much leſs of Homilies, which were a third kinde of Readings uſual in former times, a moſt commendable Inſtitution, as well then [d] to ſupply the caſual, as now the neceſſary defect of Sermons.

In the heat of general Perſecution whereunto Chriſtian Belief was ſubject, upon the firſt promulgation thereof throughout the World, it much confirmed the courage and conſtancy of weaker mindes, when publick relation was made unto them, after what manner God had been glorified through the ſufferings of Martyrs, famous amongſt them for Holineſs during life, and at the time of their death admirable in all mens eyes, through miraculous evidence of Grace divine aſſiſting them from above. For which cauſe the Vertues of ſome being thought expedient to be annually had in remembrance above the reſt, this brought in [e] a fouth kinde of Publick Reading, whereby the lives of ſuch Saints and Martyrs had at the time of their yearly Memorials, ſolemn recognition in the Church of God. The fond imitation of which laudible Cuſtom being in later Ages reſumed, where there was neither the like cauſe to do as the Fathers before had done; nor any Care, Conſcience, or Wit, in ſuch as undertook to perform that Work, ſome brainleſs men have by great labour and travel brought to paſs, that the Church is now aſhamed of nothing more than of Saints. If therefore Pope [f] *Gelaſius* did, ſo long ſithence, ſee thoſe defects of Judgment even then, for which the reading of the Acts of Martyrs ſhould be, and was at that time, forborn in the Church of *Rome*; we are not to marvail, that afterwards Legends being grown in a manner to be nothing elſe but heaps of frivolous and ſcandalous vanities, they have been even with diſdain thrown out, the [g] very Neſts which bred them abhorring them. We are not therefore to except only Scripture, and to make confuſedly all the reſidue of one ſute, as if they, who aboliſh Legends could not without incongruity retain in the Church either Homilies, or thoſe old Eccleſiaſtical Books: Which Books in caſe my ſelf did think, as ſome others do, ſafer and better to be left publickly unread; nevertheleſs as in other things of like nature, even ſo in this, [h] my private Judgement I ſhould be loath to oppoſe againſt the force of their Reverend Authority, who rather conſidering the Divine excellency of ſome things in all, and of all things in certain of thoſe *Apocrypha* which we publickly read, have thought it better to let them ſtand as a liſt or marginal border unto the Old Teſtament, and, though with Divine, yet as Human compoſitions, to grant at the leaſt unto certain of them publick audience in the Houſe of God. For in as much as the due eſtimation of heavenly Truth dependeth wholly upon the known and

Ruffinus in Symbol. Apoſt. apud Cypr.

a Vide Gelaſ. decret. tom. Concil. 2. p. 462.

b Circa An. Dom. 366.

c Concil. Carthag. 3. c. 47. Præter Scripturas Canonicas nihil in Eccleſiis legatur ſub nomine Divinarum ſcripturarum.

Circa An. Dom. 401.

d Concil. Va ſen. 2. habitum An. Dom. 444. tom. Concil. p. 19. Si Presbyter, aliqua infirmitate prohibente, per ſeipſum non potuerit prædicare; Sanctorum Patrum Homiliæ à Diaconibus recitentur.

e Concil. Carthag. 3. Can. 13. & Greg. Turon de gloria mart. ca. 86. & Hadria epiſt. ad Carol. Magn.

f Gelaſ. circa An. Do. 492. tom. Concil. p. 461.

g Concil. Colon. celebrat. An. Dom. 1536 part. 2. cap. 6. Melch. Can. locor. theol. lib. 11. Viv. de trad. diſc. lib. 5.

h In errorum barathrum fac liter ruunt qui conceptus proprios patrum definitionibus anteponunt, &c. unde Relig. do. in Extra.

and approved authority of those famous Oracles of God, it greatly behoveth the Church to have always most especial care, lest through confused mixture at any time Human usurp the room and Title of Divine Writings. Wherefore albeit for the Peoples more plain instruction (as the antient use hath been) we read in our Churches certain Books, besides the Scripture, yet as the Scripture we read them not. All men know our professed opinion touching the difference whereby we sever them from the Scripture. And if any where it be suspected that some one or other will haply mistake a thing so manifest in every man's eye, there is no lett, but that as often as those Books are read, and need so requireth, the style of their difference may expresly be mentioned, to barr even all possiblity of Error. It being then known, that we hold not the *Apocrypha* for sacred (as we do the holy Scripture) but for human compositions, the subject whereof are sundry Divine matters; let there be reason shewed, why to read any part of them publickly, it should be unlawful or hurtful unto the Church of God. I hear it said, that many things in them are very frivolous, and unworthy of publick audience; yea, many contrary, *plainly contrary, to the holy Scripture.* Which hitherto is neither sufficiently proved by him who saith it, and, if the proofs thereof were strong, yet the very allegation it self is weak. Let us therefore suppose (for I will not demand to what purpose it is, that against our Custom of reading Books not Canonical, they bring exceptions of matter in those Books which we never use to read) suppose (I say) that what faults soever they have observed throughout the passages of all those Books, the same in every respect were such as neither could be construed, nor ought to be censured otherwise, than even as themselves pretend: Yet as men, through too much haste, oftentimes forget the Errand whereabout they should go; so here it appeareth, that an eager desire to rake together whatsoever might prejudice or any way hinder the credit of Apocryphal Books, hath caused the Collector's Pen so to run as it were on Wheels, that the minde which should guide it, had no leisure to think, whether that which might haply serve to with-hold from giving them the Authority which belongeth unto Sacred Scripture, and to cut them off from the Canon, would as effectually serve to shut them altogether out of the Church, and to withdraw from granting unto them that publick use, wherein they are only held as profitable for instruction. Is it not acknowledged, that those Books are Holy, that they are Ecclesiastical and Sacred, that to term them Divine, as being for their excellency next unto them which are properly so termed, is no way to honour them above desert; yea, even that the whole Church of Christ, as well at the first as sithence hath most worthily approved their fitness for the publick informations of Life and manners: Is not thus much, I say, acknowledged, and that by them, who notwithstanding receive not the same for any part of Canonical Scripture, by them who deny not but that they are Faulty, by them who are ready enough to give instances, wherein they seem to contain matter scarce agreeable with holy Scripture? So little doth such their supposed Faultiness in moderate mens Judgments inforce the removal of them out of the House of God, that still they are judged to retain worthily those very Titles of Commendation; than which, there cannot greater be given to Writings, the Authors whereof are Men. As in truth, if the Scripture it self, ascribing to the Persons of Men Righteousness, in regard of their manifold vertues, may not rightly be construed, as though it did thereby clear them, and make them quite free from all faults, no reason we should judge it absurd to commend their Writings as Reverend, Holy, and Sound, wherein there are so many singular Perfections, only for that the exquisite Wits of some few peradventure are able dispersedly here and there to finde now a word and then a sentence, which may be more probably suspected than easily cleared of Error by us which have but conjectural knowledge of their meaning. Against immodest Invectives therefore whereby they are charged as being fraught with [a] *outragious Lyes*, we doubt not but their more allowable censure will prevail, who without so passionate terms of disgrace, do note a difference great enough between Apocryphal and other Writings, a difference such as [b] *Josephus* and *Epiphanius* observe: the one declaring, that amongst the Jews, Books written after the days of *Artaxerxes*, were not of equal credit with them which had gone before, in as much as the Jews sithence that time had not the like exact succession of Prophets; the [c] other acknowledging

Hieron. præf. ad Heros. Sal. m. Aug. de præd. Sanct. l. 1. c. 14. Præfat. Gloss ord. & Lyr. ad prol. Hieron. in Tob.

T. C. l. 2. p. 400, 401.

Harm. Confes. sect. 1. Bel con. art. 5. Lubert. de princip. Christ. dogm. l. 1. c. 5.

a The Libel of Metaphys. Schoolp. art. 3.

b Joseph. cont. App. lib. 1.

c Epiph. in Ancyror. Χρήσιμοι μὲν εἰσι καὶ ἀφέλιμοι, οὐκ εἰς ἀρχὴν ῥητῶν ἐκ ἀνατάσσουσι.

acknowledging that they are profitable, although denying them to be Divine, in such construction and sense as the Scripture it self is so termed. With what intent they were first published, those words of the Nephew of Jesus do plainly enough signifie, *After that my Grand-father*, Jesus, *had given himself to the reading of the Law and the Prophets, and other Books of our Fathers, and had gotten therein sufficient judgment, he purposed also to write something pertaining to Learning and Wisdom, to the intent, that they which were desirous to learn, and would give themselves to these things, might profit much more in living according to the Law.* Their end in writing, and ours in reading them, is the same. The Books of *Judith*, *Toby*, *Baruch*, *Wisdome*, and *Ecclesiasticus* we read, as serving most unto that end. The rest we leave unto men in private. Neither can it be reasonably thought, because upon certain solemn occasions, some Lessons are chosen out of those Books, and of Scripture it self some Chapters not appointed to be read at all, that we thereby do offer disgrace to the Word of *God*, or lift up the Writings of men above it. For in such choice we do not think, but that Fitness of Speech may be more respected than Worthyness. If in that which we use to read, there happen by the way any Clause, Sentence, or Speech that soundeth towards Error; should the mixture of a little dross constrain the Church to deprive herself of so much Gold, rather than learn how by Art and Judgment to make separation of the one from the other? To this effect very fitly, from the counsel that St. *Jerom* giveth *Læta*, of taking heed how she read the *Apocrypha*, as also by the help of other learned men's Judgments delivered in like case, we may take direction. But surely, the Arguments that should binde us not to read them, or any part of them publickly at all, must be stronger than as yet we have heard any.

Præf. ad lib. Eccles.

Of Preaching by Sermons; and whether Sermons be the only ordinary way of Teaching, whereby men are brought to the saving knowledge of Gods Truth.

21. We marvel the less that our reading of Books not Canonical, is so much impugned, when so little is attributed unto the reading of Canonical Scripture it self; that now it hath grown to be a question, whether the Word of God be any ordinary mean to save the Souls of men, in that it is either privately studied, or publickly read, and so made known; or else only as the same is preached, that is to say, *explained by a lively voyce*, and applyed to the People's use, as the *Speaker in his Wisdom thinketh meet.* For this alone is it which they use to call *Preaching.* The publick reading of the *Apocrypha* they condemn altogether, as a thing effectual unto Evil; the bare reading in like sort of whatsoever, yea even of Scriptures themselves, they mislike, as a thing uneffectual to do that good, which we are perswaded may grow by it. Our desire is in this present Controversie, as in the rest, not to be carried up and down with the waves of uncertain Arguments, but rather positively to lead on the mindes of the simpler sort by plain and easie degrees, till the very nature of the thing it self do make manifest what is Truth. First therefore, because whatsoever is spoken concerning the efficacy or necessity of God's Word, the same they tye and restrain only unto Sermons, howbeit not Sermons read neither (for such they also abhor in the Church) but Sermons without Book, Sermons which spend their life in their birth, and may have publick audience but once: For this cause, to avoid ambiguities, wherewith they often intangle themselves, not marking what doth agree to the Word of God in it self, and what in regard of outward accidents which may befall it, we are to know that the Word of God is his Heavenly Truth, touching matters of eternal life revealed and uttered unto Men, unto Prophets and Apostles by immediate Divine Inspiration, from them to us by their Books and Writings. We therefore have no Word of God but the Scripture. Apostolick Sermons were, unto such as heard them, his Word, even as properly as to us their Writings are. Howbeit not so our own Sermons, the exposition which our discourse of Wit doth gather and minister out of the Word of God. For which cause, in this present question we are, when we name the Word of God, always to mean the Scripture only. The end of the Word of God is to save, and therefore we term it the Word of Life. The way for all men to be saved, is by the knowledge of that Truth which the Word hath taught. And sith Eternal life is a thing of it self communicable unto all, it behooved that the Word of God, the necessary mean thereunto, be so likewise. Wherefore the Word of Life hath been always a Treasure, though precious, yet easie, as well to attain, as to finde; lest any man de-

sirous

sirous of life should perish through the difficulty of the way. To this end the Word of God no otherwise serveth, than only in the nature of a Doctrinal Instrument. It saveth, because it maketh *wise unto Salvation.* Wherefore the ignorant it saveth not; they which live by the Word, must know it. And being it self the Instrument which God hath purposely framed, thereby to work the knowledge of Salvation in the hearts of men, what cause is there wherefore it should not of it self be acknowledged a most apt and a likely mean, to leave an *apprehension* of things Divine in our understanding, and in the minde an *assent* thereunto? For touching the one, sith God, who knoweth and discloseth best the rich tresures of his own Wisdom, hath, by delivering his Word, made choice of the Scriptures, as the most effectual means, whereby those treasures might be imparted unto the World, it followeth, That to man's understanding the Scripture must needs be even of it self, intended as a full and perfect discovery, sufficient to imprint in us the lively Character of all things necessarily required for the attainment of Eternal Life. And concerning our assent to the Mysteries of Heavenly truth, seeing that the Word of God, for the Author's sake, hath credit with all that confess it (as we all do) to be his Word, every Proposition of holy Scripture, every Sentence being to us a Principle; if the Principles of all kindes of Knowledge else have that vertue in themselves, whereby they are able to procure our Assent unto such Conclusions, as the industry of right Discourse doth gather from them; we have no reason to think the Principles of that Truth, which tendeth unto man's everlasting happiness, less forcible than any other, when we know, that, of all other, they are for their certainty the most infallible. But as every thing of price, so this doth require travel. We bring not the knowledge of God with us into the World. And the less our own opportunity or ability is that way, the more we need the help of other men's Judgments, to be our direction herein. Nor doth any man ever believe, into whom the doctrin of Belief is not instilled by instruction, some way received at the first from others. Wherein whatsoever fit means there are to notifie the Mysteries of the Word of God, whether Publickly (which we call *Preaching*) or in Private, howsoever, the Word by *every such mean* even *ordinarily* doth save, and not only by being delivered unto men in Sermons. *Sermons* are not *the only Preaching* which doth save Souls. For, concerning the use and sense of this word *Preaching*, which they shut up in so close a Prison, although more than enough have already been spoken, to redeem the liberty thereof; yet because they insist so much, and so proudly insult thereon, we must a little inure their Ears with hearing, how others whom they more regard, are in this Case accustomed to use the self-same language with us, whose manner of speech they deride. (*a*) *Justin Martyr* doubteth not to tell the Grecians, That even in certain of their *Writings* the very Judgment to come is preached; nor the (*b*) Council of *Vaus* to insinuate, that Presbyters, absent through infirmity from their Churches, might be said to preach by those Deputies, who in their stead did but read *Homilies*; nor the (*c*) Council of *Toledo*, to call the usual Publick reading of the *Gospels* in the Church, Preaching; nor (*d*) others, long before these our days to write, that by him who but readeth a *Lesson* in the Solemn Assembly as part of Divine Service, the very Office of Preaching is so far-forth executed. Such kind of speeches were then familiar, those Phrases seemed not to them absurd, they would have marvelled to hear the (*e*) Out-cryes which we do, because we think, that the Apostles *in writing*, and others *in reading* to the Church those Books which the Apostles wrote, are neither untruly nor unfitly said to *preach*. For although mens *Tongues* and their *Pens* differ, yet to one and the self-same general, if not particular *effect*, they may both serve. It is no good Argument, St. *Paul* could not *write with his Tongue*, therefore neither could he *preach with his Pen*. For Preaching is a general end whereunto Writing and Speaking do both serve. Men speak not with the Instruments of Writing, neither write with the Instruments of Speech; and yet things *recorded* with the one, and *uttered* with the other, may be (*f*) *preached* well enough with both. By their Patience therefore be it spoken, the Apostles *preached* as well when they *wrote* as when they *spake* the Gospel of Christ; and our usual *Publick reading* of the Word of God for the Peoples instruction, *is Preaching*. Nor about words would we ever contend, were not their purpose in so restraining the same, injurious to God's most Sacred Word and Spirit. It is on both sides confest, That the Word of God outwardly administred (his (*g*) Spirit inwardly concurring therewith) converteth, edifieth, and saveth Souls. Now whereas the

a Paræner. ad Gent. p. 17.
b Concil. Vasir. 2. c. 2.
c Concil. Tol. 4 cap. 11.
d Rupert. de Divin. Offic. l. 1. c. 12, 13. Isid. de Eccles. Offic. l. 1. c. 10.
e The Libel of *School. part.* 11 *T. C.* lib. 2. pag. 388. Saint *Paul's* Writing is no more Preaching, than his Pen or his Hand is his Tongue: seeing they cannot be the same, which cannot be made by the same Instruments.
f Evangelizo manu & scriptione. Rainol. de Rom. Eccles. Idolol. præf. ad Co. Essex.
g John 6 45. Mat. 16. 17. 2 Cor. 4. 6. 1 Cor. 12. 3. Acts 16. 14.

the external Administration of his Word is as well by reading barely the Scripture, as by explaining the same when Sermons thereon be made; in the one, they deny That the Finger of God hath *ordinarily* certain *principal operations*, which we most stedfastly hold and believe that it hath in both.

What they attribute to Sermons only, and what we to Reading also.

22. So worthy a part of Divine Service we should greatly wrong, if we did not esteem Preaching as the blessed Ordinance of God, Sermons as Keyes to the Kingdom of Heaven, as Wings to the Soul, as Spurrs to the good Affections of Man, unto the Sound and Healthy as Food, as Physick unto diseased Mindes. Wherefore how highly soever it may please them with words of Truth to extoll Sermons, they shall not herein offend us. We seek not to derogate from any thing which they can justly esteem, but our desire is to uphold the just estimation of that, from which it seemeth unto us they derogate more than becometh them. That which offendeth us, is, first, the great disgrace which they offer unto our Custom of bare reading the Word of God, and to his gracious Spirit, the Principal vertue whereof thereby manifesting it self, for the endless good of mens Souls, even the Vertue which it hath to *convert*, to *edifie*, to *save* Souls; this they mightily strive to obscure: and, Secondly, The shifts wherewith they maintain their opinion of Sermons, whereunto, while they labour to appropriate the Saving power of the Holy Ghost, they separate from all apparent hope of Life and Salvation, thousands whom the goodness of Almighty God doth not exclude. Touching therefore the use of Scripture even in that it is openly read, and the inestimable good which the Church of God, by that very mean, hath reaped; there was, we may very well think, some cause which moved the Apostle Saint *Paul* to require, that those things which any one Churches affairs gave particular occasion to write, might, for the Instruction of all, be published, and that by *reading*. 1. When the very having of the Books of God was a matter of no small charge and difficulty, in as much as they could not be had otherwise than only in written Copies, it was the necessity not of Preaching things agreeable with the Word, but of reading the Word it self at large to the People, which caused Churches throughout the World to have publick care, that the sacred Oracles of God being procured by Common charge, might with great sedulity be kept both intire and sincere. If then we admire the providence of God in the same continuance of Scripture, notwithstanding the violent endeavours of Infidels to abolish, and the fraudulence of Hereticks always to deprave the same, shall we set light by that Custom of Reading, from whence so precious a benefit hath grown? 2. The Voyce and Testimony of the Church acknowledging Scripture to be the Law of the Living God, is for the truth and certainty thereof no mean Evidence. For if with Reason we may presume upon things which a few mens depositions do testifie, suppose we that the mindes of men are not both at their first access to the School of Christ exceedingly moved, yea and for ever afterwards also confirmed much, when they consider the main consent of all the Churches in the whole World witnessing the Sacred Authority of Scriptures, ever sithence the first publication thereof, even till this present day and hour? And that they all have always so testified, I see not how we should possibly wish a proof more palpable, than this manifest received, and every where continued Custom of Reading them publickly as the Scriptures. The Reading therefore of the Word of God, as the use hath ever been, in open Audience, is the plainest evidence we have of the Churches *assent* and *acknowledgement* that it is his Word. 3. A further commodity this Custom hath, which is, to furnish the very *simplest* and *rudest sort* with such infallible *Axioms* and *Precepts* of Sacred Truth, delivered even in the *very letter* of the Law of God, as may serve them for Rules whereby to judge the *better all other Doctrins* and *Instructions* which they *hear*. For which end and purpose, I see not how the Scripture could be possibly made familiar unto all, unless far more should be read in the Peoples hearing, than by a Sermon can be opened. For whereas in a manner the whole Book of God is by reading every year published, a small part thereof, in comparison of the whole, may hold very well the readiest Interpreter of Scripture occupied many years. 4. Besides, wherefore should any man think, but that Reading it self is one of the ordinary means, whereby it pleaseth God of his gracious goodness to instill that Celestial Verity, which being *but so* received is nevertheless effectual to *save Souls*? Thus much therefore we ascribe to the Reading

1 Thes. 5. 27. Colos. 4. 16.

John 5. 39. Isa. 8. 20.

of

of the Word of God as the manner is in our Churches. And because it were odious, if they on their part should altogether despise the same, they yield that Reading may set forward, but not begin the work of Salvation; That [a] Faith may be nourished therewith, but not bred; That [b] herein mens attention to the Scriptures, and their speculation of the Creatures of God have like efficacy, both being of power to augment, but neither to effect Belief without Sermons; That if [c] any believe by Reading alone, we are to account it a miracle, an extraordinary work of God. Wherein that which they grant, we gladly accept at their hands, and wish that patiently they would examine how little cause they have to deny that which as yet they grant not. The Scripture witnesseth, that when the Book of the Law of God had been sometime missing, and was after found; the King, which heard it but only read, tare his Cloaths, and with tears confessed, *Great is the wrath of the Lord upon us, because our Fathers have not kept his Word, to do after all things which are written in this Book.* This doth argue, that by bare reading (for of Sermons at that time there is no mention) true Repentance may be wrought in the hearts of such as fear God, and yet incurr his displeasure, the deserved effect whereof is Eternal death. So that their Repentance (although it be not their first entrance) is notwithstanding the first step of their re-entrance into Life, and may be in them wrought by the Word, only read unto them. Besides, it seemeth that God would have no man stand in doubt, but that the reading of Scripture is effectual, as well to lay even the first foundation, as to adde degrees of farther perfection in the fear of God; And therefore the Law saith, *Thou shalt read this Law before all* Israel, *that Men, Women, and Children may hear, yea, even that their Children, which as yet have not known it, may hear it, and by hearing it so read, may learn to fear the Lord.* Our Lord and Saviour was himself of opinion, That they which would not be drawn to amendment of Life by the Testimony which *Moses* and the Prophets have given, concerning the miseries that follow Sinners after death, were not likely to be perswaded by other means, although God from the very Dead should have raised them up Preachers. Many hear the Books of God, and believe them not. Howbeit, their unbelief in that case we may not impute unto any weakness or insufficiency in the mean which is used towards them, but to the wilful bent of their obstinate hearts against it. With mindes obdurate nothing prevaileth. As well they that preach, as they that read unto such, shall still have cause to complain with the Prophets which were of old, *Who will give credit unto our Teaching?* But with whom ordinary means will prevail, surely the power of the Word of God, even without the help of Interpreters in God's Church, worketh mightily, not unto their confirmation alone which are converted, but also to their conversion which are not. It shall not boot them who derogate from reading, to excuse it, when they see no other remedy, as if their intent were only to deny, that Aliens and Strangers from the Family of God are won, or that Belief doth use to be wrought at the first in them, without Sermons. For they know it is our Custom of simple Reading, not for conversion of Infidels estranged from the House of God, but for instruction of Men baptised, bred and brought up in the bosom of the Church, which they despise as a thing uneffectual to save such Souls. In such they imagine that God hath no ordinary mean to work Faith without Sermons. The reason, why no man can attain Belief by the bare contemplation of Heaven and Earth, is, for that they neither are sufficient to give us as much as the least spark of Light concerning the very principal Mysteries of our Faith; and whatsoever we may learn by them, the same we can only attain to know, according to the manner of natural Sciences, which meer discourse of Wit and Reason findeth out; whereas the things which we properly believe, be only such, as are received upon the credit of Divine Testimony. Seeing therefore, that he which considereth the Creatures of God, findeth therein both these defects, and neither the one nor the other in Scriptures, because he that readeth unto us the Scriptures, delivereth all the Mysteries of Faith, and not any thing amongst them all more than the mouth of the Lord doth warrant: It followeth in those two respects, that our consideration of Creatures, and attention unto Scriptures are not in themselves, and without Sermons, things of like disability to breed or beget Faith. Small cause also there is, why any man should great-

[a] *T. C.* l. 2. p. 375, 377, 395.
[b] Pag. 378.
[c] Pag. 383.
2 Chro. 34. 18
2 Chro. 34. 3.
Deut. 31. 13.
Luke 16. 29.

ly wonder as at an extraordinary work, if, without Sermons, Reading be found to effect thus much. For I would know by some special instance, what one Article of Christian Faith, or what duty required necessarily unto all mens Salvation there is, which the very reading of the Word of God is not apt to notifie. Effects are miraculous and strange, when they grow by unlikely means. But, did we ever hear it accounted for a Wonder, that he which doth read, should believe and live according to the will of Almighty God? Reading doth convey to the Minde that Truth, without addition or diminution, which Scripture hath derived from the Holy Ghost. And the end of all Scripture is the same which Saint *John* proposeth in the writing of that most Divine Gospel, namely *Faith*, and through Faith Salvation. Yea, all Scripture is to this effect in it self available, as they which wrote it were perswaded; unless we suppose, that the Evangelists, or others, in speaking of their own intent to instruct and to save by writing, had a secret Conceit which they never opened to any, a Conceit that no man in the World should ever be that way the better for any Sentence by them written, till such time as the same might chance to be preached upon, or alledged at the least in a Sermon. Otherwise, if he which writeth, doth that which is forceable in it self, how should he which readeth, be thought to do that which in it self is of no force to work Belief, and to save Believers? Now, although we have very just cause to stand in some jealousie and fear, lest by thus overvaluing their Sermons, they make the price and estimation of Scripture, otherwise notified, to fall: nevertheless, so impatient they are, that being but requested to let us know what causes they leave for mens incouragement to attend to the reading of the Scripture, if Sermons only be the power of God to save every one which believeth; that which we move for our better learning and instruction-sake, turneth unto anger and choler in them, they grow altogether out of quietness with it; they answer fumingly, that they are *ashamed to defile their Pens with making answer to such idle questions*: yet in this their mood they cast forth somewhat, wherewith under pain of greater displeasure we must rest contented. They tell us, the profit of Reading is singular, in that it serveth for a Preparative unto Sermons; it helpeth prettily towards the nourishment of Faith, which Sermons have once ingendred; it is some stay to his minde which readeth the Scripture, when he findeth the same things there which are taught in Sermons, and thereby perceiveth how God doth concurr in opinion with the Preacher; besides, it keepeth Sermons in memory, and doth in that respect, although not feed the Soul of man, yet help the retentive force of that stomack of the minde, which receiveth ghostly food at the Preachers hands. But the principal cause of writing the Gospel was, that it might be preached upon or interpreted by publick Ministers, apt and authorized thereunto. Is it credible that a superstitious conceit (for it is no better) concerning Sermons, should in such sort both darken their Eyes, and yet sharpen their Wits withall, that the only true and weighty cause why Scripture was written, the cause which in Scripture is so often mentioned, the cause which all men have ever till this present day acknowledged, this they should clean exclude, as being no cause at all, and load us with so great store of strange concealed causes, which did never see light till now? In which number the rest must needs be of moment, when the very chiefest cause of committing the Sacred Word of God unto Books, is surmised to have been, lest the Preacher should want a Text whereupon to scholie. Men of Learning hold it for a slip in Judgement, when offer is made to demonstrate that as proper to one thing, which Reason findeth common unto moe. Whereas therefore they take from all kindes of teachings, that which they attribute to Sermons, it had been their part to yield directly some strong reason, why between *Sermons alone* and *Faith*, there should be ordinarily that coherence which causes have with their usual effects, why a Christian man's belief should so naturally grow from Sermons, and not possibly from any other kinde of teaching. In belief there being but these two operations, *Apprehension* and *Assent*. Do only Sermons cause Belief, in that no other way is able to explain the mysteries of God, that the minde may rightly apprehend or conceive them as behooveth? We all know, that many things are believed, although they be intricate, obscure, and dark, although they exceed the reach and capacity of our Wits, yea although in this World they be no way

Exod. 24. 7.

John 20. 31.

Prov. 1. 2,3,4. Rom. 1. 16. 2 Tim. 3. 15.

T. C. l. 2. p. 376.

way poſſible to be underſtood. Many things believed are likewiſe ſo plain, that every Common Perſon may therein be unto himſelf a ſufficient Expounder. Finally, to explain even thoſe things which need and admit explication, many other uſual ways there are beſides Sermons. Therefore Sermons are not the only ordinary means whereby we firſt come to apprehend the Myſterys of God. Is it in regard then of Sermons only, that apprehending the Goſpel of Chriſt we yield thereunto our unfeigned aſſent, as to a thing infallibly true? They which rightly conſider after what ſort the heart of man hereunto is framed, muſt of neceſſity acknowledge, that who ſo aſſenteth to the words of Eternal life, doth it in regard of his Authority whoſe words they are. This is in man's converſion unto God τὸ ὄθεν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως, the firſt ſtep whereat his race towards Heaven beginneth. Unleſs therefore, clean contrary to our own experience, we ſhall think it a miracle if any man acknowledge the Divine authority of the Scripture, till ſome Sermon have perſwaded him thereunto, and that otherwiſe neither converſation in the boſome of the Church, nor religious Education, nor the reading of Learned mens Books, nor Information received by conference, nor whatſoever pain and diligence in hearing, ſtudying, meditating day and night on the Law, is ſo far bleſt of God, as to work this effect in any man; how would they have us to grant, that Faith doth not come but only by hearing Sermons? [a] Fain they would have us to believe the Apoſtle Saint *Paul* himſelf to be Author of this their Paradox, only becauſe he hath ſaid, that it pleaſeth God by the [b] *fooliſhneſs of Preaching* to ſave them which believe; and again, [c] *How ſhall they call on him in whom they have not believed? How ſhall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? How ſhall they hear without a Preacher? How ſhall men preach except they be ſent?* To anſwer therefore both Allegations at once; The very ſubſtance of what they contain is in few but this. Life and Salvation God will have offered unto all; his will is that Gentiles ſhould be ſaved as well as Jews. Salvation belongeth unto none but ſuch *as call upon the Name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* Which Nations as yet unconverted neither do nor poſſibly can do till they believe. What they are to believe, impoſſible it is they ſhould know till they hear it. Their Hearing requireth our Preaching unto them. [d] *Tertullian*, to draw even *Painyms* themſelves unto Chriſtian Belief, willeth the Books of the Old Teſtament to be ſearched, which were at that time in *Ptolemies* Library. And if men did not liſt to travel ſo far, though it were for their endleſs good, he addeth that in *Rome* and other places the Jews had Synagogues, whereunto every one which would, might reſort; that this kinde of Liberty they purchaſed by payment of a ſtanding Tribute; that there they did openly [e] read the Scriptures; and whoſoever *will hear*, (ſaith *Tertullian*) *he ſhall finde God; whoſoever will ſtudy to know, ſhall be alſo fain to believe.* But ſith there is no likelihood that ever voluntarily they will ſeek Inſtruction at our hands, it remaineth that unleſs we will ſuffer them to periſh, Salvation it ſelf muſt ſeek them, it behooveth God to ſend them Preachers as he did his elect Apoſtles throughout the World. There is a Knowledge which God hath always revealed unto them in the works of Nature. This they honour and eſteem highly as profound Wiſdome; howbeit this Wiſdome ſaveth them not. That which muſt ſave Believers, is, *the knowledge of the Croſs of Chriſt*, the only Subject of all our Preaching. And in their Eyes what ſeemeth this but Folly? It pleaſeth God by *the fooliſhneſs of Preaching* to ſave. Theſe Words declare how admirable force thoſe Myſteries have, which the World do deride as Follies; they ſhew that the Fooliſhneſs of the Croſs of Chriſt is the Wiſdom of True Believers; they concern the Object of our Faith, the [f] Matter preached of and believed in by Chriſtian men. This we know that the Grecians or Gentiles did account Fooliſhneſs; but that they did ever think it a fond or unlikely way to ſeek mens Converſion by Sermons, we have not heard. Manifeſt therefore it is, that the Apoſtle applying the name of *Fooliſhneſs* in ſuch ſort as they did, muſt needs, by the *Fooliſhneſs of Preaching*, mean the Doctrine of Chriſt, which we learn that we may be ſaved; but that Sermons are the only manner of teaching, whereby it pleaſeth our Lord to ſave, he could not mean. In like ſort, where the ſame Apoſtle proveth, that as well the ſending of the Apoſtles, as their preaching to the Gentiles, was neceſſary, dare we affirm it was ever his meaning, that unto their Salvation, who even from their ten-

[a] *T. C.* l. 2. p. 375.

[b] 1 Cor. 1. 21.

[c] Rom. 10. 14.

[d] Apologet. c. 18. *in fine.*

[e] This they did in a tongue which to all learned men amongſt the Heathens, and to a great part of the ſimpleſt was familiarly known: as appeareth by a ſupplication offered unto the Emperor *Juſtinian*, wherein the Jews make requeſt that it might be lawful for them to read the Greek Tranſlations of the 70. Interpreters in their Synagogues, as their Cuſtom before had been. *Authent.* 146. *Cel.* 10. *incipit. Æquum ſanc.*

[f] The Apoſtle uſeth the word κήρυγμα and not κήρυξις.

der Infancy never knew any other Faith or Religion than only Christian, no kinde of Teaching can be available, saving that which was so needful for the first universal Conversion of Gentiles hating Christianity; neither the sending of any sort allowable in the one case, except only of such as had been in the other also most fit and worthy Instruments? Belief in all sorts doth come by hearkning, and attending to the Word of Life. Which Word sometime proposeth and preacheth it self to the Hearer; sometime they deliver it, whom privately Zeal and Piety moveth to be Instructors of others by conference; sometime of them it is taught, whom the Church hath called to the Publick, either reading thereof, or interpreting. All these tend unto one effect, neither doth that which St. *Paul* or other Apostles teach, concerning the necessity of such Teaching as theirs was, or of sending such as they were, for that purpose unto the Gentiles, prejudice the efficacy of any other way of Publick instruction, or inforce the utter disability of any other mens Vocation thought requisite in this Church for the saving of Souls, where means more effectual are wanting. Their only proper and direct proof of the thing in question had been to shew, in what sort, and how farr man's Salvation doth necessarily depend upon the knowledge of the Word of God; what Conditions, Properties, and Qualities there are, whereby Sermons are distinguished from other kindes of administring the Word unto that purpose; and what special Property or Quality that is, which being no where found but in Sermons, maketh them effectual to save Souls, and leaveth all other Doctrinal means besides destitute of vital efficacy. These pertinent Instructions, whereby they might satisfie us, and obtain the Cause it self for which they contend, these things which only would serve they leave, and (which needeth not) sometime they trouble themselves with fretting at the ignorance of such as withstand them in their Opinion; sometime they [a] fall upon their poor Brethren which can but read, and against them they are bitterly eloquent. If we alledge what the Scriptures themselves do usually speak for the saving force of the Word of God, not with restraint to any one certain kinde of delivery, but howsoever the same shall chance to be made known, yet by one trick or other they always [b] restrain it unto Sermons. Our Lord and Saviour hath said, [c] *Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think to have eternal life.* But they tell us, he spake to the Jews, which Jews before had heard his Sermons; and that peradventure it was his minde they should search, not by reading, nor by hearing them read, but by attending, whensoever the Scriptures should happen to be alledged in Sermons. Furthermore, having received Apostolical Doctrine, [d] the Apostle Saint *Paul* hath taught us to esteem the same as the Supream Rule, whereby all other Doctrines must for ever be examined. Yea, but in as much as the Apostle doth there speak of that he had Preached, he flatly maketh (as they strangely affirm) his Preachings or Sermons the Rule whereby to examine all. And then, I beseech you, what Rule have we whereby to judge or examine any? For, if Sermons must be our Rule, because the Apostles Sermons were so to their Hearers; then, sith we are not as they were, Hearers of the Apostles Sermons, it resteth that either the Sermons which we hear should be our Rule, or (that being absurd) there will (which yet hath greater absurdity) no Rule at all be remaining for Tryal, what Doctrines now are corrupt, what consonant with heavenly Truth. Again, let the same Apostle acknowledge all Scripture profitable to teach, to improve, to correct, to instruct in Righteousness; Still notwithstanding we erre, if hereby we presume to gather, that Scripture read, will avail unto any one of all these uses; they teach us the meaning of the words to be, that so much the Scripture can do, if the Minister that way apply it in his Sermons, otherwise not. Finally, they never hear Sentence which mentioneth the Word or Scripture, but forthwith their Glosses upon it are, the Word preached, the Scripture explained or delivered unto us in Sermons. Sermons they evermore understand to be that Word of God, which alone hath vital Operation; the dangerous sequel of which Construction I wish they did more attentively weigh. For, sith Speech is the very Image, whereby the minde and soul of the Speaker conveyeth it self into the bosom of him which heareth, we cannot chuse but see great reason, wherefore the Word that proceedeth from God, who is Himself very Truth and Life, should be (as the Apostle to the *Hebrews* noteth) lively and mighty in operation, sharper than any two-edged Sword. Now, if in this and the like Places we did conceive, that our

[a] *T. C. l. 2. p. 373.* This tayle of Readers. The Bishops more than beggerly Presents. Those Rascal Ministers.

[b] *T. C. l. 2. p. 37.*

[c] John 5. 39.

[d] Gal. 1. 9.

1 Tim. 3. 16.

Heb. 4. 12.

own

own Sermons are that strong and forcible Word, should we not hereby impart even the most peculiar glory of the Word of God, unto that which is not his word? For, touching our Sermons, that which giveth them their very being, is the wit of man, and therefore they oftentimes accordingly taste too much of that over-corrupt Fountain from which they come. In our speech of most holy things, our most frail affections many times are bewrayed. Wherefore when we read or recite the Scripture, we then deliver to the People properly the Word of God. As for our Sermons, be they never so sound and perfect, his Word they are not, as the Sermons of the Prophets were; no, they are but ambiguously termed his Word, because his Word is commonly the Subject whereof they treat, and must be the Rule whereby they are framed. Notwithstanding, by these, and the like shifts they derive unto Sermons alone, whatsoever is generally spoken concerning the Word. Again, what seemeth to have been uttered concerning Sermons, and their efficacy or necessity, in regard of Divine matter, and must consequently be verified in sundry other kindes of teaching, if the Matter be the same in all; their use is to fasten every such Speech unto that one only manner of teaching, which is by Sermons, that still Sermons may be all in all. [a] Thus, because *Solomon* declareth that the People decay or perish for want of Knowledge, where [b] no Prophecying at all is, they gather, that the hope of Life and Salvation is cut off, where Preachers are not, which prophecy by Sermons, how many soever they be in number that read daily the Word of God, and deliver, though in other sort, the self-same matter which Sermons do. The People which have no way to come to the knowledge of God, no prophecying, no teaching, perish. But that they should of necessity perish, where any one way of knowledge lacketh, is more then the words of *Solomon* import. [c] Another usual point of their Art in this present question, is to make very large and plentiful Discourses, how Christ is by Sermons [d] lifted up higher, and made more [e] apparent to the eye of Faith; how the [f] savour of the Word is more sweet being brayed, and more able to nourish being divided by Preaching, then by only reading proposed; how Sermons are the Keyes of the Kingdom of Heaven, and do open the Scriptures, which being but read, remain in comparison still clasped; how God [g] giveth richer increase of grace to the Ground that is planted and watered by Preaching, than by bare and simple Reading. Out of which premises declaring how attainment unto life is easier where Sermons are, they conclude an [h] impossibility thereof where Sermons are not. *Alcidimas* the Sophister hath many arguments, to prove that voluntary and extemporal far excelleth premeditated speech. The like whereunto, and in part the same, are brought by them, who commend Sermons, as having (which all men, I think, will acknowledge) sundry peculiar and proper vertues, such as [i] no other way of Teaching besides hath. Aptness to follow particular occasions presently growing, to put life into words by countenance, voyce and gesture, to prevail mightily in the sudden affections of men, this Sermons may challenge. Wherein notwithstanding so eminent properties whereof Lessons are haply destitute, yet Lessons being free from some inconveniences, whereunto Sermons are more subject, they may in this respect no less take, then in other they must give the hand, which betokeneth preeminence. For there is nothing which is not some way excell'd, even by that which it doth excel. Sermons therefore and Lessons may each excell other in some respects, without any prejudice unto either, as touching that vital force which they both have in the work of our Salvation. To which effect when we have endeavoured as much as in us doth lye, to finde out the strongest causes, wherefore they should imagine that Reading is it self so unavailable; the most we can learn at their hands, is, that Sermons are the Ordinance of God, the Scriptures dark, and the labour of Reading easie. First, therefore, as we know that God doth aide with his grace, and by his special providence evermore bless with happy success those things which himself appointeth; so his Church, we perswade our selves, he hath not in such sort given over to a reprobate sense, that whatsoever it deviseth for the good of the Souls of men, the same he doth still accurse and make frustrate. Or if he always did defeat the Ordinances of his Church, is not reading the Ordinance of God? Wherefore then should we think that the force of his secret grace is accustomed to bless the labour of dividing his Word, according unto each man's private discretion in publick Sermons, and to withdraw it self from concurring with the publick delivery thereof by such selected portions of Scriptures, as the whole

[a] *T. C.* l. 2. p. 381.
[b] Prov. 29. 18.
[c] *T. C.* l. 2. p. 379.
[d] 2 Cor. 2. 16.
[e] 2 Tim. 2. 15.
[f] Matth. 16. 19.
[g] 1 Cor. 3. 6.
[h] *T. C.* l. 2. p. 380. No Salvation to be looked for, where no Preaching is.
[i] *T. C.* l. 2. p. 394.
T. C. l. 2. p. 396.
Deut. 31. 13.

whole Church hath ſolemnly appointed to be read for the Peoples good, either by ordinary courſe or otherwiſe, according to the exigence of ſpecial occaſions? Reading (ſaith [a] *Iſidore*) is to the Hearers no ſmall edifying. To them whoſe [b] delight and meditation is in the Law, ſeeing that happineſs and bliſs belongeth, it is not in us to deny them the benefit of heavenly Grace. And I hope we may preſume, that a rare thing it is not in the Church of God, even for that very Word which is read to be both preſently their [c] joy, and afterwards their ſtudy that hear it. [d] S. *Auguſtin* ſpeaking of devout men, noteth, how they daily frequented the Church, how attentive ear they gave unto the Leſſons and Chapters read, how careful they were to remember the ſame, and to muſe thereupon by themſelves. [e] St. *Cyprian* obſerveth, that Reading was not without effect in the hearts of men. Their joy and alacrity was to him an argument, that there is in this Ordinance a bleſſing, ſuch as ordinarily doth accompany the adminiſtration of the Word of Life. It were much if there ſhould be ſuch a difference between the hearing of Sermons preached, and of Leſſons read in the Church, that he which preſenteth himſelf at the one, and maketh his Prayer with the Prophet [f] *David*, *Teach me, O Lord, the way of thy Statutes, direct me in the path of thy commandments*, might have the ground of uſual experience wherupon to build his hope of prevailing with God, and obtaining the Grace he ſeeketh; they contrariwiſe not ſo, who crave the like aſſiſtance of his Spirit, when they give ear to the reading of the other. In this therefore Preaching and Reading are equal, that both are approved as his Ordinances, both aſſiſted with his Grace. And if his Grace do aſſiſt them both to the nouriſhment of faith already bred, we cannot, without ſome very manifeſt cauſe yielded, imagin that in breeding or begetting faith, his grace doth cleave to the one, and utterly forſake the other. Touching *hardneſs*, which is the ſecond pretended impediment, as againſt Homilies, being plain and popular inſtructions, it is no bar, ſo neither doth it infringe the efficacy, no not of Scriptures, although but read. The force of reading, how ſmall ſoever they would have it, muſt of neceſſity be granted ſufficient to notifie that which is plain or eaſie to be underſtood. And of things neceſſary to all mens ſalvation, we have been hitherto accuſtomed to hold (eſpecially ſithence the publiſhing of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, whereby the ſimpleſt having now a Key unto Knowledge which the Eunuch in the *Acts* did want, our Children may of themſelves by reading underſtand that, which he without an Interpreter could not) they are in Scripture plain and eaſie to be underſtood. As for thoſe things which at the firſt are obſcure and dark, when memory hath laid them up for a time, Judgment afterwards growing explaineth them. Scripture therefore is not ſo hard, but that the only reading thereof may give life unto willing Hearers. The eaſie performance of which holy labour, is in like ſort a very cold Objection, to prejudice the vertue thereof. For what though an Infidel; yea, though a Childe may be able to read; there is no doubt, but the meaneſt and worſt amongſt the People under the Law, had been as able as the Prieſts themſelves were to offer Sacrifice. Did this make Sacrifice of no effect unto that purpoſe for which it was inſtituted? In Religion ſome duties are not commended ſo much by the hardneſs of their execution, as by the worthineſs and dignity of that acceptation wherein they are held with God. We admire the goodneſs of God in nature, when we conſider how he hath provided that things moſt needful to preſerve this life, ſhould be moſt prompt and eaſie for all living Creatures to come by. Is it not as evident a ſign of his wonderful providence over us, when that food of Eternal life, upon the utter want whereof our endleſs death and deſtruction neceſſarily enſueth, is prepared and always ſet in ſuch a readineſs, that thoſe very means, than which nothing is more eaſie, may ſuffice to procure the ſame? Surely, if we periſh, it is not the lack of Scribes and learned Expounders that can be our juſt excuſe. The Word which ſaveth our Souls is near us, we need for knowledge but to read and live. The man which readeth the Word of God, the Word it ſelf doth pronounce bleſſed, if he alſo obſerve the ſame. Now all theſe things being well conſidered, it ſhall be no intricate matter for any man to judge with indifferency on which part the good of the Church is moſt conveniently ſought; whether on ours, whoſe opinion is ſuch as hath been ſhewed, or elſe on theirs, who leaving no ordinary way of Salvation for them unto whom the Word of God is but only read, do ſeldom name them but with great diſdain and contempt who execute that Service in the Church of Chriſt. By means whereof it hath come to paſs, that Churches, which cannot enjoy the benefit of uſual Preaching, are judged, as it were, even forſaken of God, forlorn, and without either hope or comfort: Contrariwiſe,

a De Eccleſ. Offic. l. 1. c. 10.
b Pſal. 1. 2.
c Pſal. 119. 16.
d Aug. in Pſ. 66.
e Cyprian, l. 2. Epiſt. 5. Lector perſonat verba ſublimia Evangelium Chriſti Legis à fratribus conſpicitur, cum gaudio fraternitatis auditur.
f Pſal. 119. 33, 35.
T. C. l. 2. p. 383, 384, 392.
Acts 8. 31.
Apoc. 1. 3.
T. C. l. 2. p. 363. p. 373.

trariwise, those places which every day for the most part are at Sermons as the flowing sea, do both by their emptiness at times of reading, and by other apparent tokens shew, to the voice of the living God, this way sounding in the ears of men, a great deal less reverence then were meet. But if no other evil were known to grow thereby, who can chuse but think them cruel which doth hear them so boldly teach, that if God (as to him there nothing impossible) do haply save any such as continue where they have all other means of instruction, but are not taught by continual preaching, yet this is miraculous, and more than the fitness of so poor instruments can give any man cause to hope for; that Sacraments are not effectual to Salvation, except men be instructed by Preaching before they be made Partakers of them; yea, that both Sacraments and Prayers also, where Sermons are not, *do not only not feed, but are ordinarily to further condemnation*; What mans heart doth not rise at the mention of these things? It is true, that the weakness of our Wits and the dulness of our Affections do make us for the most part, even as our Lords own Disciples were for a certain time, hard and slow to believe what is written. For help whereof expositions and exhortations are needful, and that in the most effectual manner. The principal Churches throughout the Land, and no small part of the rest, being in this respect by the goodness of God so abundantly provided for, they which want the like furtherance unto knowledge, wherewith it were greatly to be desired that they also did abound, are yet, we hope, not left in so extream destitution, that justly any men should think the ordinary means of Eternal life taken from them because their teaching is in publick for the most part but by Reading. For which cause amongst whom there are not those helps that others have to set them forward in the way of Life, such to dis-hearten with fearful Sentences, as though their Salvation could hardly be hoped for, is not in our understanding so consonant with Christian Charity. We hold it safer a great deal, and better to give them [a] incouragement; to put them in minde, that it is not the deepness of their Knowledge, but the [b] singleness of their Belief which God accepteth; That they which [c] hunger and thirst after Righteousness, shall be satisfied; That no [d] imbecillity of Means can prejudice the truth of the promise of God herein; That the weaker their helps are, the more their need is to sharpen the edge of their own [e] industry; And that [f] painfulness by feeble meanes shall be able to gain that, which in the plenty of more forcible instruments is through sloth and negligence lost. As for the men, with whom we have thus farr taken pains to conferr, about the force of the Word of God, either read by it self or opened in Sermons; their speeches concerning both the one and the other are in truth such, as might give us very just cause to think, that the reckoning is not great which they make of either. For howsoever they have been driven to devise some odde kinde of blinde uses, whereunto they may answer that reading doth serve, yet the reading of the Word of God in publick more than their Preachers bare Text, who will not judge that they deem needless? when if we chance at any time to term it necessary, as being a thing which God himself did institute amongst the Jews for purposes that touch as well us as them; a thing which the Apostles commend under the Old, and ordain under the New Testament; a thing whereof the Church of God hath ever sithence the first beginning reaped singular Commodity; a thing which without exceeding great detriment no Church can omit, they only are the men that ever we heard of, by whom this hath been cross'd and gain-said; they only the men which have given their peremptory sentence to the contrary: *It is untrue, that simple Reading is necessary in the Church.* And why untrue? *Because, although it be very convenient which is used in some Churches, where before Preaching-time the Church assembled hath the Scriptures read in such order, that the whole Canon thereof is oftentimes in one year run through: yet a number of Churches which have no such order of simple Reading, cannot be in this point charged with breach of Gods commandement, which they might be if simple Reading were necessary.* A poor, a cold and an hungry cavil! Shall we therefore to please them change the Word *Necessary*, and say, that it hath been a commendable Order, a Custom very expedient, or an Ordinance most profitable (whereby they know right well that we mean exceedingly behoovful) to read the Word of God at large in the Church, whether it be, as our manner is, or as theirs is whom they prefer before us? It is not this that will content or satisfie their mindes. They have against it a marvellous deep and profound Axiome, that *Two things to one and the same end cannot*

Pag 364, 375. 380, 383, 384.

Pag. 392.

Pag. 364.

a Eccles 51. 26, 27.
Matth. 12. 20.
b 1 Tim. 1. 5.
Rom. 14. 1.
1 Thes. 3. 10.
c Matth. 5. 6.
d Phil. 1. 6.
1 Pet. 5. 10.
Matth. 3 9.
e 1 Thes. 4. 18
Heb. 10. 24.
Jude vers. 20.
1 Pet. 4. 10.
f Luke 11. 31.

T. C. l. 2. p. 381.

T. C. l. 2. p. 372.

cannot but very improperly be ſaid moſt profitable. And therefore if Preaching be moſt profitable to man's Salvation, then is not Reading; if Reading be, then Preaching is not. Are they reſolved then at the leaſtwiſe, if Preaching be the only ordinary mean whereby it pleaſeth God to ſave our Souls, what kinde of Preaching it is which doth ſave? Underſtand they, how or in what reſpect there is that force or vertue in Preaching? We have reaſon wherefore to make theſe Demands; for that, although their Pens run all upon Preaching and Sermons, yet when themſelves do practiſe that whereof they write, they change their Dialect, and thoſe words they ſhun, as if there were in them ſome ſecret ſting. It is not their phraſe to ſay they Preach, or to give to their own inſtructions and exhortations the name of Sermons; the pain they take themſelves in this kinde is either opening or Lecturing or Reading, or Exerciſing, but in no caſe Preaching. [a] And in this preſent Queſtion, they alſo warily proteſt that what they aſcribe to the vertue of Preaching, they ſtill mean it of good Preaching: Now one of them ſaith that a good Sermon [b] muſt expound and apply a large portion of the Text of Scripture at one time. Another giveth us to underſtand, that ſound Preaching [c] *is not to do as one did at* London, *who ſpent moſt of his time in Invectives againſt good men, and told his Audience how the Magiſtrate ſhould have an eye to ſuch as troubled the peace of the Church.* The [d] beſt of them hold it for no good Preaching, *when a man endeavoureth to make a glorious ſhew of Eloquence and Learning, rather than to apply himſelf to the capacity of the ſimple.* But let them ſhape us out a good Preacher by what pattern ſoever pleaſeth them beſt, let them exclude and incloſe whom they will with their definitions, we are not deſirous to enter into any contention with them about this, or to abate the conceit they have of their own ways, ſo that when once we are agreed what Sermons ſhall currently paſs for good, we may at length underſtand from them, what that is in a good Sermon which doth make it the Word of Life unto ſuch as hear. If ſubſtance of matter, evidence of things, ſtrength and validity of arguments and proofs, or if any other vertue elſe which Words and Sentences may contain; of all this, what is there in the beſt Sermons being uttered, which they loſe by being read? But they utterly deny that the reading either of Scriptures, or Homilies and Sermons can ever by the ordinary grace of God ſave any Soul. So that although we had all the Sermons word for word which *James, Paul, Peter,* and the reſt of the Apoſtles made, ſome one of which Sermons was of power to convert thouſands of the Hearers unto Chriſtian Faith; yea, although we had all the inſtructions, exhortations, conſolations which came from the gracious lips of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt himſelf, and ſhould read them ten thouſand times over, to Faith and Salvation no man could hereby hope to attain. Whereupon it muſt of neceſſity follow, that the vigour and vital efficacy of Sermons doth grow from certain accidents, which are not in them, but in their Maker; his vertue, his geſture, his countenance, his zeal, the motion of his body, and the inflexion of his voice, who firſt uttereth them as his own, is that which giveth them the form, the nature, the very eſſence of inſtruments available to Eternal life. If they like neither that nor this, what remaineth but that their final concluſion be, *Sermons we know are the only ordinary means to Salvation, but why or how we cannot tell?* Wherefore to end this tedious Controverſie, wherein the too great importunity of our over-eager Adverſaries hath conſtrained us much longer to dwell, than the barrenneſs of ſo poor a Cauſe could have ſeemed at the firſt likely either to require or to admit, if they which without partialities and paſſions are accuſtomed to weigh all things, and accordingly to give their ſentence, ſhall here ſit down to receive our Audit, and to caſt up the whole reckoning on both ſides; the ſum which Truth amounteth unto will appear to be but this, that as Medicines provided of Nature, and applyed by Art for the benefit of bodily health, take effect ſometime under and ſometime above the natural proportion of their vertue, according as the minde and fancy of the Patient doth more or leſs concurr with them: So, whether we barely read unto men the Scriptures of God; or by Homilies concerning matter of Belief and Converſation ſeek to lay before them the duties which they owe unto God and Man; whether we deliver them Books to read and conſider of in private at their own beſt leaſure, or call them to the hearing of Sermons publickly in the Houſe of God; albeit every of theſe and the like unto theſe means do

[a] *T. C.* l. 2. p. 385.

[b] Complaint of the Comminalty.

[c] Dr. *Somes*, Painter, p. 21.

[d] *T. C.* lib. 2. pag. 385.

do truly and daily effect that in the hearts of men for which they are each and all meant; yet the operation which they have in common, being most sensible and most generally noted in one kinde above the rest, that one hath in some mens opinions drowned altogether the rest, and injuriously brought to pass that they have been thought not less effectual than the other, but without the other uneffectual to save souls. Whereas the cause why Sermons only are observed to prevail so much while all means else seem to sleep and do nothing, is in truth but that singular affection and attention which the people sheweth every where towards the one, and their cold disposition to the other; the reason hereof being partly the Art which our Adversaries use for the credit of their Sermons, to bring men out of conceit with all other Teaching besides; partly, a custom which men have to let those things carelesly pass by their ears which they have oftentimes heard before, or know they may hear again whenever it pleaseth themselves; partly, the especial advantages which Sermons naturally have to procure attention, both in that they come always new, and because by the Hearer it is still presumed, that if they be let slip for the present, what good soever they contain, is lost, and that without all hope of recovery. This is the true cause of odds between Sermons, and other kindes of wholesome Instruction. As for the difference which hath been hitherto so much defended on the contrary side, making Sermons the only ordinary means unto Faith and eternal Life, sith this hath neither evidence of Truth; nor proof sufficient to give it warrant, a cause of such quality may with farr better grace and conveniency aske that pardon which common humanity doth easily grant, than claim in challenging manner that assent which is as unwilling when reason guideth it to be yielded where it is not, as with-held where it is apparently due. All which notwithstanding, as we could greatly wish that the rigour of this their opinion were allayed and mittigated; so, because we hold it the part of religious ingenuity to honour vertue in whomsoever, therefore it is our most hearty desire, and shall be always our Prayer unto Almighty God, that in the self-same fervent zeal wherewith they seem to effect the good of the Souls of men; and to thirst after nothing more than that all men might by all means be directed in the way of life, both they and we may constantly persist to the Worlds end. For in this we are not their Adversaries, though they in the other hitherto have been ours.

23. Between the Throne of God in Heaven, and his Church upon Earth here militant, if it be so that Angels have their continual intercourse, where should we finde the same more verified than in those two ghostly Exercises, the one Doctrine, the other Prayer? For what is the Assembling of the Church to learn, but the receiving of Angels descended from above? What to pray, but the sending of Angels upwards? His Heavenly Inspirations, and our holy Desires are as so many Angels of intercourse and commerce between God and us. As Teaching bringeth us to know that God is our supream Truth; so Prayer testifieth that we acknowledge him our soveraign Good. Besides, sith on God, as the most High, all inferiour Causes in the World are dependant; and the higher any Cause is, the more it coveteth to impart vertue unto things beneath it, how should any kinde of service we do or can do, finde greater acceptance than Prayer, which sheweth our concurrence with him, in desiring that wherewith his very Narure doth most delight? Is not the name of Prayer usual to signifie even all the service that ever we do unto God? And that for no other cause, as I suppose, but to shew that there is in Religion no acceptable Duty which devout Invocation of the name of God doth not either presuppose or inferr. Prayers are those [a] Calves of Mens lips; those most gracious and sweet [b] odours; those rich Presents and Gifts, which being [c] carried up into Heaven, do best testifie our dutiful affection, and are, for the purchasing of all favour at the hands of God, the most undoubted means we can use. On others what more easily, and yet what more fruitfully bestowed than our Prayers? If we give Counsel, they are the simpler onely that need it; if Almes, the poorer only are relieved; but by Prayer we do good to all. And whereas every other Duty besides, is but to shew it self as time and opportunity require, for this all times are convenient: when we are not able to do any other things for mens behoof, when through maliciousness or unkindness they vouchsafe not to accept any other good at our hands, Prayer is that which we always have in our power to bestow, and they never in theirs to refuse. Wherefore God

Of Prayer.

[a] Ose. 14. 3.
[b] Revel. 5. 8.
[c] Acts 10. 4.

Rom. 1. 9.
1 Thes. 5. 17.
Luke 18. 1.

1 Sam. 12. 23. forbid, saith *Samuel*, speaking unto a most unthankful People, a People weary of the benefit of his most vertuous Government over them, God forbid that I should sin against the Lord, and cease to pray for you. It is the first thing wherewith a righteous life beginneth, and the last wherewith it doth end. The knowledge is small which we have on Earth concerning things that are done in Heaven. Notwithstanding, thus much we know even of Saints in Heaven, that they pray. And therefore Prayer being a work common to the Church as well Triumphant as Militant, a work common unto Men with Angels, what should we think, but that so much of our Lives is celestial and divine as we spend in the exercise of Prayer? For which cause we see that the most comfortable Visitations, which God hath sent men from above, have taken especially the times of Prayer as their most natural opportunities.

Dan. 9. 20. Acts 10. 13.

Of Publick Prayer. Psal. 55. 18. Dan. 9. 3. Acts 10. 9.

24. This holy and religious duty of Service towards God concerneth us one way in that we are men, and another way in that we are joined as parts to that visible Mystical Body, which is his Church. As men, we are at our own choice, both for time, and place, and form, according to the exigence of our own occasions in private: But the service, which we do as Members of a Publick Body, is publick, and for that cause must needs be accompted by so much worthier than the other, as a whole society of such condition exceedeth the worth of any one. In which consideration unto Christian Assemblies, there are most special Promises made. St. *Paul*, though likely to prevail with God as much as any one, did notwithstanding think it much more, both for God's glory, and his own good, if Prayers might be made and thanks yielded in his behalf by a number of men. The Prince and People of *Niniveh*, assembling themselves, as a main Army of Supplicants, it was not in the power of God to withstand them. I speak no otherwise concerning the force of Publick Prayer in the Church of God, than before me *Tertullian* hath done, *We come by Troops to the Place of Assembly, that being banded as it were together, we may be Supplicants enough to besiege God with our Prayers: These Forces are unto him acceptable.* When we publickly make our Prayers, it cannot be but that we do it with much more comfort than in private, for that the things we aske publickly are approved as needful and good in the Judgement of all, we hear them sought for and desired with common consent. Again, thus much help and furtherance is more yielded, in that, if so be our zeal and devotion to God-ward be slack, the alacrity and fervour of others serveth as a present spurr. *For even Prayer it self* (saith Saint *Basil*) *when it hath not the consort of many voyces to strengthen it, is not it self.* Finally, the good which we do by Publick Prayer, is more than in private can be done, for that besides the benefit which is here, is no less procured to our selves, the whole Church is much bettered by our good example; and consequently whereas secret neglect of our duty in this kinde is but only our own hurt, one man's contempt of the Common Prayer of the Church of God may be and oftentimes is most hurtful unto many. In which considerations the Prophet *David* so often voweth unto God the Sacrifice of Prayse and Thanksgiving in the Congregation; so earnestlie exhorteth others to sing Praises unto the Lord in his Courts, in his Sanctuary, before the memorial of his Holiness; and so much complaineth of his own uncomfortable exile, wherein although he sustained many most grievous indignities, and indured the want of sundry both pleasures and honours before injoyed; yet as if this one were his only grief, and the rest not felt, his speeches are all of the heavenly benefit of Publick Assemblies, and the happiness of such as had free access thereunto.

Matth. 18. 20. 2 Cor. 1. 11.

Jonah 4. 11.

Apolog. 1. 39. Ambros. l. de Pœn. *Multi minimi dum congregantur unanimes, sunt magni; & multorum preces impossibile est contemni.*

Psal. 122. 1.

Καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ προσευχὴ μὴ ἔχουσα τοὺς συμφωνοῦντας ἀνανδρεστέρα πολλῷ ἑαυτῆς. *Basil.* Epist. 68

Psal. 26. 12. 34. 18. Ps. 30 4. & 96. 5.

Psal. 27. 4. & 42. 4. & 84. 1.

Of the form of Common-Prayer.

25. A great part of the Cause, wherefore religious mindes are so inflamed with the love of Publick devotion, is that vertue, force and efficacy, which by experience they finde that the very form and reverend solemnity of Common Prayer duly ordered hath, to help that imbecillity and weakness in us, by means whereof we are otherwise of our selves the less apt to perform unto God so heavenly a service, with such affection of heart, and disposition in the powers of our Souls as is requisite. To this end therefore all things hereunto appertaining, have been ever thought convenient to be done with the most solemnity and majesty that the wisest could devise. It is not with Publick as with Private Prayer. In this, rather secresie is commanded than outward shew, whereas that being the publick act of a whole Society,

Matth. 6. 5, 6.

ciety, requireth accordingly more care to be had of external appearance. The very assembling of men therefore unto this service hath been ever solemn. And concerning the place of assembly, although it serve for other uses as well as this, yet seeing that our Lord himself hath to this, as to the chiefest of all other, plainly sanctified his own Temple, by entituling it *the House of Prayer*, what preeminence of dignity soever hath been either by the Ordinance, or through the special favour and providence of God annexed unto his Sanctuary, the principal cause thereof must needs be in regard of Common Prayer. For the honour and furtherance whereof, if it be as the gravest of the antient Fathers seriously were perswaded, and do oftentimes plainly teach, affirming that the House of Prayer is a Court, beautified with the presence of Celestial powers; that there we stand, we pray, we sound forth Hymnes unto God, having his Angels intermingled as our Associates; and that with reference hereunto the Apostle doth require so great care to be had of decency for the Angels sake; how can we come to the House of Prayer, and not be moved with the very glory of the place it self, so to frame our affections Praying, as doth best beseem them, whose Suits the Almighty doth there sit to hear, and his Angels attend to further; When this was ingrafted in the mindes of men, there needed no penal Statutes to draw them unto publick Prayer. The warning sound was no sooner heard, but the Churches were presently filled, the pavements covered with bodies prostrate, and washt with their tears of devout joy. And as the place of publick Prayer is a Circumstance in the outward form thereof, which hath moment to help devotion; so the Person much more with whom the People of God do joyn themselves in this Action, as with him that standeth and speaketh in the presence of God for them. The authority of his Place, the fervour of his Zeal, the piety and gravity of his whole Behaviour, must needs exceedingly both grace and set forward the service he doth. The authority of his Calling is a furtherance, because if God have so farr received him into favour, as to impose upon him by the hands of men that Office of blessing the People in his Name, and making intercession to him in theirs; which Office he hath sanctified with his own most gracious Promise, and ratified that promise by manifest actual performance thereof, when others before in like place have done the same, is not his very Ordination a seal, as it were to us, that the self-same Divine love which hath chosen the instrument to work with, will by that instrument effect the thing whereto he ordained it, in blessing his People, and accepting the Prayers which his Servant offereth up unto God for them? It was in this respect a comfortable Title which the Antients used to give unto God's Ministers, terming them usually *God's most beloved*, which were ordained to procure by their Prayers his love and favour towards all. Again, if there be not zeal and fervency in him which proposeth for the rest those sutes and supplications, which they by their joyful Acclamations must ratifie; if he praise not God with all his might; if he pour not out his Soul in Prayer; if he take not their Causes to heart, and speak not as *Moses*, *Daniel*, and *Ezra*, did for their People; how should there be but in them frozen coldness, when his affections seem benummed from whom theirs should take fire? Vertue and godliness of life are required at the hands of the Minister of God, not only in that he is to teach and instruct the People, who for the most part are rather led away by the ill example, then directed aright by the wholesom instruction of them, whose Life swarveth from the rule of their own Doctrine; but also much more in regard of this other part of his Function; whether we respect the weakness of the People, apt to loathe and abhorr the Sanctuary, when they which perform the service thereof are such as the Sonnes of *Heli* were; or else consider the inclination of God himself, who requireth the lifting up of pure hands in Prayers, and hath given the World plainly to understand, that the Wicked, although they cry, shall not be heard. They are not fit Supplicants to seek his mercy on the behalf of others, whose own un-repented sins provoke his just indignation. Let thy Priests therefore, O Lord, be evermore cloathed with Righteousness, that thy Saints may thereby with more devotion rejoice and sing. But of all helps for due performance of this Service, the greatest is that very set and standing order it self, which, framed with common advice, hath both for matter and form prescribed whatsoever is herein publickly done. No doubt, from God it

Mar. 21. 13.

Chrys. Hom. 15. ad Hebræ. & 24. in Act.

1 Cor. 11. 10.

Psal 96. 6. Power and Beauty are in his Sanctuary.

Ad domos sanctim Dominicas currimus corpora humi sternimus, mixtis cum fletu gaudiis supplicamus. Salvia de Prov. l. 7.

Num. 6. 23.

2 Chron. 30. 27.

Cod. l. 1. tit 3. de Epi. & Cler. 43. & 44. sæpe.

1 Tim. 2. 8. John 9. 31. Jer. 11. 11. Ezech. 8. 18.

Psal. 132. 9.

hath proceeded, and by us it must be acknowledged a Work of singular care and providence, that the Church hath evermore held a Prescript form of Common Prayer, although not in all things every where the same, yet for the most part retaining still the same analogy. So that if the Liturgies of all antient Churches throughout the World be compared amongst themselves, it may be easily perceived they had all one original mold, and that the publick Prayer of the People of God in Churches throughly settled, did never use to be voluntary Dictates, proceeding from any man's extemporal wit. To him which considereth the grievous and scandalous Inconveniencies, whereunto they make themselves daily subject, with whom any blinde and secret Corner is judged a fit House of Common Prayer; the manifold confusions which they fall into, where every man's private Spirit and Gift (as they term it) is the only Bishop that ordaineth him to this Ministry; the irksome deformities whereby through endless and senseless effusions of indigested Prayers, they oftentimes disgrace in most unsufferable manner, the worthiest part of Christian duty towards God, who herein are subject to no certain Order, but pray both what and how they list; to him, I say, which weigheth duly all these things, the reasons cannot be obscure, why God doth in Publick Prayer so much respect the Solemnitie of Places where, the Authority and calling of Persons by whom, and the precise Appointment even with what Words or Sentences his Name should be called on amongst his People.

2 Chron. 6. 20.
Joel. 2. 17.
2 Chron. 29. 30.

Of them which like not to have any set form of Common Prayer.

26. No man hath hitherto been so impious, as plainly and directly to condemn Prayer. The best stratagem that Satan hath, who knoweth his Kingdom to be no one way more shaken, than by the Publick devout Prayers of God's Church, is by traducing the form and manner of them, to bring them into contempt, and so to shake the force of all men's devotion towards them. From this, and from no other forge, hath proceeded a strange conceit, that to serve God with any set form of Common Prayer, is superstitious. As though God himself did not frame to his Priests the very speech, wherewith they were charged to bless the People; or as if our Lord, even of purpose to prevent this fancy of extemporal and voluntary Prayers, had not left us of his own framing one, which might both remain as a part of the Church-Liturgy, and serve as a Pattern whereby to frame all other Prayers with efficacy, yet without superfluity of words. If Prayers were no otherwise accepted of God, then being conceived always new, according to the exigence of present occasions; if it be right to judge him by our own Bellies, and to imagine that he doth loath to have the self-same supplications often iterated, even as we do to be every day fed without alteration or change of diet; if Prayers be Actions which ought to waste away themselves in the making; if being made to remain that they may be resumed and used again as Prayers, they be but instruments of Superstition; surely, we cannot excuse *Moses*, who gave such occasion of scandal to the World, by not being contented to praise the Name of Almighty God, according to the usual naked simplicity of God's Spirit, for that admirable victory given them against *Pharaoh*, unless so dangerous a President were left for the casting of Prayers into certain Poetical moulds, and for the framing of Prayers which might be repeated often, although they never had again the same occasions which brought them forth at the first. For that very Hymne of *Moses* grew afterwards to be a part of the ordinary Jewish Liturgy; nor only that, but sundry other sithence invented. Their Books of Common-Prayer contained partly Hymns taken out of the Holy Scripture, partly Benedictions, Thanksgivings, Supplications, penned by such as have been, from time to time, the Governours of that Synagogue. These they sorted into their several times and places, some to begin the service of God with, and some to end, some to go before, and some to follow, and some to be interlaced between the Divine Readings of the Law and Prophets. Unto their custom of finishing the Passeover with certain Psalmes, there is not any thing more probable, then that the holy Evangelist doth evidently allude, saying, That after the Cup delivered by our Saviour unto his Apostles, [a] they sung, and went forth to the Mount of Olives. As the Jews had their Songs of *Moses*, and *David*, and the rest; so the Church of Christ from the very beginning hath both used the same, and besides them other also of like nature, the Song of the Virgin *Mary*, the Song of *Zachary*,

Num. 6. 23.

a Mat. 26. 30. ὑμνήσαντες, having sung the Psalmes which were usual at that Feast, those Psalms which the Jews call the great *Hallelujah*, beginning at the 113. and continuing to the end of the 118. See *Paul Burgens. in Ps.* 112. addit. 1. and *Scal de emendat. tempo.*

Zachary, the Song of *Simeon*, such Hymnes as the Apostle doth often speak of, saying, *I will pray and sing with the Spirit.* Again, *in Psalms, Hymnes, and Songs, making melody unto the Lord, and that heartily.* Hymnes and Psalms are such kindes of Prayer as are not wont to be conceived upon a sudden; but are framed by Meditation before hand, or else by Prophetical illumination are inspired, as at that time it appeareth they were, when God by extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, inabled men to all parts of service necessary for the edifying of his Church. 1 Cor. 14. 15. Ephes. 5. 19.

27. Now, albeit the Admonitioners did seem at the first to allow no Prescript form of Prayer at all, but thought it the best that their Minister should always be left at liberty to pray, as his own discretion did serve, yet because this opinion upon better advice they afterwards retracted, their Defender and his Associates have sithence proposed to the World a form, such as themselves like, and, to shew their dislike of ours, have taken against it those exceptions, which, whosoever doth measure by number, must needs be greatly out of love with a thing that hath so many faults; whosoever by weight, cannot chuse but esteem very highly of that, wherein the wit of so scrupulous Adversaries hath not hitherto observed any defect which themselves can seriously think to be of moment. Gross Errours and manifest Impiety they grant we have taken away. Yet [a] many things in it they say are amiss; many instances they give of things in our Common Prayer, not agreeable as they pretend with the word of God. It hath in their eye too great affinity with the form of the Church of *Rome*; it differeth too much from that which Churches elsewhere reformed allow and observe; our Attire disgraceth it; it is not orderly read nor gestured as beseemeth; it requireth nothing to be done, which a Childe may not lawfully do; it hath a number of short cutts or shreddings, which may be better called Wishes than Prayers; it intermingleth Prayings and Readings in such manner, as, if Supplicants should use in proposing their Sutes unto mortal Princes, all the World would judge them madd; it is too long, and by that mean abridgeth Preaching; it appointeth the People to say after the Minister; it spendeth time in singing and in reading the Psalms by course, from side to side; it useth the Lord's Prayer too oft, the Songs of *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc Dimittis*, it might very well spare; it hath the Letany, the Creed of *Athanasius*, and *Gloria Patri*, which are superfluous; it craveth Earthly things too much; for deliverance from those Evils against which we pray, it giveth no Thanks; some things it asketh unseasonably, when they need not to be prayed for, as deliverance from Thunder and Tempest, when no Danger is nigh; some in too abject and diffident manner, as that God would give us that which we for our unworthiness dare not ask; some which ought not to be desired, as the deliverance from sudden Death, riddance from all Adversity, and the extent of saving Mercy towards all men. These and such like are the Imperfections, whereby our form of Common Prayer is thought to swerve from the Word of God. A great favourer of that part, but yet (his Errour that way excepted) a learned, painful, a right vertuous and good man, did not fear sometime to undertake, against Popish Detractors, the general maintenance and defence of our whole Church-Service, as having in it nothing repugnant to the Word of God. And even they which would file away most from the largeness of that Offer, do notwithstanding in more sparing terms acknowledge little less. For when those opposite judgements which never are wont to construe things doubtful to the better, those very tongues which are always prone to aggravate whatsoever hath but the least shew whereby it may be suspected to savour of, or to sound towards any evil, do by their own voluntary sentence clearly free us from gross Errours, and from manifest Impiety herein; who would not judge us to be discharged of all blame, which are confest to have no great fault, even by their very word and testimony, in whose eyes no fault of ours hath ever hitherto been accustomed to seem small? Nevertheless, what they seem to offer us with the one hand, the same with the other they pull back again. They grant we erre not in palpable manner, we are not openly and notoriously impious; yet Errors we have, which the sharp insight of their wisest men do espy; there is hidden impiety, which the profounder sort are able enough to disclose. Their skilful ears perceive certain harsh and unpleasant discords in the sound of our Common Prayer, such as the Rules of Divine Harmony, such as the Laws of God cannot bear.

of them who allowing a set form of Prayer, yet allow not ours.

[a] *T. C.* l. 1. p. 131. afterwards, p. 135. Whereas M. Doctor affirmeth that there can be nothing shewed in the whole Book which is not agreeable unto the Word of God: I am very loath, &c. Notwithstanding, my duty of defending the Truth and Love which I have first towards God, and then towards my Countrey, constraineth me being thus provoked, to speak a few words more particularly of the form of Prayer, that when the blemishes thereof do appear, it may please the Queens Majesty, and her Honourable Council, with those of the Parliament, &c.

28. Touch-

The form of our Liturgy too near the Papists, too far different from that of other reformed Churches, as they pretend.

28. Touching our Conformity with the Church of *Rome*, as also of the difference between some Reformed Churches and ours, that which generally hath been already answered, may serve for answer to that Exception, which in these two respects they take particularly against the form of our Common Prayer. To say, that in nothing they may be followed, which are of the Church of *Rome*, were violent and extream. Some things they do, in that they are men, in that they are Wise men, and Christian men, some things, some things in that they are men misled and blinded with Errour. As farr as they follow Reason and Truth, we fear not to tread the self-same steps wherein they have gone, and to be their Followers. Where *Rome* keepeth that which is antienter and better; others whom we much more affect leaving it for newer, and changing it for worse; we had rather follow the perfections of them whom we like not, than in defects resemble them whom we love. For although they profess they agree with us touching *a prescript form of Prayer to be used in the Church*; yet in that very form which they say, is *agreeable to God's Word, and the use of Reformed Churches*, they have by special Protestation declared, That their meaning is not, it shall be prescribed as a thing whereunto they will tye their Minister. *It shall not* (they say) *be necessary for the Minister daily to repeat all these things before mentioned, but beginning with* some like *Confession, to proceed to the Sermon; which ended, he either useth the Prayer for all States before mentioned, or else prayeth as the Spirit of God shall move his Heart.* Herein therefore we hold it much better, with the Church of *Rome*, to appoint a prescript form which every man shall be bound to observe, then with them to set down a kinde of direction, a form for men to use if they list, or otherwise to change as pleaseth themselves. Furthermore, the Church of *Rome* hath rightly also considered, that Publick Prayer is a Duty intire in it self, a Duty requisite to be performed, much oftner than Sermons can possibly be made. For which cause, as they, so we have likewise a Publick form how to serve God both Morning and Evening, whether Sermons may be had or no. On the contrary side, their form of Reformed Prayer sheweth only what shall be done *upon the dayes appointed for the Preaching of the Word*; with what words the Minister shall begin, *when the hour appointed for Sermon is come*; what shall be said or sung before Sermon, and what after. So that according to this form of theirs, it must stand for a Rule, *No Sermon, No Service.* Which over-sight, occasioned the French spitefully to term Religion in that sort exercised, a meer Preach. Sundry other more particular defects there are, which I willingly forbear to rehearse; in consideration whereof, we cannot be induced to preferr their Reformed form of Prayer before our own, what Church soever we resemble therein.

T. C. l. 1. p. 135. A Book of the form of Common Prayer tendered to the Parliament, p. 46.

Pag. 22. Pag. 24.

Attire belonging to the Service of God. *T. C. l. 1. p. 71.* We think the Surplice especially unmeet for a Minister of the Gospel to wear, p 75. It is easily seen by *Solomon Eccles.* 8. 9. that to wear a white Garment was highly esteemed in the East parts, and was ordinary to those that were in any estimation, as black with us, and therefore was no several Apparel for the Ministers to execute their Ministry in.

29. The Attire which the Minister of God is by Order to use at times of Divine Service, being but a matter of meer formality, yet such as for Comelines sake hath hitherto been judged by the wiser sort of men not unnecessary to concurr with other sensible Notes, betokening the different kinde or quality of Persons and Actions whereto it is tyed; as we think not our selves the holier, because we use it, so neither should they with whom no such thing is in use, think us therefore unholy, because we submit our selves unto that, which in a matter so indifferent the wisdom of Authority and Law have thought comely. To solemn Actions of Royalty and Justice, their suitable Ornaments are a Beauty. Are they only in Religion a stain? *Divine Religion*, saith Saint *Jerom* (he speaketh of the Priestly Attire of the Law) *hath one kinde of Habite wherein to minister before the Lord, another for ordinary uses belonging unto common life.* *Pelagius* having carped at the curious neatness of men's Apparel in those days, and through the sowreness of his disposition spoken somewhat too hardly thereof, affirming, That *the glory of Cloaths and Ornaments was a thing contrary to God and godliness*; S. *Jerom*, whose custom is not to pardon over-easily his Adversaries, if any where they chance to trip, presseth him as thereby making all sorts of men in the World *God's enemies. Is it enmity with God* (saith he) *if I wear my Coat somewhat handsome?* If a Bishop, a Priest, Deacon, and the rest of the Ecclesiastical Order *come to administer the usual Sacrifice in a* a *white Garment*, are

a *Hierom.* in 44. Ezech. *Hiero.* Adver. Pelag. l. 1. c. 9. *T. C.* l. 1. p. 77. By a White Garment is meant a comely Apparel, and not slovenly.

they

they hereby God's Adversaries; *Clarks, Monks, Widows, Virgins, take heed, it is dangerous for you to be otherwise seen than in foul and ragged Cloaths. Not to speak any thing of Secular men, which have proclaimed to have war with God as oft as ever they put on precious and shining Cloathes.* By which words of *Jerome*, we may take it at the least for a probable collection, that his meaning was to draw *Pelagius* into hatred, as condemning by so general a speech even the neatness of that very Garment it self, wherein the Clergy did then use to administer publickly the holy Sacrament of Christ's most blessed Body and Blood; For that they did then use some such Ornament, the words of *Chrysostome* give plain testimony, who speaking to the Clergy of *Antioch*, telleth them that if they did suffer notorious Malefactors to come to the Table of our Lord, and not put them by, it would be as heavily revenged upon them, as if themselves had shed his Blood, that for this purpose God had called them to the rooms which they held in the Church of Christ; that this they should reckon was their Dignity, this their Safety, this their whole Crown and Glory; and therefore this they should carefully intend, and not when the Sacrament is administred, imagine themselves called only *to walk up and down in a White and shining Garment.* Now, whereas these speeches of *Jerom* and *Chrysostom* do seem plainly to allude unto such Ministerial Garments as were then in use; To this they answer, that by *Jerom* nothing can be gathered, but only that the Ministers came to Church in handsome Holy-day apparel, and that himself did not think them bound by the Law of God no go like Slovens; but the Weed which we mean he defendeth not. That *Chrysostome* meaneth the same which we defend, but seemeth rather to reprehend than allow it as we do. Which Answer wringeth out of *Jerome* and *Chrysostome* that which their words will not gladly yield. They both speak of the same Persons, namely, the Clergy; and of their Weed at the same time when they administer the blessed Sacrament; and of the self-same kinde of Weed, a white Garment, so far as we have wit to conceive; and for any thing we are able to see, their manner of speech is not such as doth argue either the thing it self to be different whereof they speak, or their Judgment concerning it different; although the one do only maintain it against *Pelagius*, as a thing not therefore unlawful, because it was fair or handsom, and the other make it a matter of small commendation in it self, if they which wear it, do nothing else but weare the Robes which their Place requireth. The honesty, dignity, and estimation of White Apparel in the Eastern part of the World, is a token of greater fitness for this sacred use, wherein it were not convenient that any thing basely thoughr of should be suffered. Notwithstanding, I am not bent to stand stiffely upon these Probabilities, that in *Jerom*'s and *Chrysostom*'s time any such Attire was made several to this purpose. Yet surely the words of *Solomon* are very impertinent to prove it an Ornament, therefore not several for the Ministers to execute their Ministry in, because men of credit and estimation wore their ordinary Apparel white. For we know that when *Solomon* wrote those words, the several Apparel for the Ministers of the Law, to execute their Ministry in, was such. The Wise man which feared God from his heart, and honoured the Service that was done unto him, could not mention so much as the Garment of Holiness, but with effectual signification of most singular reverence and love. Were it not better that the love which men bear to God, should make the least things which are imployed in his Service amiable, than that their over-scrupulous dislike of so mean a thing as a Vestment, should from the very Service of God with-draw their hearts and affections? I term it rather a mean thing, a thing not much to be respected, because even they so account now of it, whose first Disputations against it were such, as if Religion had scarcely any thing of greater waight. Their Allegations were then, *That if a man were assured to gain a thousand by doing that which may offend any one Brother, or be unto him a cause of falling, he ought not to do it; That this Popish Apparel, the Surplice especially, hath been by Papists abominably abused; That it hath been a mark and a very Sacrament of Abomination; That remaining, it serveth as a Monument of Idolatry*, and not only edifieth not, but, as a dangerous and scandalous Ceremony doth exceeding much harm *to them of whose good we are commanded to have regard, that it causeth men to perish, and make shipwrack of Conscience*, for so themselves profess they mean, when they say the weak are offended herewith; *that it hardneth Papists, hin-*

Chrysost. ad popul. Antioch. tom. 5. Serm. 60.

T. C. l. 1. p. 75. It is true, *Chrysostom* maketh mention of a White Garment, but not in commendation of it, but rather to the contrary: for he sheweth that the dignity of their Ministery was in taking heed that none unmeet were admitted to the Lords Supper, not in going about the Church with a White Garment.

Eccles. 45. 7.

T. C. l. 1. p. 69.

71.

75.

72.

T. C. l. 2. p. 403. l. 1. p. 73, 76. l. 2. p. 403.

dreth

dreth the weak from profiting in the knowledge of the Goſpel, grieveth godly mindes, and giveth them occaſion to think hardly of their Miniſters; that if the *Magiſtrates may command, or the* Church *appoint* Rites *and* Ceremonies, *yet ſeeing our abſtinence from things in their own nature indifferent, if the weak Brother ſhould be offended, is a flat Commandement of the Holy Ghoſt, which no Authority either of* Church *or* Common-wealth *can make void*; therefore neither may the one nor the other lawfully *ordain this* Ceremony, *which hath great incommodity and no profit, great offence and no edifying*; That by the Law it ſhould have been burnt and conſumed with fire as a thing infected with Leproſie; That the Example of *Ezekiah* beating to powder the Brazen Serpent, and of *Paul* abrogating thoſe abuſed Feaſts of Charity, *inforceth upon us the duty of aboliſhing altogether* a thing which hath been, and is ſo offenſive; Finally, That God by his Prophet hath given an expreſs Commandement, which in this caſe toucheth us, no leſs than of old it did the Jews, *Ye ſhall pollute the covering of the Images of Silver, and the rich ornament of your Images of Gold, and caſt them away as a ſtained ragg; thou ſhalt ſay unto it, Get thee hence.* Theſe, and ſuch like, were their firſt Diſcourſes, touching that Church-Attire, which with us for the moſt part is uſual in Publick Prayer; our Eccleſiaſtical Laws ſo appointing, as well becauſe it hath been of reaſonable continuance, and by ſpecial choice was taken out of the number of thoſe holy Garments, which (over and beſides their myſtical reference) ſerved for [a] comelineſs [b] under the Law, and is in the number of thoſe Ceremonies, which may with choice and diſcretion be uſed to that purpoſe in the Church of Chriſt; as alſo for that it ſuiteth ſo fitly with that lightſom affection of [c] joy, wherein God delighteth when his Saints praiſe him; and ſo lively reſembleth the glory of the Saints in Heaven, together with the beauty wherein Angels have appeared unto men, that they which are to appear for men in the preſence of God, as Angels, if they were left to their own choice, and would chuſe any, could not eaſily deviſe a Garment of more decency for ſuch a Service. As for thoſe fore-rehearſed vehement allegations againſt it, ſhall we give them credit, when the very Authors from whom they came, confeſs they believe not their own ſayings? For when once they began to perceive how many, both of them in the two Univerſities, and of others, who abroad having Eccleſiaſtical charge, do favour mightily their Cauſe, and by all means ſet it forward, might by perſiſting in the extremity of that Opinion, hazard greatly their own Eſtates, and ſo weaken that part which their Places do now give them much opportunity to ſtrengthen; they asked counſel, as it ſeemed from ſome abroad, who wiſely conſidered, that the Body is of far more worth than the Rayment. Whereupon, for fear of dangerous inconveniences, it hath been thought good to adde, That ſometimes Authority *muſt and may with good conſcience be obeyed, even where Commandment is not given upon good ground; That the duty of Preaching is one of the abſolute Commandements of God, and therefore ought not to be forſaken; for the bare inconveniency of a thing which in the own nature is indifferent; That one of the foulеſt ſpots in the Surplice, is the offence which it giveth in occaſioning the weak to fall, and the wicked to be* confirmed in their wickedneſs; yet hereby there is no unlawfulneſs proved, but *only an inconveniency*, that ſuch things ſhould be eſtabliſhed, howbeit no ſuch Inconveniency neither, as may not be born with; That when God doth flatly command us to abſtain from things in their own Nature indifferent; if they offend our weak Brethren, his meaning is not we ſhould obey his Commandement herein, unleſs we may do it, *and not leave undone that which the Lord hath abſolutely commanded.* Always provided, That whoſoever will enjoy the benefit of this Diſpenſation, to wear a ſcandalous Badge of Idolatry, rather than forſake his Paſtoral charge, do (*as occaſion ſerveth*) *teach* nevertheleſs ſtill *the incommodity of the thing it ſelf, admoniſh the weak Brethren that they be not, and pray unto God ſo to ſtrengthen them that they may not be offended thereat.* So that whereas before, they which had Authority to inſtitute Rites and Ceremonies, were denyed to have power to inſtitute this, it is now confeſt, that this they may alſo lawfully, but not ſo conveniently appoint; they did well before, and as they ought, who had it in utter deteſtation and hatred as a thing abominable; they now do well, which think it may be both born and uſed with a very good Conſcience; before, he which by wearing it were ſure to win thouſands unto Chriſt, ought not to do it if there were but one which might be offended; now, though it be with the offence of thouſands, yet it may be done rather than that ſhould be given over, whereby notwith-

Lib. 1. p 76. Page 81.

Page 78.

Eſay 30. 22.

a Exod. 28. 2.
b Exod 39 27

c Pſal. 149. 2. Apoc. 15. 6. Mar. 16. 5.

T.C. l. 1. p. 74. & l. 2. p 250. Index. l 3. c. 8. l. 3 p. 262, 263.

Lib. 3. P. 263.

Page 263.

notwithstanding we are not certain we shall gain one; the Examples of *Ezechias* and of *Paul*, the Charge which was given to the Jews by *Esay*; the strict Apostolical prohibition of things indifferent, whensoever they may be scandalous, were before so forcible Laws against our Ecclesiastical Attire, as neither Church nor Common-wealth could possibly make void, which now one of far less authority than either, hath found how to frustrate by dispensing with the breach of inferiour Commandments, to the end that the greater may be kept. But it booteth them not, thus to soder up a broken Cause, whereof their first and last discourses will fall asunder, do what they can. Let them ingenuously confess that their Invectives were too bitter, their Arguments too weak, the matter not so dangerous as they did imagin. If those alleged testimonies of Scripture did indeed concern the matter, to such effect as was pretended, that which they should inferr were unlawfulness, because they were cited as Prohibitions of that thing which indeed they concern. If they prove not our attire unlawful, because in truth they concern it not, it followeth that they prove not any thing against it, and consequently, not so much as uncomeliness or inconveniency. Unless therefore they be able throughly to resolve themselves, that there is no one Sentence in all the Scriptures of God, which doth controul the wearing of it in such manner, and to such purpose, as the Church of *England* alloweth; unless they can fully rest and settle their mindes in this most sound perswasion, that they are not to make themselves the only competent Judges of decency in these cases, and to despise the solemn judgement of the whole Church, preferring before it their own conceit, grounded only upon uncertain suspicions and fears, whereof if there were at the first some probable cause, when things were but raw and tender, yet now very tract of time hath it self worn that out also; unless, I say, thus resolved in minde they hold their Pastoral Charge with the comfort of a good Conscience, no way grudging at that which they do, or doing that which they think themselves bound of duty to reprove, how should it possibly help or further them in their course, to take such occasions as they say are requisite to be taken, and in pensive manner to tell their Audience; "*Brethren, our hearts desire is, that we might enjoy the full liberty of the Gospel, as in o-*
"*ther reformed Churches they do elsewhere, upon whom the heavy hand of Authority hath*
"*imposed no grievous burthen. But such is the misery of these our days, that so great happi-*
"*ness we cannot look to attain unto. Were it so, that the equity of the Law of* Moses *could*
"*prevail; or the zeal of* Ezechias *be found in the hearts of those Guides and Governours un-*
"*der whom we live; or the voyce of God's own Prophets be duly heard; or the Examples of the*
"*Apostles of Christ be followed; yea, or their Precepts be answered with full and perfect obedi-*
"*ence: these abominable Raggs, polluted Garments, marks and Sacraments of Idolatry, which*
"*Power, as you see, constraineth us to wear, and Conscience to abhor, had long ere this day*
"*been removed both out of sight and out of memory. But, as now things stand, behold to what*
"*narrow streights we are driven; On the one side, we fear the words of our Saviour*
"*Christ*, Woe be to them by whom scandal and offence cometh: *on the other side,*
"*at the Apostles speech we cannot but quake and tremble*, If I preach not the Gospel,
"woe be unto me. *Being thus hardly beset, we see not any other remedy, but to hazzard*
"*your Souls the one way, that we may the other way endeavour to save them. Touching the*
"*the offence of the Weak therefore, we must adventure it. If they perish, they perish. Our*
"*Pastoral charge is God's most absolute Commandment. Rather than that shall be taken from*
"*us, we are resolved to take this filth, and to put it on, although we judge it to be so*
"*unfit and inconvenient, that as oft as ever we pray or preach so arrayed before you,*
"*we do as much as in us lyeth, to cast away your Souls that are weak-minded, and*
"*to bring you unto endless perdition. But we beseech you, Brethren, have a care of*
"*your own safety, take heed to your steps, that ye be not taken in those snares which we*
"*lay before you. And our Prayer in your behalf to Almigbty God is, that the poyson*
"*which we offer you, may never have the power to do you harm.* Advice and counsel is best sought for at their hands, which either have no part at all in the Cause whereof they instruct; or else are so farr ingaged, that themselves are to bear the greatest adventure in the success of their own Counsels. The one of which two Considerations maketh men the less respective, and the other the more circumspect. Those good and learned men which gave the first direction to this course, had reason to wish that their own proceedings at home might be favoured abroad also, and that the good affection of such as inclined towards them might be kept alive. But

if themſelves had gone under thoſe ſails which they require to be hoiſed up, if they had been themſelves to execute their own Theory in this Church, I doubt not but eaſily they would have ſeen, being nearer at hand, that the way was not good which they took of adviſing men, firſt, to wear the apparel, that thereby they might be free to continue their preaching, and then, of requiring them ſo to preach as they might be ſure they could not continue, except they imagine that Laws which permit them not to do as they would, will endure them to ſpeak as they liſt, even againſt that which themſelves do by conſtraint of Laws; they would have eaſily ſeen that our People being accuſtomed to think evermore that thing evil which is publickly under any pretence reproved, and the men themſelves worſe which reprove it, and uſe it too; it ſhould be to little purpoſe for them to ſalve the wound, by making proteſtations in diſgrace of their own actions, with plain acknowledgement that they are ſcandalous, or by uſing fair intreaty with the weak Brethren; they would eaſily have ſeen how with us it cannot be endured, to hear a man openly profeſs that he putteth fire to his Neighbors houſe, but yet ſo hallow-eth the ſame with Prayer, that he hopeth it ſhall not burn. It had been therefore perhaps ſafer and better for ours to have obſerved S. *Baſils* advice, both in this and in all things of like nature: *Let him which approveth not his Governours Ordinances, either plainly (but privately always) ſhew his diſlike if he have λόγον ἰσχυρὸν, ſtrong and invincible reaſon againſt them, according to the true will and meaning of Scripture; or elſe let him quietly with ſilence do what is enjoyned.* Obedience with profeſt unwillingneſs to obey, is no better than manifeſt diſobedience.

Baſil. Aſcet. reſponſ. ad inter. 47.

Of geſture in praying, and of different places choſen to that purpoſe. *T.C.l.*1.*p* 134.

30. Having thus diſputed, whether the Surplice be a fit Garment to be uſed in the ſervice of God, the next Queſtion whereinto we are drawn, is, Whether it be a thing allowable or no, that the Miniſter ſhould ſay Service in the Chancel, or turn his face at any time from the People, or before Service ended remove from the place where it was begun? By them which trouble us with theſe doubts, we would more willingly be reſolved of a greater doubt; Whether it be not a kinde of taking God's Name in vain, to debaſe Religion with ſuch frivolous diſputes, a ſin to beſtow time and labour about them? Things of ſo mean regard and quality, although neceſſary to be ordered, are notwithſtanding very unſavory when they come to be diſputed of; becauſe Diſputation preſuppoſeth ſome difficulty in the matter which is argued, whereas in things of this nature they muſt be either very ſimple or very froward, who need to be taught by diſputation what is meet. When we make profeſſion of our Faith, we ſtand; when we acknowledge our ſins, or ſeek unto God for favour, we fall down; becauſe the geſture of conſtancy becometh us beſt in the one, in the other the behavior of humility. Some part of our Liturgy conſiſt in the reading of the word of God, and the proclaiming of his Law, that the people may thereby learn what their duties are towards him; ſome conſiſt in words of prayer and thankſgiving, whereby we acknowledge unto God what his bleſſings are towards us; ſome are ſuch as albeit they ſerve to ſingular good purpoſe, even when there is no Communion adminiſtred; nevertheleſs, being deviſed at the firſt for that purpoſe, are at the Table of the Lord for that cauſe alſo commonly read; ſome are uttered as from the people, ſome as with them unto God, ſome as from God unto them, all as before his ſight, whom we fear, and whoſe preſence to offend with any the leaſt unſeemlineſs, we would be ſure as loath as they, who moſt reprehend or deride that we do. Now, becauſe the Goſpels which are weekly read, do all hiſtorically declare ſomething which our Lord Jeſus Chriſt himſelf either ſpake, did, or ſuffered in his own Perſon, it hath been the cuſtom of Chriſtian men then eſpecially in token of the greater reverence to ſtand, to utter certain words of acclamation, and at the name of Jeſus to bow. Which harmleſs Ceremonies there is *no man conſtrained to uſe*; ſo we know no reaſon wherefore any man ſhould imagine it an unſufferable evil. It ſheweth a reverend regard to the Son of God above other Meſſengers, although ſpeaking as from God alſo. And againſt Infidels, Jews, Arrians who derogate from the honor of Jeſus Chriſt, ſuch Ceremonies are moſt profitable. for any erroneous *eſtimation*, advancing the Son *above the Father and the holy Ghoſt*, ing that the truth of his equality with them, is a myſtery ſo hard for the wits of men to riſe unto, of all Hereſies, that which may give him ſuperiority above them leaſt to be feared. But to let go this as a matter ſcarce worth the ſpeaking of, as, if fault be in theſe things any where juſtly found, Law hath referred the diſpoſition and redreſs thereof to the Ordinary of the place; they which elſewhere

*T.C.l.*1.*p.*203.

Mark 12. 6.

*T.C.l.*3 *p.*215.

*T.C.l.*1.*p.*74.

comp

complain, that diſgrace and injury is offered even to the meaneſt Pariſh Miniſter, when the Magiſtrate appointeth him what to wear, and leaveth not ſo ſmall a matter as that to his own diſcretion, being preſumed a man diſcreet, and truſted with the care of the Peoples Souls, do think the graveſt Prelates in the Land no competent Judges, to diſcern and appoint where it is fit for the Miniſter to ſtand, or which way convenient to look Praying. From their Ordinary therefore they appeal to themſelves, finding great fault that we neither reform the thing againſt the which they have ſo long ſince given ſentence, nor yet make anſwer unto what they bring, which is, that Saint *Luke*, declaring how *Peter ſtood up in the middeſt of the Diſciples*, did thereby deliver an unchangeable rule, that *whatſoever* is done in the Church, *ought to be done* in the midſt of the Church; and therefore not Baptiſm to be adminiſtred in one place, Marriage ſolemnized in another, the Supper of the Lord received in a third, in a fourth Sermons, in a fifth Prayers to be made; that the cuſtom which we uſe is Levitical, abſurd, and ſuch as hindreth the underſtanding of the People; that if it be meet for the Miniſter, at ſome time to look towards the People, if the body of the Church be a fit place for ſome part of Divine Service, it muſt needs follow that whenſoever his face is turned any other way, or any thing done any other where, it hath abſurdity. *All theſe reaſons*, they ſay, have been brought, and were hitherto never anſwered; beſides a number of merriments and jeſts unanſwered likewiſe, wherewith they have pleaſantly moved much laughter at our manner of ſerving God. Such is their evil hap to play upon dull ſpirited men. We are ſtill perſwaded that a bare denyal is anſwer ſufficient to things which meer fancy objecterh; and that the beſt Apology to words of ſcorn and petulancy, is *Iſaac*'s Apology to his Brother *Iſmael*, the Apology which patience and ſilence maketh. Our Anſwer therefore to their Reaſons, is, no; to their Scoffs, nothing.

*T.C.*l.1.p.134. l. 3. p. 187.

Acts 1. 15. *T.C.*l.1.p.134 l. 3 p. 187.

31. When they object that our Book requireth nothing to be done, which a Childe may not do as *lawfully and as well as that man wherewith the Book contenteth it ſelf*; Is it their meaning that the ſervice of God ought to be a matter of great difficulty, a Labour which requireth great learning and deep skill, or elſe that the Book containing it ſhould teach what men are fit to attend upon it, and forbid either men unlearned, or Children, to be admitted thereunto? In ſetting down the form of Common-Prayer, there was no need that the Book ſhould mention either the learning of a fit, or the unfitneſs of an ignorant Miniſter, more than that he which deſcribeth the manner how to pitch a field, ſhould ſpeak of moderation and ſobriety in diet. And concerning the duty it ſelf, although the hardneſs thereof be not ſuch as needeth much Art, yet ſurely they ſeem to be very farr carried beſides themſelves, to whom the dignity of Publick Prayer doth not diſcover ſomewhat more fitneſs in men of gravity and ripe diſcretion, than in *children of ten years of age*; for the decent diſcharge and performance of that Office. It cannot be that they who ſpeak thus, ſhould thus judge. At the board and in private it very well becommeth Children's innocency to pray, and their Elders to ſay, *Amen*. Which being a part of their vertuous education, ſerveth greatly both to nouriſh in them the fear of God, and to put us in continual remembrance of that powerful grace which openeth the mouths of Infants to ſound his praiſe. But Publick Prayer, the ſervice of God in the ſolemn Aſſembly of Saints, is a work, though eaſie, yet withal ſo weighty and of ſuch reſpect, that the great facility thereof is but a ſlender argument to prove, it may be as well and as lawfully committed to Children as to men of years, howſoever their ability of learning be but only to do rhat in decent order wherewith the Book contenteth it ſelf. The Book requireth but orderly reading. As in truth, what ſhould any Preſcript form of Prayer framed to the Miniſter's hand require, but only ſo to be read as behoveth? We know that there are in the world certain voluntary Over-ſeers of all Books, whoſe cenſure in this reſpect would fall as ſharp on us as it hath done on many others, if delivering but a form of Prayer, we ſhould either expreſs or include any thing, more than doth properly concern Prayer. The Miniſters greatneſs or meanneſs of knowledge to do other things, his aptneſs or inſufficiency otherwiſe than by reading to inſtruct the flock, ſtandeth in this place as a Stranger, with whom our form of Common-Prayer hath nothing to do. Wherein their exception againſt eaſineſs, as if that did nouriſh Ignorance, proceedeth altogether out of a needleſs jealouſie, I have often

Eaſineſs of Praying after our form. *T.C.*l.1.p.133. & l.3. p.184.

Another fault in the whole Service or Liturgy of *England*, is, for that it maintaineth an unpreaching Miniſtry in requiring nothing to be done by the Miniſter, which a Child of ten years old cannot do as well, and as lawfully, as that man wherewith the Book contenteth it ſelf.

ten heard it inquired of by many, how it might be brought to pass that the Church should every where have able Preachers to instruct the People; what impediments there are to hinder it, and which were the speediest way to remove them. In which consultation, the multitude of Parishes, the paucity of Schools, the manifold discouragements which are offered unto mens inclinations that way, the penury of the Ecclesiastical estate, the irrecoverable loss of so many Livings of principal value, clean taken away from the Church long sithence by being appropriated, the daily bruises that Spiritual promotions use to take by often falling, the want of somewhat in certain Statutes which concern the state of the Church, the too great facility of many Bishops, the stony hardness of too many Patrons hearts not touched with any feeling in this case: such things oftentimes are debated, and much thought upon by them that enter into any discourse concerning any defect of knowledge in the Clergy. But whosoever be found guilty, the Communion Book hath surely deserved least to be called in question for this fault. If all the Clergie were as learned as themselves are that most complain of ignorance in others, yet our Book of Prayer might remain the same; and remaining the same it is, I see not how it can be a lett unto any man's skill in Preaching. Which thing we acknowledge to be God's good gift, howbeit no such necessarie element, that every act of Religion should he thought imperfect and lame, wherein there is not somewhat exacted that none can discharge but an able Preacher.

The length of our Service. *T.C l.1.p.133. & l.3. p.184.*

32. Two faults there are, which our Lord and Saviour himself especially reproved in Prayer; the one, when ostentation did cause it to be open; the other, when superstition made it long. As therefore Prayers the one way are faulty, not whensoever they be openly made, but when Hypocrisie is the cause of open Praying: so the length of Prayer is likewise a fault, howbeit not simply, but where errour and superstition causeth more than convenient repetition or continuation of speech to be used. It is not, as some do imagine, (saith Saint *Augustine*) that long Praying is that fault of much speaking in Prayer which our Saviour did reprove; for then would not he himself in Prayer have continued whole nights. Use in Prayer no vain superfluity of words, as the Heathens doe, for they imagine that their much speaking will cause them to be heard: whereas in truth the thing which God doth regard is, how vertuous their mindes are, and not how copious their tongues in Prayer; how well they think, and not how long they talk, who come to present their Supplications before him. Notwithstanding for as much as in Publick Prayer we are not only to consider what is needful in respect of God, but there is also in men that which we must regard; we somewhat the rather incline to length, lest over-quick dispatch of a Duty so important should give the World occasion to deem, that the thing it self is but little accounted of, wherein but little time is bestowed. Length thereof is a thing which the gravity and weight of such actions doth require. Beside, this benefit also it hath, that they whom earnest letts and impediments do often hinder from being Partakers of the whole, have yet through the length of Divine Service, opportunity left them, at the least, for access unto some reasonable part thereof. Again, it should be considered, how it doth come to pass that we are so long. For if that very Service of God in the Jewish Synagogues, which our Lord did approve and sanctifie with the presence of his own Person, had so large portions of the Law and the Prophets, together with so many Prayers and Psalms read day by day, as do equal in a manner the length of ours, and yet in that respect was never thought to deserve blame, is it now an offence, that the like measure of time is bestowed in the like manner? Peradventure the Church had not now the leisure which it had then, or else those things whereupon so much time was then well spent, have sithence that lost their dignity and worth. If the reading of the Law, the Prophets and Psalms, be a part of the Service of God, as needful under Christ as before, and the adding of the New Testament, as profitable as the ordaining of the Old to be read; if therewith instead of Jewish Prayers it be also for the good of the Church to annex that variety which the Apostle doth commend; seeing that the time which we spend is no more than the orderly performance of these things necessarily required, why are we thought to exceed in length? Words, be they never so few, are too many when they benefit not the Hearer. But he which

Luke 6. 12.

1 Tim. 2. 1.

Aug. Ep. 121.

speaketh

ſpeaketh no more than edifieth, is undeſervedly reprehended for much ſpeaking. That as *the Devil under the colour of long Prayer drave Preaching out of the Church* heretofore, *ſo* we *in appointing ſo long Prayers and Readings, whereby the leſs can be ſpent in Preaching, maintain an unpreaching Miniſtry*, is neither adviſedly nor truly ſpoken. They reprove long Prayer, and yet acknowledge it to be in it ſelf a thing commendable; For ſo it muſt needs be, if the Devil have uſed it as a colour to hide his malicious practiſes. When Malice would work that which is evil, and in working avoid the ſuſpition of any evil intent, the colour wherewith it overcaſteth it ſelf, is always a fair and plauſible pretence of ſeeking to further that which is good. So that if we both retain that good which Saran hath pretended to ſeek, and avoid the evil which his purpoſe was to effect, have we not bet ter prevented his malice, than if, as he hath, under colour of long Prayer, driven Preaching out of the Church; ſo we ſhould take the quarrel of Sermons in hand, and revenge their Cauſe, by requital, thruſting Prayer in a manner out of doors under colour of long Preaching? In caſe our Prayers being made at their full length, did neceſſarily inforce Sermons to be the ſhorter, yet neither were this to uphold and maintain an unpreaching Miniſtery, unleſs we will ſay that thoſe antient Fathers, *Chryſoſtom*, *Auguſtine*, *Leo*, and the reſt, whoſe Homilies in that conſideration were ſhorter for the moſt part than our Sermons are, did then not preach when their Speeches were not long. The neceſſity of ſhortneſs cauſeth men to cut off impertinent Diſcourſes, and to comprize much matter in few words. But neither did it maintain inabilitie, nor at all prevent opportunitie of Preaching, as long as a competent time is granted for that purpoſe. *An hour and an half* is, they ſay, in reformed Churches ordinarily thought reaſonable, for *their whole Liturgy or Service*. Do we then continue as *Ezra* did in reading the Law from morning till mid-day? or, as the Apoſtle Saint *Paul* did in Prayer and Preaching, till men through wearineſs be taken up dead at our feet? The huge length whereof they make ſuch complaint, is but this, that if our whole form of Prayer be read, and beſides an hour allowed for a Sermon, we ſpend ordinarily in both more time than they do by half an hour. Which half hour being ſuch a matter, as the *age of ſome, and infirmity of other ſome are not able to bear*; if we have any ſenſe of the *common imbecillity*, if any care to preſerve mens wits from being broken with the very *bent of ſo long attention*, if any love or deſire to provide that things moſt holy be not with hazard of mens Souls abhorr'd and loathed, this half-hours tedioufneſs muſt be remedied, and that only by cutting off the greateſt part of our Common Prayer. For no other remedie will ſerve to help ſo dangerous an Inconvenience.

T.C. l.1.p.184

Neh. 8. 3.

Acts 20.9.

33. The Brethren in *Ægypt* (ſaith St. *Auguſtin, Epiſt.* 121.) are reported to have many Prayers, but every of them very ſhort, as if they were Darts thrown out with a kinde of ſudden quickneſs, leſt that vigilant and erect attention of minde, which in Prayer is very neceſſary, ſhould be waſted or dulled through continuance, if their Prayers were few and long. But that which St. *Auguſtine* doth allow, they condemn. Thoſe Prayers whereunto devout mindes have added a piercing kinde of brevity, as well in that reſpect which we have already mentioned, as alſo thereby the better to expreſs that quick and ſpeedy expedition, wherewith ardent affections, the very wings of Prayer, are delighted to preſent our ſuits in Heaven, even ſooner than our tongues can deviſe to utter them; they in their mood of contradiction ſpare not openly to deride, and that with ſo baſe terms as do very ill beſeem men of their gravity. Such ſpeeches are ſcandalous, they ſavour not of God in him that uſeth them, and unto vertuouſly diſpoſed mindes they are grievous corroſives. Our caſe were miſerable, if that wherewith we moſt endeavour to pleaſe God, were in his ſight ſo vile and deſpicable, as mens diſdainful ſpeech would make it.

Inſtead of ſuch Prayers as the Primitive Churches have uſed, and thoſe that be reformed now uſe; we have (they ſay) divers ſhort cuts or ſhreddings, rather wiſhes than Prayers. T.C. l.1.p.138. & l. 3. p. 210, 211.

34. Again, for as much as effectual Prayer is joyned with a vehement intention of the inferiour powers of the Soul, which cannot therein long continue without pain, it hath been therefore thought good ſo by turns to interpoſe ſtill ſomewhat for the higher part of the minde, the underſtanding to work upon, that both being kept in continual exerciſe with variety, neither might feel any great wearineſſe, and yet each be a ſpurre to other. For Prayer kindleth our deſire to behold God by ſpeculation; and the minde delighted with

Leſſons intermingled with our Prayers.

that

that contemplative ſight of God, taketh every where new inflammations to pray, the riches of the Myſteries of Heavenly wiſdom continually ſtirring up in us correſpondent deſires towards them. So that he which prayeth in due ſort, is thereby made the more attentive to hear, and he which heareth, the more earneſt to pray, for the time which we beſtow as well in the one as the other. But for what cauſe ſoever we do it, this intermingling of Heſſons with Prayers is *in their taſte a thing as unſavoury, and as unſeemly in their ſight, as if the like ſhould be done in Suits and Supplications before ſome mighty Prince of the World. Our ſpeech to worldly Superiours we frame in ſuch ſort as ſerveth beſt to inform and perſwade the mindes of them, who otherwiſe neither could nor would greatly regard our neceſſities: Whereas, becauſe we know that God is indeed a King, but a *great* King; who underſtandeth all things beforehand, which no other King beſides doth, a King which needeth not to be informed what we lack, a King readier to grant than we to make our requeſts; therefore in Prayer we do not ſo much reſpect what Precepts Art delivereth touching the method of perſwaſive utterance in the preſence of great men, as what doth moſt avail to our own edification in piety and godly zeal. If they on the contrary ſide do think that the ſame rules of decency which ſerve for things done unto terrene Powers, ſhould univerſally decide what is fit in the ſervice of God, if it be their meaning to hold it for a Maxim, That the Church muſt deliver her publick Supplications unto God in no other form of ſpeech than ſuch as were decent; if ſuit ſhould be made to the Great Turk, or ſome other Monarch, let them apply their own rule unto their own form of Common-Prayer. Suppoſe that the people of a whole Town, with ſome choſen man before them, did continually twice or thrice in a week reſort to their King, and every time they come, firſt acknowledge themſelves guilty of Rebellions and Treaſons, then ſing a Song; and after that explain ſome Statute of the Land to the Standers by, and therein ſpend at the leaſt an hour; this done, turn themſelves again to the King, and for every ſort of his Subjects crave ſomewhat of him; at the length ſing him another Song, and ſo take their leave: Might not the King well think, that either they knew not what they would have; or elſe that they were diſtracted in minde, or ſome other ſuch like cauſe of the diſorder of their Supplication? This form of ſuing unto Kings were abſurd: This form of Praying unto God they allow. When God was ſerved with legal Sacrifices, ſuch was the miſerable and wretched diſpoſition of ſome mens mindes, that the beſt of every thing they had being culled out for themſelves, if there were in their flocks any poor ſtarved or diſeaſed thing not worth the keeping, they thought it good enough for the Altar of God, pretending (as wiſe Hypocrites do when they rob God to enrich themſelves) that the fatneſs of Calves doth benefit him nothing; to us the beſt things are moſt profitable, to him all as one, if the minde of the Offerer be good, which is the only thing he reſpecteth. In reproof of which their devout fraud, the Prophet *Malachy* alledgeth, that gifts are offered unto God not as [a] ſupplys of his want indeed, but yet as teſtimonies of that affection wherewith we acknowledge and honour his greatneſs. For which cauſe, ſith the greater they are whom we honour, the more regard we have to the quality and choice of thoſe Preſents which we bring them for honor's ſake; it muſt needs follow that if we dare not diſgrace our worldly Superiours with offering unto them ſuch reffuſe as we bring unto God himſelf, we ſhew plainly that our acknowledgment of his Greatneſſe is but feigned; in heart we fear him not ſo much as we dread them. *If ye offer the blinde for Sacrifice, is it not evil? Offer it now unto thy Prince; Will he be content or accept thy Perſon, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts? Curſed be the Deceiver which hath in his Flock a Male, and having made a Vow, ſacrificeth unto the Lord a corrupt thing: For I am a great King, ſaith the Lord of Hoſts.* Should we hereupon frame a Rule, that what form of ſpeech or behaviour ſoever is fit for Suiters in a Prince's Court,

* We have no ſuch forms in Scripture as that we ſhould pray in two or three lines, and then after having read a while ſome other thing, come and pray as much more, and ſo the 20. or the 30. time, with pauſes between. If a man ſhould come to a Prince, and having very many things to demand; after he had demanded one thing, would ſtay a long time, and then demand another, and ſo the third; the Prince might well think that either he came to aske before he knew what he had need of, or that he had forgotten ſome piece of his Suit, or that he were diſtracted in his underſtanding, or ſome other like cauſe of the diſorder of his Supplication. *T. C.* l. 1. p. 138. This kinde of reaſon the Prophet in the matter of Sacrifices doth uſe. *T. C.* l. 3. p. 210.

[a] Μέρη τιμῆς τὰ δῶρα, τὰ παρ' ἐκάστοις τίμια. Καὶ διὸ τὸ δῶρον ἐστὶ κλήσεως καὶ τιμῆς σημεῖον. Διὸ καὶ οἱ φιλοχρήματοι καὶ οἱ φιλότιμοι ἐφίενται αὐτῶν. Ἀμφοτέρως γὰρ ἔχει ὧν δέονται. Καὶ γὰρ κλῆμα ἐστιν οὗ ἐφίενται οἱ φιλοχρήματοι, καὶ τιμὴ ἔχει οὗ οἱ φιλότιμοι. Ariſt. Rhet. lib. 1. cap. 5.

Mal. 1. 8. 14.

Court, the same and no other beseemeth us in our Prayers to Almighty God.

35. But in vain we labour to perswade them that any thing can take away the tediousnes of Prayer, except it be brought to the very same both measure and form which themselves assign. Whatsoever therefore our Liturgy hath more than theirs, under one devised pretence or other they cut it off. We have of Prayers for Earthly things in their opinion too great a number; so oft to rehearse the Lords Prayer in so small a time, is, as they think, a loss of time, the Peoples praying after the Minister, they say, both wasteth time, and also maketh an unpleasant sound; the *Psalms* they would not have to be made (as they are) a part of our Common-Prayer, nor to be sung or said by turns, nor such Musick to be used with them; those Evangelical *Hymns* they allow not to stand in our Liturgy; the *Letany*, the *Creed of Athanasius*, the *Sentence of Glory*, wherewith we use to conclude *Psalms*, these things they cancel, as having been instituted in regard of occasions peculiar to the times of old, and as being therefore now superfluous. Touching Prayers for things earthly, we ought not to think that the Church hath set down so many of them without cause. They, peradventure, which finde this fault, are of the same affection with *Solomon*; so that if God should offer to grant them whatsoever they ask, they would neither crave Riches, nor length of dayes, nor yet victory over their Enemies, but only an understanding heart; for which cause themselves having Eagles wings, are offended to see others flye so near the ground. But the tender kindnes of the Church of God it very well beseemeth, to help the weaker sort, which are by so great oddes moe in number, although some few of the perfecter and stronger may be therewith for a time displeased. Ignorant we are not, that of such as resorted to our Saviour Christ being present on Earth, there came not any unto him with better success for the benefit of their Souls everlasting happines, than they whose bodily necessities gave them the first occasion to seek relief, where they saw willingnes and ability of doing every way good unto all. The graces of the Spirit are much more precions than worldly benefits; our ghostly evils of greater importance than any harm which the body feeleth. Therefore our desires to heaven-ward should both in measure and number no less exceed, than their glorious Object doth every way excel in value. These things are true and plain in the eye of a perfect Judgement. But yet it must be withal considered, that the greatest part of the World are they which be fartheſt from perfection. Such being better able by sense to discern the wants of this present life, than by spiritual capacity to apprehend things above sense, which tend to their happines in the world to come, are in that respect the more apt to apply their mindes even with hearty affection and zeal at the least unto those Branches of Publick prayer, wherein their own particular is moved. Aud by this mean there stealeth upon them a double benefit; first, because that good affection, which things of smaller account have once set on work, is by so much the more easily raised higher; and secondly, in that the very custom of seeking so particular aide and relief at the hands of God, doth by a secret contradiction withdraw them from endeavouring to help themselves by those wicked shifts, which they know can never have his allowance, whose assistance their Prayer seeketh. These multiplyed Petitions of worldly things in Prayer have therefore, besides their direct use, a Service, whereby the Church under-hand, through a kinde of heavenly fraud, taketh therewith the Souls of men as with certain baits. If then their calculation be true (for so they reckon) that a full third of our Prayers be allotted unto earthly benefits, for which our Saviour in his platform hath appointed but one Petition amongst seven, the difference is without any great disagreement; we respecting what men are, and doing that which is meet in regard of the common imperfection, our Lord contrariwise proposing the most absolute

The number of our Prayers for earthly things, and our oft rehearsing of the Lords Prayer.

I can make no Geometrical and exact measure, but verily I believe there shall be found more than a third part of the Prayers, which are not Psalms and Texts of Scripture, spent in praying for, and praying against the commodities and incommodities of this life, which is contrary to all the Arguments or Contents of the Prayers of the Church, set down in the Scripture, and especially of our Saviour Christs Prayer, by the which ours ought to be directed. *T. C. l. 1. p. 136.* What a reason is this, we must repeat the Lords Prayer oftentimes, therefore oftentimes in half an hour, and one in the neck of another? Our Saviour Christ doth not there give a prescript Forme of Prayer whereunto he bindeth us: but giveth us a Rule and Square to frame all our Prayers by. I know it is necessary to Pray, and Pray often. I know also that in a few words it is impossible for any man to frame so pithy a Prayer, and I confess that the Church doth well in concluding their Prayers with the Lords Prayer: But I stand upon this, That there is no necessity laid upon us to use these very words and no more. *T. C.* lib. 1. pag. 219.

absolute proportion that can be in mens desires, the very highest mark whereat we are able to aime. For which cause also our custom is both to place it in the front of our Prayers as a Guide, and to adde it in the end of some principal limbs or parts, as a complement which fully perfecteth whatsoever may be defective in the rest. Twice we rehearse it ordinarily, and oftner as occasion requireth more solemnity or length in the form of Divine Service; not mistrusting, till these new curiosities sprang up, that ever any man would think our labour herein mis-spent, the time wastfully consumed, and the Office it self made worse, by so repeating that which otherwise would more hardly be made familiar to the simpler sort; for the good of whose Souls there is not in Christian Religion any thing of like continual use and force throughout every hour and moment of their whole lives. I mean not only because Prayer, but because this very Prayer is of such efficacy and necessity: for that our Saviour did but set men a bare example how to contrive or devise Prayers of their own, and no way binde them to use this, is no doubt an Errour. *John* the *Baptist*'s Disciples, which had been always brought up in the bosom of God's Church from the time of their first Infancy, till they came to the School of *John*, were not so brutish, that they could be ignorant how to call upon the Name of God: but of their Master they had received a form of Prayer amongst themselves, which form none did use saving his Disciples, so that by it as by a mark of special difference they were known from others. And of this the Apostles having taken notice, they request that as *John* had taught his, so Christ would likewise teach them to pray. *Tertullian* and Saint *Augustin* do for that cause term it, *Orationem legitimam*, the Prayer which Christ's own Law hath tyed his Church to use in the same Prescript form of words wherewith he himself did deliver it: and therefore what part of the World soever we fall into, if Christian Religion have been there received, the ordinary use of this very Prayer hath with equal continuance accompanied the same, as one of the principal and most material duties of honour done to Jesus Christ. *Seeing that we have* (saith Saint *Cyprian*) *an Advocate with the Father for our Sins, when we that have sinned come to seek for pardon, let us alledge unto God the words which our Advocate hath taught. For sith his promise is our plain warrant, that in his Name what we aske we shall receive, must we not needs much the rather obtain that for which we sue, if not only his Name do countenance, but also his Speech present our requests?* Though men should speak with the tongues of Angels, yet words so pleasing to the ears of God, as those which the Son of God himself hath composed, were not possible for men to frame. He therefore which made us to live, hath also taught us to pray, to the end that speaking unto the Father in the Sonn's own prescript form without scholy or gloss of ours, we may be sure that we utter nothing which God will either disallow or deny. Other Prayers we use many besides this, and this oftner than any other; although not tyed so to do by any Commandement of Scripture, yet moved with such considerations as have been before set down: the causeless dislike whereof which others have conceived, is no sufficient reason for us, as much as once to forbear, in any place, a thing which uttered with true devotion and zeal of heart, affordeth to God himself that glory, that aide to the weakest sort of men, to the most perfect that solid comfort which is unspeakable.

Præmissa legitima & ordinaria oratione, quasi fundamento, accidentium jus est desideriorum, jus est superstruendi extrinsecus petitiones. Tertul. de Orat.

Luke 11. 1.

Cypr. in Orat. Dom.

36. With our Lords Prayer they would finde no fault, so that they might perswade us to use it before or after Sermons only (because so their manner is) and not (as all Christian people have been of old accustomed) insert it so often into the Liturgy. But the Peoples custom to repeat any thing after the Minister, they utterly mislike. Twice we appoint that the words which the Minister first pronounceth, the whole Congregation shall repeat after him. As first in the publick Confession of Sins, and again in rehearsal of our Lord's Prayer, presently after the blessed Sacrament of his Body and Blood received. A thing no way offensive, no way unfit or unseemly to be done, although it had been so appointed oftner than with us it is.

The Peoples saying after the Minister. Another fault is, That all the people are appointed in divers places to say after the Minister, whereby not only the time is unprofitably wasted, and a confused noise of the people (one speaking after another) caused, but an Opinion bred in their heads that those only be their Prayers which they pronounce with their own mouths after the Minister, otherwise than the order which is left to the Church doth bear. 1 *Cor.* 14. 16. and otherwise than *Justin Martyr* sheweth the custom of the Churches to have been in his time, *T. C. l.* 1. *p.* 139. & *l.* 3. *p.* 211, 212, 213.

But

But surely, with so good reason, it standeth in those two places, that otherwise to order it were not, in all respects so well. Could there be any thing devised better, then that we all at our first access unto God by Prayer, should acknowledge meekly our sins, and that not onely in heart, but with tongue; all which are present, being made ear-witnesses, even of every mans distinct and deliberate assent unto each particular branch of a common Indictment drawn against our selves? How were it possible, that the Church should any way else with such ease and certainty provide, that none of her Children may as *Adam* dissemble that wretchedness, the penitent confession whereof is so necessary a Preamble, especially to Common Prayer? In like manner, if the Church did ever devise a thing fit and convenient, what more then this, that when together we have all received those Heavenly Mysteries wherein Christ imparteth himself unto us, and giveth visible testification of our blessed communion with him, we should in hatred of all Heresies, Factions, and Schisms, the Pastor as a Leader, the people as willing followers of him step by step, declare openly our selves united as Brethren in one, by offering up with all our hearts and tongues that most effectual Supplication, wherein he unto whom we offer it, hath himself not onely comprehended all our necessities; but in such sort also framed every Petition, as might most naturally serve for many, and doth, though not always require, yet always import a multitude of speakers together? For which cause Communicants have ever used it, and we at that time by the form of our very utterance do shew we use it; yea, every word and syllable of it, as Communicants. In the rest we observe that custom whereunto St. *Paul* alludeth, and whereof the Fathers of the Church in their Writings, make often mention, to shew indefinitely what was done, but not universally to binde for ever, all Prayers unto one onely fashion of utterance. The Reasons which we have alledged, induce us to think it still a good work, which they in their pensive care for the well bestowing of time account waste. As for unpleasantness of sound, if it happen, the good of Mens souls, doth either deceive our ears that we note it not, or arm them with patience to endure it. We are not so nice as to cast away a sharp Knife, because the edge of it may sometimes grate. And such subtile opinions as few but Utopians are likely to fall into, we in this climate do not greatly fear.

Τὶς γὰρ ἐν ἐχθρῶν ἰσχὺς ἅπασα μιᾷ δυνατὸν μετ' ἐυ μίαν ἀφῶνε φωνὴν ἅπαντας ἐκεῖνον ἢ φωνῆσαι. *Basil.* Præf. in Psal.

1 Cor. 14. 16.

37. The complaint which they make about Psalms and Hymns, might as well be over-past without any answer, as it is without any cause brought forth. But our desire is to content them, if it may be, and to yield them a just reason, even of the least things wherein undeservedly they have but as much as dreamed or suspected that we do amiss. They seem sometimes so to speak, as if it greatly offended them, that such Hymns and Psalms as are Scripture, should in Common Prayer be otherwise used, then the rest of the Scripture is wont; sometime displeased they are at the artificial Musick which we adde unto Psalms of this kinde, or of any other nature else; sometime the plainest and the most intelligible rehearsal of them, yet they savor not, because it is done by Interlocution, and with a mutual return of Sentences from side to side. They are not ignorant what difference there is between other parts of Scripture and Psalms. The choice and flower of * all things profitable in other Books, the Psalms do both more briefly contain, and more movingly also express, by reason of that Poetical Form wherewith they are written. The Ancients when they speak of the Book of Psalms, use to fall into large Discourses, shewing how this part above the rest doth of purpose set forth and celebrate all the considerations and operations which belong to God; it magnifieth the holy Meditations and Actions of Divine Men; it is of things heavenly an Universal Declaration, working in them, whose hearts God inspireth with the due consideration thereof, an habit or disposition of minde whereby they are made fit Vessels both for receipt and for delivery of whatsoever spiritual perfection. What is there necessary for man to know, which the Psalms are not able to teach? They are to beginners an easie and familiar Introduction, a mighty Augmentation of all Vertue and Knowledge in such as are entred before, a strong confirmation to the most perfect amongst others. Heroical Magnanimity, exquisite Justice, grave Moderation, exact Wisdom, Repentance unfeigned, unwearied Patience, the Mysteries of God, the Sufferings of Christ,

Our manner of reading the Psalms otherwise then the rest of the Scripture.

They have always the same profit to be studied in, to be read, and preached upon, which other Scriptures have, and this above the rest, that they are to be sung.

But to make daily Prayers of them hand-over-head, or otherwise then the present estate wherein we be, doth agree with the matter contained in

them, is an abusing of them. *T. C.* lib. 3. pag. 206. * ἡ πᾶσα ἀκριβὴς τῶν πανιέρων ὑμνολογία. *Dionys.* Hierar. Eccles. cap. 3.

the Terrors of Wrath, the Comforts of Grace, the Works of Providence over this World, and the promiſed Joys of that World which is to come, all good neceſſarily to be either known, or done, or had, this one Celeſtial Fountain yieldeth. Let there be any grief or diſeaſe incident nuto the Soul of Man, any wound or ſickneſs named, for which there is not in this Treaſure-houſe, a preſent comfortable remedy at all times ready to be found. Hereof it is that we covet to make the Pſalms eſpecially familiar unto all. This is the very cauſe, why we iterate the Pſalms oftner then any other part of Scripture beſides; the cauſe wherefore we inure the people together with their Miniſter, and not the Miniſter alone, to read them as other parts of Scripture he doth.

Of Muſick with Pſalms.

38. Touching Muſical Harmony, whether by Inſtrument or by Voice, it being but of high and low in ſounds a due proportionable diſpoſition, ſuch notwithſtanding is the force thereof, and ſo pleaſing effects it hath in that very part of man which is moſt Divine, that ſome have been thereby induced to think that the Soul it ſelf by Nature is, or hath in it Harmony. A thing which delighteth all Ages, and beſeemeth all States; a thing as ſeaſonable in grief as in joy; as decent being added unto actions of greateſt weight and ſolemnity, as being uſed when men moſt ſequeſter themſelves from action. The reaſon hereof is an admirable facility which Muſick hath to expreſs and repreſent to the minde, more inwardly then any other ſenſible mean, the very ſtanding, riſing, and falling, the very ſteps and inflections every way, the turns and varieties of all Paſſions, whereunto the minde is ſubject; yea, ſo to imitate them, that whether it reſemble unto us the ſame ſtate wherein our mindes already are, or a clean contrary, we are not more contentedly by the one confirmed, then changed and led away by the other. In Harmony, the very Image and Character, even of Vertue and Vice is perceived, the minde delighted with their Reſemblances, and brought, by having them often iterated, into a love of the things themſelves. For which cauſe there is nothing more contagious and peſtilent then ſome kindes of Harmony; then ſome, nothing more ſtrong and potent unto good. And that there is ſuch a difference of one kinde from another, we need no proof but our own experience, in as much as we are at the hearing of ſome more inclined unto ſorrow and heavineſs, of ſome more mollified and ſoftned in minde; one kinde apter to ſtay and ſettle us, another to move and ſtir our affections: There is that draweth to a marvellous grave and ſober mediocrity, there is alſo that carrieth as it were into extaſies, filling the minde with an heavenly joy, and for the time, in a manner, ſevering it from the body: So that although we lay altogether aſide the conſideration of Ditty or Matter, the very Harmony of ſounds being framed in due ſort, and carried from the Ear to the Spiritual faculties of our Souls, is by a Native Puiſſance and Efficacy greatly available to bring to a perfect temper whatſoever is there troubled, apt as well to quicken the ſpirits as to allay that which is too eager, ſovereign againſt melancholly and deſpair, forcible to draw forth tears of devotion, if the minde be ſuch as can yield them able, both to move and to moderate all affections. The Prophet *David* having therefore ſingular knowledge, not in Poetry alone, but in Muſick alſo, judged them both to be things moſt neceſſary for the Houſe of God, left behinde him to that purpoſe, a number of divinely indited Poems, and was farther the Author of adding unto Poetry, melody in publick Prayer, melody both Vocal and Inſtrumental for the raiſing up of Mens hearts, and the ſweetning of their affections towards God. In which conſiderations, the Church of Chriſt doth likewiſe at this preſent day, retain it as an ornament to Gods ſervice, and an help to our own devotion. They which, under pretence of the Law Ceremonial abrogated require the abrogation of Inſtrumental Muſick, approving nevertheleſs the uſe of Vocal melody to remain, muſt ſhew ſome reaſon wherefore the one ſhould be thought a Legal Ceremony, and not the other. In Church Muſick curioſity and oſtentation of Art, wanton, or light, or unſuitable harmony, ſuch as onely pleaſeth the ear, and doth not naturally ſerve to the very kinde and degree of thoſe impreſſions which the matter that goeth with it, leaveth, or is apt to leave in mens mindes, doth rather blemiſh and diſgrace that we do, then adde either beauty or furtherance unto it. On the other ſide, theſe faults prevented, the force and efficacy of the thing it ſelf, when it drowneth not utterly, but fitly ſuiteth with matter altogether

altogether sounding to the praise of God, is in truth most admirable, and doth much edifie, if not the Understanding, because it teacheth not; yet surely the Affection, because therein it worketh much. They must have hearts very dry and tough, from whom the melody of *Psalms* doth not sometime draw that wherein a minde religiously affected delighteth. Be it as *Rabanus Maurus* observeth, that at the first the Church in this exercise was more simple and plain then we are; that their singing was little more then onely a melodious kinde of pronounciation; that the custom which we now use, was not instituted so much for their cause which are Spiritual, as to the end that into grosser and heavier mindes, whom bare words do not easily move, the sweetness of melody might make some entrance for good things. St. *Basil* himself acknowledging as much, did not think that from such inventions, the least jot of estimation and credit thereby should be derogated: * *For* (saith he) *whereas the Holy Spirit saw, that Mankinde is unto Vertue hardly drawn, and that Righteousness is the less accounted of, by reason of the proneness of our affections to that which delighteth; it pleased the Wisdom of the same Spirit to borrow from melody that pleasure, which mingled with Heavenly Mysteries, causeth the smoothness and softness of that which toucheth the ear, to convey, as it were, by stealth the treasure of good things into mans minde. To this purpose were those harmonious tunes of Psalms devised for us, that they which are either in years but young, or touching perfection of Vertue, as yet not grown to ripeness, might, when they think they sing, learn. O the wise conceit of that Heavenly Teacher, which hath by his skill found out a way, that doing those things wherein we delight, we may also learn that whereby we profit!*

* Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἶδε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον δυσάγωγον πρὸς ἀρετὴν τὸ γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων; καὶ διὰ τὸ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐπιῤῥεπὲς τοῦ ὀρθοῦ βίου καταμελοῦντας ἡμᾶς, τί ποιεῖ; τὸ ἐκ τῆς μελῳδίας τερπνὸν τοῖς δόγμασιν ἐγκατέμιξεν ἵνα τῷ προσηνεῖ καὶ λείῳ τῆς ἀκοῆς τὸ ἐκ τῶν λόγων ὠφέλιμον λανθανόντως ὑποδεξώμεθα. Διὰ τοῦτο, τὰ ἐναρμόνια ταῦτα μέλη τῶν ψαλμῶν ἡμῖν ἐπινενόηται, ἵνα οἱ παῖδες τῆς ἡλικίας ἢ καὶ ὅλως οἱ νεαροὶ τὸ ἦθος τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν μελῳδῶσι, τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐκπαιδεύωνται· ὦ τῆς σοφῆς ἐπινοίας τοῦ διδασκάλου, ὁμοῦ τε ἄδειν ἡμᾶς καὶ τὰ λυσιτελῆ μανθάνειν μηχανωμένου. *Basil.* in Psal.

39. And if the Prophet *David* did think that the very meeting of men together, and their accompanying one another to the House of God, should make the Bond of their Love insoluble, and tie them in a League of inviolable Amity, *Psal.* 54. 14. How much more may we judge it reasonable to hope, that the like effects may grow in each of the people towards other, in them all towards their Pastor, and in their Pastor towards every of them; between whom there daily and interchangeably pass in the hearing of God himself, and in the presence of his holy Angels, so many heavenly Acclamations, Exultations, Provocations, Petitions, Songs of Comfort, Psalms of Praise and Thanksgiving; in all which particulars, as when the Pastor maketh their sutes, and they with one voice testifie a general assent thereunto; or when he joyfully beginneth, and they with like alacrity follow, dividing between them the sentences wherewith they strive, which shall most shew his own, and stir up others zeal, to the glory of that God, whose name they magnifie; or when he proposeth unto God their necessities, and they their own requests for relief in every of them; or when he lifteth up his voice like a Trumpet, to proclaim unto them the Laws of God, they adjoyning, though not as *Israel* did, by way of generality a chearful promise, [a] *All that the Lord hath commanded, we will do*; yet that which God doth no less approve, that which savoreth more of meekness, that which testifieth rather a feeling knowledge of our common imbecillity, unto the several Branches thereof, several lowly and humble requests for Grace at the merciful Hands of God, to perform the thing which is commanded; or when they wish reciprocally each others ghostly happiness; or when he by exhortation raiseth them up, and they by protestation of their readiness declare, he speaketh not in vain unto them. These interlocutory forms of speech, what are they else, but most effectual, partly testifications, and partly inflammations of all Piety? When, and how this custom of singing by course, came up in the Church, it is not certainly known. [b] *Socrates* maketh *Ignatius*, the Bishop of *Antioch*, in *Syria*, the first beginner thereof, even under the Apo-

Of singing or saying *Psalms* and other parts of Common Prayer, wherein the People and Minister answer one another by course. For the singing of *Psalms* by course, and side after side, although it be very ancient, yet it is not commendable; and so much the more to be suspected, for that the Devil hath gone about to get it so great Authority, partly by deriving it from *Ignatius* time, and partly in making the World believe that this came from Heaven, and that the Angels were heard to sing after this sort. Which as it is a meer Fable, so is it confuted by Historiographers, whereof some ascribe the beginning of this to *Damasus*, some other unto *Flavianus* and *Diodorus*. *T. C.* lib. 1. p. 203. *a* Exod. 19. 8. & 24. 3. Deut. 5. 27. & 26. 17. Josh. 24. 16. b *Socrat.* Hist. Eccles. lib. 6. cap. 8.

ſtles themſelves. But againſt *Socrates* they ſet the authority of [a] *Theodoret*, who draweth the original of it from *Antioch*, as *Socrates* doth; howbeit aſcribing the invention to others, *Flavian* and *Diodore*, men which conſtantly ſtood in defence of the Apoſtolick Faith, againſt the Biſhop of that Church, *Leontius*, a favorer of the Arians. Againſt both *Socrates* and *Theodoret*, [b] *Platina* is brought as a witneſs, to teſtifie that *Damaſus*, Biſhop of *Rome*, began it in his time. Of the Latine Church, it may be true which *Platina* ſaith. And therefore, the eldeſt of that Church which maketh any mention thereof, is St. *Ambroſe* [c], Biſhop of *Milan*, at the ſame time when *Damaſus* was of *Rome*. Amongſt the Grecians, St. *Baſil* [d] having brought it into his Church before they of *Neocæſarea* uſed it, *Sabellius* the Heretick, and *Marcellus*, took occaſion thereat, to incenſe the Churches againſt him, as being an Author of new devices in the Service of God. Whereupon, to avoid the opinion of Novelty and Singularity, he alledgeth for that which he himſelf did, the example of the Churches of *Egypt*, *Lybia*, *Thebes*, *Paleſtina*, *Tharabians*, *Phœnicians*, *Syrians*, *Meſopotamians*, and, in a manner, all that reverenced the cuſtom of ſinging *Pſalms* together. If the *Syrians* had it then before *Baſil*, *Antioch* the Mother Church of thoſe parts, muſt needs have uſed it before *Baſil*, and conſequently before *Damaſus*. The queſtion is then, how long before, and whether ſo long, that *Ignatius*, or as ancient as *Ignatius*, may be probably thought the firſt Inventors. *Ignatius* in *Trajans* days ſuffered Martyrdom. And of the Churches in *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, to *Trajan* the Emperor, his own Vicegerent, there affirmeth [e], That the onely crime, he knew of them, was, They uſed to meet together at a certain day, and to praiſe Chriſt with Hymns as a God, *Secum invicem*, one to another amongſt themſelves. Which for any thing we know to the contrary, might be the ſelf-ſame form which *Philo Judæus* expreſſeth, declaring how the *Eſſens* were accuſtomed with Hymns and Pſalms to honor God, ſometime all exalting their voices together in one, and ſometime one part anſwering another, wherein, as he thought, they ſwerved not much from the pattern of *Moſes* and *Miriam*. Whether *Ignatius* did at any time hear the Angels praiſing God after that ſort, or no, what matter is it? If *Ignatius* did not, yet one which muſt be with us of greater Authority did. *I ſaw the Lord* (ſaith the Prophet *Iſaiah*) *on an high Throne, the Seraphims ſtood upon it,* one cryed to another, *ſaying, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hoſts, the whole world is full of his glory.* But whoſoever were the Author, whatſoever the Time, whenceſoever the Example of beginning this Cuſtom in the Church of Chriſt; ſith we are wont to ſuſpect things onely before tryal, and afterwards either to approve them as good, or if we finde them evil, accordingly to judge of them; their counſel muſt needs ſeem very unſeaſonable, who adviſe men now to ſuſpect that wherewith the World hath had, by their own account, Twelve hundred years acquaintance, and upwards, enough to take away ſuſpition and jealouſie. Men know by this time, if ever they will know, whether it be good or evil which hath been ſo long retained. As for the Devil, which way it ſhould greatly benefit him to have this manner of ſinging Pſalms accounted an invention of *Ignatius*, or an imitation of the Angels of Heaven, we do not well underſtand. But we very well ſee in them who thus plead, a wonderful celerity of diſcourſe. For perceiving at the firſt, but onely ſome cauſe of ſuſpition and fear, leſt it ſhould be evil, they are preſently in one and the ſelf-ſame breath reſolved, * That *what beginning ſoever it had, there is no poſſibility it ſhould be good.* The Potent Arguments which did thus ſuddenly break in upon them, and overcome them, are; Firſt, That it is not unlawful for the People, all joyntly to praiſe God in ſinging of Pſalms. Secondly, That they are not any where forbidden by the Law of God, to ſing every Verſe of the whole Pſalm, both with heart and voice, quite and clean throughout. Thirdly, That it cannot be underſtood what is ſung after our manner. Of which three, for as much as lawfulneſs to ſing one way, proveth not another way inconvenient; the former two, are true Allegations, but they lack ſtrength

a *Theod.* lib. 2. cap. 24.

b *Plat.* in vita *Damaſi.*

c Bene mari plerunque comparatur Eccleſia, quæ primo ingredientis populi agmine totis veſtibulis undas vomit; deinde in oratione totius plebis tanquam undis refluentibus ſtridet; tum reſponſoriis Pſalmorum, cantu virorum mulierum, virginum, parvulorum conſonus undarum fragor reſultat. *Hexam.* lib. 2. cap. 5.

d *Baſil.* Epiſt. 63.

e *Plin.* ſecund. Epiſt. lib. 10. ep. 97.

Exod 15. 1, 21.

Iſai. 6. 3.

* From whence ſoever it came, it cannot be good, conſidering, that when it is granted, that all the people may praiſe God (as it is in ſinging of Pſalms) then this ought not to be reſtrained unto a few; and where it is lawful, both with heart and voice, to ſing the whole Pſalm; there it is not meet, that they ſhould ſing but the one half with their heart and voice, and the other with their heart onely. For where they may both with heart and voice ſing, there the heart is not enough. Therefore beſides the incommodity which cometh this way, in that being toſſed after this ſort, men cannot underſtand what is ſung, thoſe other two inconveniences come of this form of ſinging, and therefore it is baniſhed in all Reformed Churches. *T. C.* lib. 1. p. 203.

to accomplish their desire; the third so strong, that it might perswade, if the truth thereof were not doubtful. And shall this inforce us to banish a thing which all Christian Churches in the World have received; a thing which so many ages have held; a thing which the most approved Councils and Laws have so oftentimes ratified; a thing which was never found to have any inconvenience in it; a thing which always heretofore the best Men, and wisest Governors of Gods people, did think they could never commend enough; a thing which as *Basil* was perswaded, did both strengthen the Meditation of those holy Words which were uttered in that sort, and serve also to make attentive, and to raise up the hearts of men; a thing whereunto Gods people of old, did resort with hope and thirst, that thereby, especially their Souls, might be edified; a thing which filleth the minde with comfort and heavenly delight, stirreth up flagrant desires and affections correspondent unto that which the words contain, allayeth all kinde of base and earthly Cogitations, banisheth and driveth away those evil secret suggestions which our invisible Enemy is always apt to minister, watereth the heart to the end it may fructifie, maketh the vertuous, in trouble, full of magnanimity and courage, serveth as a most approved remedy against all doleful and heavy accidents which befal men in this present life. To conclude, So fitly accordeth with the Apostles own Exhortation, *Speak to your selves in Psalms and Hymns, and Spiritual Songs, making melody, and singing to the Lord in your hearts*; that surely, there is more cause to fear, lest the want thereof be a maim, then the use a blemish to the Service of God. It is not our meaning, that what we attribute unto the Psalms, should be thought to depend altogether on that onely form of singing or reading them by course, as with us the manner is; but the end of our speech is to shew, That because the Fathers of the Church, with whom the self-same custom was so many ages ago in use, have uttered all these things concerning the fruit which the Church of God did then reap, observing that, and no other form, it may be justly avouched, that we our selves retaining it, and besides it also the other more newly and not unfruitfully devised, do neither want that good which the latter invention can afford, nor lose any thing of that, for which the Ancients so oft and so highly commend the former. Let Novelty therefore in this give over endless contradictions, and let ancient custom prevail.

Ephes. 5. 19.

40. We have already given cause sufficient for the great conveniency, and use of reading the Psalms oftner then other Scriptures. Of reading or singing likewise *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc dimittis*, oftner then the rest of the Psalms, the causes are no whit less reasonable; so that if the one may very well monethly, the other may as well even daily be iterated. They are Songs which concern us so much more then the Songs of *David*, as the Gospel toucheth us more then the Law, the New Testament then the Old. And if the Psalms for the excellency of their use, deserve to be oftner repeated then they are, but that the multitude of them permitteth not any oftner repetition, What disorder is it if these few Evangelical Hymns which are in no respect less worthy, and may be by reason of their paucity imprinted with much more ease in all mens memories, be for that cause every day rehearsed? In our own behalf it is convenient and orderly enough, that both they and we make day by day Prayers and Supplications the very same; why not as fit and convenient to magnifie the Name of God day by day with certain the very self-same Psalms of Praise and Thanksgiving? Either let them not allow the one, or else cease to reprove the other. For the Ancient received use of intermingling Hymns and Psalms with Divine Readings, enough hath been written. And if any may fitly serve unto that purpose, how should it better have been devised, then that a competent number of the Old being first read, these of the New should succeed in the place where now they are set? In which place notwithstanding, there is joyned with *Benedictus*, the Hundredth Psalm; with *Magnificat*, the Ninety eighth, the Sixty seventh with *Nunc dimittis*; and in every of them, the choice left free for the Minister to use indifferently the one, or the other. Seeing therefore they pretend no quarrel at other Psalms, which are in like manner appointed also to be daily read, why do these so much offend and displease their taste? They are the first Gratulations wherewith our Lord and Saviour was joyfully received at his entrance into the World, by such as in their Hearts, Arms, and very Bowels embraced Him; being Prophetical discoveries

Of *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc dimittis*.

These Thanksgivings were made by occasion of certain particular benefits, and are no more to be used for ordinary Prayers, then the *Ave-Maria*. So that both for this cause, and the other before alledged of the Psalms, it is not convenient to make ordinary Prayers of them. *T. C.* lib. 3. p. 208.

discoveries of Christ already present, whose future coming, the other *Psalms* did but fore-signifie; they are against the obstinate incredulity of the Jews, the most luculent testimonies that Christian Religion hath; yea, the onely sacred Hymns they are, that Christianity hath peculiar unto it self; the other being Songs too, of praise and thanksgiving, but Songs wherewith as we serve God, so the Jew likewise. And whereas they tell us, These Songs were fit for that purpose, when *Simeon* and *Zachary*, and the Blessed Virgin uttered them, but cannot so be to us which have not received like benefit; Should they not remember how expresly *Hezekiah*, amongst many other good things, is commended for this also, That the praises of God were through his appointment daily set forth, by using in publick Divine Service, the Songs of *David* and *Asaph* unto that very end? Either there wanted wise men to give *Hezekiah* advice, and to inform him of that, which in his case was as true, as it is in ours, namely, that without some inconvenience and disorder, he could not appoint those *Psalms* to be used as ordinary Prayers, seeing that although they were Songs of Thanksgiving, such as *David* and *Asaph* had special occasion to use, yet not so the whole Church and People afterwards, whom like occasions did not befal; or else *Hezekiah* was perswaded as we are, that the praises of God in the mouths of his Saints, are not so restrained to their own particular, but that others may both conveniently and fruitfully use them; first, because the Mystical Communion of all faithful men is such as maketh every one to be interessed in those precious Blessings, which any one of them receiveth at Gods hands: Secondly, because when any thing is spoken to extol the goodness of God, whose mercy endureth for ever, albeit the very particular occasion whereupon it riseth, do come no more; yet, the Fountain continuing the same, and yielding other new effects which are but onely in some sort proportionable, a small resemblance between the benefits, which we and others have received, may serve to make the same words of praise and thanksgiving fit, though not equally in all circumstances fit for both; a clear demonstration whereof, we have in all the Ancient Fathers Commentaries and Meditations upon the *Psalms*. Last of all, because even when there is not as much as the shew of any resemblance, nevertheless by often using their words in such manner, our mindes are daily more and more enured with their affections.

2 Chro. 29. 30.

Of the Letany.

41. The Publick Estate of the Church of God amongst the Jews, hath had many rare and extraordinary Occurrents, which also were occasions of sundry [a] open Solemnities and Offices, whereby the people did with general consent make shew of correspondent affection towards God. The like duties appear usual in the antient Church of Christ, by that which [b] *Tertullian* speaketh of Christian Women themselves matching with Infidels. *She cannot content the Lord with performance of his discipline, that hath at her side a Vassal, whom Satan hath made his vice-agent to cross whatsoever the faithful should do. If her presence be required at the time of station or standing Prayer, he chargeth her at no time, but that to be with him in his baths; if a fasting day come, he hath on that day a banquet to make; if there be cause for the Church to go forth in solemn Procession, his whole family have such business come upon them, that no one can be spared.* These Processions, as it seemeth, were first begun for the interring of holy Martyrs, and the visiting of those places where they were intombed. Which thing, the name it self applied by [c] Heathens, unto the office of Exequies, and partly the speeches of some of the Ancients delivered concerning [d] Christian Processions, partly also the very dross which

[a] We pray for the avoiding of those dangers which are nothing near us; as from Lightning and Thundring in the midst of Winter; from Storms and Tempest, when the Weather is most fair, and the Seas most calm. It is true, That upon some urgent Calamity, a Prayer may, and ought to be framed, which may beg, either the commodity, for want whereof the Church is in distress, or the turning away of that mischief, which either approacheth, or is already upon it. But to make those Prayers which are for the present time and danger, ordinary and daily Prayers; I cannot hitherto see any, either Scripture, or example of the Primitive Church. And here, for the simples sake, I will set down after what sort this abuse crept into the Church. There was one *Mamercus*, Bishop of *Vienna*, which in the time of great Earth-quakes, which were in *France*, instituted certain Supplications, which the *Grecians* (and we of them) call the *Letany*, which concerned that matter: There is no doubt, but as other discommodities rose in other Countries, they likewise had Prayers accordingly. Now Pope *Gregory* either made himself, or gathered the Supplications that were made against the Calamities of every Country, and made of them a great Letany or Supplication, as *Platina* calleth it, and gave it to be used in all Churches: Which thing albeit, all Churches might do for the time, in respect of the case of the Calamity which the Churches suffered; yet there is no cause, why it should be perpetual, that was ordained but for a time; and why all Lands should pray to be delivered from the incommodities that some Land hath been troubled with. *T. C.* lib 1. pag. 137. *a* Exod. 15. 20. Wisd. 10. 20. 2 Sam. 6. 2. 1 Chron. 13. 5. 2 Chron. 20. 3. Joel 2. 15. b *Tertul.* lib. 2. ad Uxor. c *Terent. Andr.* d *Hier.* Epist. 22. ad *Eust.* Martyres tibi quærantur in cubiculo tuo. Nunquam causa deerit procedendi, si semper quando necesse est, progressura sis.

Superstition thereunto added, I mean, the Custom of Invocating Saints in Processions, heretofore usual, do strongly insinuate. And as things invented to one purpose, are by use easily converted to more [a], it grew, That Supplications, with this solemnity for the appeasing of Gods wrath, and the averting of publick evils, were of the Greek Church termed *Litanies*, *Rogations* of the Latine [b]. To the people of *Vienna* (*Mamercus* being their Bishop above 450 years after Christ) there befel many things, the suddenness and strangeness whereof, so amazed the hearts of all men, that the City they began to forsake as a place which Heaven did threaten with imminent ruine. It beseemed not the person of so grave a Prelate to be either utterly without counsel, as the rest were, or in a common perplexity to shew himself alone secure. Wherefore as many as remained, he earnestly exhorteth to prevent portended calamities, using those vertuous and holy means, wherewith others in like case have prevailed with God. To which purpose, he perfecteth the *Rogations* or *Litanies* before in use, and addeth unto them that which the present necessity required. Their good success moved *Sidonius*, Bishop of *Averna*, to use the same so-corrected *Rogations* at such time, as he and his people were after afflicted with Famine, and besieged with potent Adversaries. For till the empty name of the Empire came to be setled in *Charles* the Great, the fall of the *Romans* huge Dominion concurring with other universal evils, caused those times to be days of much affliction and trouble throughout the World. So that *Rogations* or *Litanies* were then the very strength, stay, and comfort of Gods Church. Whereupon in the year Five hundred and six, it was by the Council of *Aurelia* decreed, That the whole Church should bestow yearly at the Feast of Pentecost, three days in that kinde of Processionary service. About half an hundred years after, to the end, that the Latine Churches, which all observed this Custom, might not vary in the order and form of those great *Litanies* which were so solemnly every where exercised; it was thought convenient by *Gregory* the First, and the best of that name, to draw the flower of them all into one. But this iron began at length to gather rust; which thing the Synod of *Colen* saw, and in part redrest within that Province, neither denying the necessary use for which such Litanies serve, wherein Gods clemency and mercy is desired by publick suit, to the end, that Plagues, Destructions, Calamities, Famines, Wars, and all other the like adversities, which for our manifold sins we have always cause to fear, may be turned away from us and prevented through his Grace; nor yet dissembling the great abuse whereunto as sundry other things, so this had grown by mens improbity and malice; to whom, that which was devised for the appeasing of Gods displeasure, gave opportunity of committing things which justly kindled his wrath. For remedy whereof it was then thought better, that these and all other Supplications or Processions should be no where used, but onely within the Walls of the House of God, the place sanctified unto Prayer. And by us not onely such inconveniences being remedied, but also whatsoever was otherwise amiss in form or matter, it now remaineth a work, the absolute perfection whereof upbraideth with Error, or somewhat worse, them whom in all parts it doth not satisfie. As therefore Litanies have been of longer continuance then that we should make either *Gregory* or *Mamercus* the Author of them; so they are of more permanent use, then that now the Church should think it needeth them not. What dangers at any time are imminent, what evils hang over our heads, God doth know, and not we. We finde by daily experience, that those calamities may be neareſt at hand, readiest to break in suddenly upon us, which we in regard of times or circumstances, may imagine to be fartheſt off. Or if they do not indeed approach, yet such miseries as being present, all men are apt to bewail with tears, the wise by their Prayers should rather prevent. Finally, if we for our selves had a priviledge of immunity, doth not true Christian Charity require, that whatsoever any part of the World, yea, any one of all our Brethren elsewhere, doth either suffer or fear, the same we account as our own burthren? What one Petition is there found in the whole Litany, whereof we shall ever be able at any time to say, That no man living needeth the grace or benefit therein craved at Gods hands? I am not able to express how much it doth grieve me, that things of Principal Excellency, should be thus bitten at, by men whom God hath endued with graces, both of Wit and Learning for better purposes.

[a] *Socrat. lib. 6. cap 8. Sozom. lib. 8. cap. 8 Theod. lib. 16. lib. 30. lib. 3. cap. 10 Novel. 68. 51.*

[b] *Basil.* Epist. 63. *Niceph.* lib. 14. cap 3. *Codren.* in *Theod.*

Sidon lib. 7. Epist. 1.

Concil. tom. 2. pag. 513.

Concil. tom. 5. Anno 1536.

42. We

42. We have from the Apoſtles of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt received that brief Confeſſion of Faith, which hath been always a badge of the Church, a mark whereby to diſcern Chriſtian men from Infidels and Jews, [a] *This Faith, received from the Apoſtles and their Diſciples* (ſaith *Irenæus*) *the Church, though diſperſed throughout the World, doth notwithſtanding keep as ſafe, as if it dwelt within the Walls of ſome one houſe, and as uniformly hold, as if it had but one onely heart and ſoul; this as conſonantly it Preacheth, teacheth, and delivereth, as if but one tongue did ſpeak for all. As one Sun ſhineth to the whole World; ſo there is no Faith but this one publiſhed, the brightneſs whereof muſt enlighten all that come to the knowledge of the Truth.* [b] *This rule* (ſaith *Tertullian*) *Chriſt did inſtitute, the ſtream and current of this rule hath gone as far, it hath continued as long as the very promulgation of the Goſpel.* [c] Under *Conſtantine* the Emperor, about Three hundred years and upward after Chriſt, *Arius* a Prieſt in the Church of *Alexandria*, a ſuttle-witted, and a marvellous fair-ſpoken man, but diſcontented, that one ſhould be placed before him in honor, whoſe ſuperior he thought himſelf in deſert, became through envy and ſtomack, prone unto contradiction, and bold to broach at the length, that Hereſie wherein the Deity of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, contained, but not opened in the former Creed, the coequality and coeternity of the Son with the Father was denied. Being for this impiety deprived of his place by the Biſhop of the ſame Church, the puniſhment which ſhould have reformed him, did but increaſe his obſtinacy, and give him occaſion of laboring with greater earneſtneſs elſwhere, to intangle unwary mindes with the ſnares of his damnable opinion. *Arius* in ſhort time had won to himſelf, a number both of Followers and of great Defenders, whereupon much diſquietneſs on all ſides enſued. The Emperor, to reduce the Church of Chriſt unto the Unity of ſound Belief, when other means, whereof tryal was firſt made, took no effect, gathered that famous Aſſembly of Three hundred and eighteen Biſhops in the Council of *Nice*, where beſides, order taken for many things which ſeemed to need redreſs, there was with common conſent, for the ſetling of all mens mindes, that other Confeſſion of Faith ſet down, which we call the *Nicene Creed*, whereunto the Arians themſelves which were preſent ſubſcribed alſo; not that they meant ſincerely, and indeed to forſake their error, but onely to eſcape deprivation and exile, which they ſaw they could not avoid, openly perſiſting in their former opinions, when the greater part had concluded againſt them, and that with the Emperors Royal Aſſent. Reſerving therefore themſelves unto future opportunities, and knowing, that it would not boot them to ſtir again in a matter ſo compoſed, unleſs they could draw the Emperor firſt, and by his means the chiefeſt Biſhops unto their part; till *Conſtantines* death, and ſomewhat after, they always profeſſed love and zeal to the Nicene Faith, yet ceaſed not in the mean while to ſtrengthen that part which in heart they favored, and to infeſt by all means, under colour of other quarrels, their greateſt Adverſaries in this cauſe: Amongſt them *Athanaſius* eſpecially, whom by the ſpace of Forty ſix years, from the time of his Conſecration, to ſucceed *Alexander*, Archbiſhop in the Church of *Alexandria*, till the laſt hour of his life in this World, they never ſuffered to enjoy the comfort of a peaceable day. The heart of *Conſtantine* ſtoln from him. *Conſtantius Conſtantines* Succeſſor, his ſcourge and torment by all the ways that malice armed with Soveraign Authority could deviſe and uſe. Under *Julian* no reſt given him; and in the days of *Valentinian*, as little. Crimes there were laid to his charge many, the leaſt whereof, being juſt, had bereaved him of eſtimation and credit with men, while the World ſtandeth. His Judges evermore the ſelf-ſame men by whom his accuſers were ſuborned. Yet the iſſue always on their part ſhame; on his, triumph. Thoſe Biſhops and Prelates, who ſhould have accounted his cauſe theirs, and could not many of them, but with bleeding hearts, and with watred cheeks, behold a perſon of ſo great place and worth conſtrained to endure ſo foul indignities, were ſure by bewraying their affection towards him, to bring upon themſelves thoſe moleſtations, whereby if they would not be drawn to ſeem his Adverſaries, yet others ſhould be taught how unſafe it was to continue his friends. Whereupon it came to paſs in the end, that (very few excepted) all became ſubject to the ſway of time; other odds there was none amongſt them, ſaving onely that ſome fell ſooner away, ſome latter from the ſoundneſs of Belief; ſome were Leaders in the Hoſt of Impiety,

Of *Athanaſius* Creed, and *Gloria Patri*.

a *Iren.* lib. 1. cap. 3.

b *Tertul.* de Præſcr. Adverſ. Hæret. & Adverſ. Prax.

c The like may be ſaid of the *Gloria Patri*, and the *Athanaſius* Creed. It was firſt brought into the Church, to the end, that men thereby ſhould make an open Profeſſion in the Church of the Divinity of the Son of God, againſt the deteſtable opinion of *Arius* and his Diſciples, wherewith at that time marvellouſly ſwarmed almoſt the whole Chriſtendom. Now that it hath pleaſed the Lord to quench that fire, there is no ſuch cauſe why theſe things ſhould be uſed in the Church, at the leaſt, why that *Gloria Patri* ſhould be ſo often repeated *T. C.* lib. 1. p. 137.

Impiety, and the rest as common Soldiers, either yielding through fear, or brought under with penury, or by flattery ensnared, or else beguiled through simplicity, which is the fairest excuse that well may be made for them. Yea, (that which all men did wonder at) *Osius* the ancientest Bishop that Christendom then had, the most forward in defence of the Catholick cause, and of the contrary part most feared; that very *Osius*, with whose hand the *Nicene* Creed it self was set down, and framed for the whole Christian World to subscribe unto, so far yielded in the end, as even with the same hand to ratifie the Arians Confession, a thing which they neither hoped to see, nor the other part ever feared, till with amazement they saw it done. Both were perswaded, that although there had been for *Osius* no way, but either presently subscribe or die, his answer and choice would have been the same that *Eleazars* was, *It doth not become our age to dissemble, whereby many young persons might think, that* Osius *an hundred years old and upward, were now gone to another Religion; and so through mine hypocrisie [for a little time of transitory life] they might be deceived by me, and I procure malediction and reproach to my old age. For though I were now delivered from the torments of men, yet could I not escape the hand of the Almighty, neither alive nor dead.* But such was the stream of those times, that all men gave place unto it, which we cannot but impute, partly, to their own over-sight. For at the first the Emperor was theirs, the determination of the Council of *Nice* was for them, they had the Arians hands to that Council: So great advantages are never changed so far to the contrary, but by great error. It plainly appeareth, that the first thing which weakned them, was their security. Such as they knew were in heart still affected towards Arianism, they suffered by continual nearness to possess the mindes of the greatest about the Emperor, which themselves might have done with very good acceptation, and neglected it. In *Constantines* life time to have setled *Constantius* the same way, had been a duty of good service towards God, a mean of peace and great quietness to the Church of Christ, a labor easie, and how likely we may conjecture, when after that so much pains was taken to instruct and strengthen him in the contrary course, after that so much was done by himself to the furtherance of Heresie, yet being touched in the end voluntarily with remorse, nothing more grieved him then the memory of former proceedings in the cause of Religion, and that which he now foresaw in *Julian*, the next Physician into whose hands the body that was thus distempered must fall. Howbeit this we may somewhat excuse, in as much as every mans particular care to his own charge was such, as gave them no leisure to heed what others practised in Princes Courts. But of the two Synods of *Arimine* and *Seleucia*, what should we think? *Constantius* by the Arians suggestion, had devised to assemble all the Bishops of the whole World about this controversie; but in two several places, the Bishops of the West at *Arimine* in *Italy*, the Eastern at *Seleucia* the same time. Amongst them of the East there was no stop, they agreed without any great ado, gave their sentence against Heresie, excommunicated some chief maintainers thereof, and sent the Emperor word what was done. They had at *Arimine* about Four hundred which held the truth, scarce of the adverse part Fourscore; but these obstinate, and the other weary of contending with them: Whereupon, by both it was resolved to send to the Emperor, such as might inform him of the cause, and declare what hindred their peaceable agreement. There are chosen for the Catholick side [a], such men as had in them nothing to be noted but boldness, neither gravity, nor learning, nor wisdom. The Arians for the credit of their faction, take the eldest, the best experienced, the most wary, and the longest practised *Veterans* they had amongst them. The Emperor conjecturing of the rest on either part, by the quality of them whom he saw, sent them speedily away, and with them a certain Confession of Faith [b], ambiguously and subtilly drawn by the Arians, whereunto unless they all subscribed, they should in no case be suffered to depart from the place where they were. At the length it was perceived, that there had not been in the Catholicks, either at *Arimine*, or at *Seleucia*, so much foresight, as to provide, that true intelligence might pass between them what was done. Upon the advantage of which Error, their adversaries abusing each with perswasion that other had yielded, suprized both. The Emperor the more desirous and glad of such events, for that, besides all other things wherein they hindred themselves,

2 Mac. 6. 24. *Major Centenario.* Sulpit. Sever. hist. l. 2.

a Ex parte nostra leguntur homines adolescentes, parùm docti parùm cauti. Ab Arianis autem missi senes, callidi & ingenio valentes veterano, perfidia imbuti, qui apud Regem facile superiores extiterunt. *Sulpit.* lib. 1.

b Eisdemque conscripta ab improbis fidem tradit verbis fallentibus involutam, quæ Catholicam disciplinam perfidia latente loqueretur. *Ibid.*

the gall and bitterneſs of certain Mens writings, who ſpared him little for honors ſake, made him for their ſakes the leſs inclinable to that truth which he himſelf ſhould have honored and loved. Onely in *Athanaſius* there was nothing obſerved throughout the courſe of that long Tragedy, other then ſuch as very well became a wiſe man to do, and a righteous to ſuffer. So that this was the plain condition of thoſe times, The whole World againſt *Athanaſius*, and *Athanaſius* againſt it; Half an hundred of years ſpent in doubtful trial, which of the two in the end would prevail, the ſide which had all, or elſe the part which had no friend but God and Death; the one a Defender of his Innocency, the other a Finiſher of all his Troubles. Now although theſe Contentions were cauſe of much evil, yet ſome good the Church hath reaped by them, in that they occaſioned the learned and ſound in Faith, to explain ſuch things as Hereſie went about to deprave. And in this reſpect, the Creed of *Athanaſius*, firſt exhibited unto *Julius*, Biſhop of *Rome*, and afterwards (as we may probably gather) ſent to the Emperor *Jovinian*, for his more full information concerning that truth which Arianiſm ſo mightily did impugn, was both in the Eaſt and the Weſt Churches accepted as a treaſure of ineſtimable price, by as many as had not given up even the very ghoſt of belief. Then was the Creed of *Athanaſius* written, howbeit not then ſo expedient to be publickly uſed as now in the Church of God; becauſe while the heat of diviſion laſteth, truth it ſelf enduring oppoſition, doth not ſo quietly and currantly paſs throughout all mens hands, neither can be of that account, which afterwards it hath, when the World once perceiveth the vertue thereof, not onely in it ſelf, but alſo by the conqueſt which God hath given it over Hereſie. That which Hereſie did by ſiniſter interpretations, go about to pervert in the firſt and moſt ancient Apoſtolick Creed, the ſame being by ſingular dexterity and plainneſs cleared from thoſe Heretical corruptions, partly by this Creed of *Athanaſius*, written about the year Three hundred and forty, and partly by that other ſet down in the Synod of *Conſtantinople*, Forty years after, comprehending, together with the *Nicene* Creed, an addition of other Articles which the *Nicene* Creed omitted, becauſe the controverſie then in hand needed no mention to be made of them. Theſe Catholick Declarations of our Belief delivered by them, which were ſo much nearer then we are unto the firſt publication thereof, and continuing needful for all men at all times to know, theſe Confeſſions as teſtimonies of our continuance in the ſame Faith to this preſent day, we rather uſe then any other gloſs or paraphraſe deviſed by our ſelves, which though it were to the ſame effect, notwithſtanding could not be of the like authority and credit. For that of *Hilary* unto St. *Auguſtine* hath been ever, and is likely to be always true, *Your moſt religious wiſdom knoweth how great their number is in the Church of God, whom the very authority of mens names, doth keep in that opinion which they hold already, or draw unto that which they have not before held.* Touching the Hymn of Glory, our uſual concluſion to Pſalms, the glory of all things is that, wherein their higheſt perfection doth conſiſt; and the glory of God, that divine excellency whereby he is eminent above all things, his omnipotent, infinite, and eternal Being, which Angels and glorified Saints do intuitively behold; we on Earth apprehend principally by Faith, in part alſo by that kinde of knowledge which groweth from experience of thoſe effects, the greatneſs whereof exceedeth the powers and abilities of all Creatures, both in Heaven and Earth. God is glorified, when ſuch his excellency above all things, is with due admiration acknowledged. Which dutiful acknowledgment of Gods excellency by occaſion of ſpecial effects, being the very proper ſubject, and almoſt the onely matter purpoſely treated of in all Pſalms, if that joyful Hymn of Glory have any uſe in the Church of God, whoſe Name we therewith extol and magnifie, Can we place it more fitly then where now it ſerveth as a cloſe or concluſion to Pſalms? Neither is the Form thereof newly or unneceſſarily invented. *We muſt* (ſaith St. *Baſil*) *as we have received, even ſo Baptize; and as we Baptize, even ſo Believe; and as we Believe, even ſo give Glory.* Baptizing, we uſe the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt: Confeſſing the Chriſtian Faith, we declare our Belief in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghoſt: Aſcribing Glory unto God, we give it to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt. It is ἀπόδειξις τῆς ὀρθῆς φρονήματος, *the token of a true and ſound underſtanding*

Ταύτην μοὶ δοκοῦσιν διδόμενοι τὴν ὁμολογίαν ὅτε τὴν ἐσπερίας καὶ τὴν ἑῴας ὅλην βεβαίωσιν. *Greg. Nazian. de Athan.*

That Creed which in the Book of Common Prayer, followeth immediately after the reading of the Goſpel.

Hilar. Arela. Epiſt. ad *Aug.*

1 Cor. 15. 40. Exod. 33. 18. Heb. 1. 3. Matth. 18. 13.

Joſh 7. 19. Pſal. 22. 23.

Baſil. Ep. 78.

understanding for matter of Doctrine about the Trinity, when, in ministring Baptism, and making Confession, and giving Glory, there is a conjunction of all three, and no one of the three severed from the other two. Against the Arians, affirming the Father to be greater then the Son in honor, excellency, dignity, majesty, this form and manner of glorifying God was not at that time first begun, but received long before, and alledged at that time as an argument for the truth. *If* (saith *Fœbadius*) *there be that inequality which they affirm, then do we every day blaspheme God, when, in Thanksgivings and Offerings of Sacrifice, we acknowledge those things common to the Father and the Son.* The Arians therefore, for that they perceived how this did prejudice their cause, altered the Hymn of Glory, whereupon ensued in the Church of *Antioch*, about the year Three hundred forty nine, that jar which *Theodoret* and *Sozomen* mention. *In their Quires, while they praised God together, as the manner was, at the end of the Psalms which they sung, it appeared what opinion every man held; for as much as they glorified some the Father*; And *the Son*, And *the Holy Ghost*; *some the Father* By *the Son*, In *the Spirit*; *the one sort thereby declaring themselves to embrace the Sons equality with the Father, as the Council of* Nice *had defined*; *the other sort, against the Council of* Nice, *his inequality*. *Leontius* their Bishop, although an enemy to the better part, yet wary and subtile, as in a manner all the heads of the Arians Faction were, could at no time be plainly heard to use either form, perhaps lest his open contradiction of them whom he favored not, might make them the more eager, and by that mean the less apt to be privately won; or peradventure for that, though he joyned in opinion with that sort of Arians, who denied the Son to be equal with the Father; yet from them he dissented, which thought the Father and the Son, not onely unequal, but unlike, as *Ætius* did upon a frivolous and false surmise, that because the Apostle hath said, *One God of whom, one Lord by whom, one Spirit in whom*, his different manner of speech doth argue a different Nature and Being in them, of whom he speaketh: Out of which blinde collection, it seemeth that this their new devised Form did first spring. But in truth, even that very Form which the Arians did then use (saving that they chose it to serve as their special mark of Recognisance, and gave it secretly within themselves a sinister construction) hath not otherwise as much as the shew of any thing which soundeth towards impiety. For albeit, if we respect Gods glory within it self, it be the equal right and possession of all three, and that without any odds, any difference; yet, touching his manifestation thereof unto us by continual effects, and our perpetual acknowledgment thereof unto him likewise by vertuous Offices, Doth not every tongue both ways confess, That the brightness of his Glory hath spred it self throughout the World *By* the Ministery of his onely begotten Son, and is *In* the manifold Graces of the Spirit every way marvellous? Again, That whatsoever we do to his Glory, it is done *In* the power of the Holy Ghost, and made acceptable *By* the Merit and Mediation of Jesus Christ? So that glory to the Father *And* the Son, or glory to the Father *By* the Son, saving onely where evil mindes do abuse and pervert most holy things, are not else the voices of Error and Schism, but of sound and sincere Religion. It hath been the Custom of the Church of Christ, to end sometimes Prayers, and Sermons always, with words of glory, wherein, as long as the Blessed Trinity had due honor, and till Arianism had made it a matter of great sharpness and subtilty of Wit, to be a sound believing Christian; men were not curious what Syllables or Particles of speech they used. Upon which confidence and trust notwithstanding, when St. *Basil* began to practise the like indifferency, and to conclude Publick Prayers, glorifying sometime the Father, with the Son, and the Holy Ghost; sometime the Father, by the Son, in the Spirit; whereas long custom had enured them unto the former kinde alone, by means whereof, the latter was new and strange in their ears: This needless experiment brought afterwards upon him a necessary labor of excusing himself to his Friends, and maintaining his own act against them, who because the Light of his Candle too much drowned theirs, were glad to lay hold on so colourable matter, and exceeding forward to traduce him as an Author of suspicious Innovation. How hath the World forsaken that course which it sometime held? How are the judgments, hearts, and affections of men altered? May we not wonder, that a man of St. *Basils* authority and quality,

Fœbad. lib. contr. Arian.

Theod. lib. 2. cap. 24. *Sozom* lib. 4. cap. 19.

1 Cor. 8. 6. 1 Cor. 12. 3. 4, 13.

an Arch-Prelate in the Houſe of God, ſhould have his Name far and wide called in queſtion, and be driven to his painful Apologies, to write in his own defence whole Volumes, and yet hardly to obtain with all his endeavor a pardon; the crime laid againſt him, being but onely a change of ſome one or two ſyllables in their uſual Church Liturgy? It was thought in him an unpardonable offence to alter any thing; in us as intolerable, that we ſuffer any thing to remain unaltered. The very Creed of *Athanaſius*, and that ſacred Hymn of Glory, then which, nothing doth ſound more heavenly in the ears of faithful men, are now reckoned as ſuperfluities, which we muſt in any caſe pare away, leſt we cloy God with too much ſervice. Is there in that Confeſſion of Faith, any thing which doth not at all times edifie and inſtruct the attentive hearer? Or is our Faith in the Bleſſed Trinity, a matter needleſs, to be ſo oftentimes mentioned and opened in the principal part of that duty which we ow to God, our Publick Prayer? Hath the Church of Chriſt from the firſt beginning, by a ſecret Univerſal Inſtinct of Gods good Spirit, always tied it ſelf to end neither Sermon, nor almoſt any ſpeech of moment which hath concerned Matters of God, without ſome ſpecial words of honor and glory to that Trinity which we all adore; and is the like concluſion of Pſalms, become now at length an eye-ſore, or a galling to their ears that hear it? Thoſe flames of Arianiſm, they ſay, are quenched, which were the cauſe why the Church deviſed in ſuch ſort to confeſs and praiſe the glorious Deity of the Son of God. Seeing therefore the ſore is whole, why retain we as yet the Plaiſter? When the cauſe, why any thing was ordained doth once ceaſe, the thing it ſelf ſhould ceaſe with it, that the Church being eaſed of unprofitable labors, needful offices may the better be attended. For the doing of things unneceſſary, is many times the cauſe why the moſt neceſſary are not done. But in this caſe ſo to reaſon, will not ſerve their turns. For firſt, the ground whereupon they build, is not certainly their own, but with ſpecial limitations. Few things are ſo reſtrained to any one end or purpoſe, that the ſame being extinct, they ſhould forthwith utterly become fruſtrate. Wiſdom may have framed one and the ſame thing to ſerve commodiouſly for divers ends, and of thoſe ends, any one be ſufficient cauſe for continuance, though the reſt have ceaſed; even as the Tongue, which Nature hath given us, for an Inſtrument of ſpeech is not idle in dumb perſons, becauſe it alſo ſerveth for taſte. Again, if time have worn out, or any other mean altogether taken away, what was firſt intended; uſes, not thought upon before, may afterwards ſpring up, and be reaſonable cauſes of retaining that which other conſiderations did formerly procure to be inſtituted. And it cometh ſometime to paſs, that a thing unneceſſary in it ſelf, as touching the whole direct purpoſe, whereto it was meant, or can be applied, doth notwithſtanding appear convenient to be ſtill held, even without uſe, leſt by reaſon of that coherence which it hath with ſomewhat moſt neceſſary, the removal of the one, ſhould indamage the other: And therefore men which have clean loſt the poſſibility of ſight, keep ſtill their eyes nevertheleſs in the place where Nature ſet them. As for theſe two Branches whereof our Queſtion groweth, Arianiſm was indeed ſome occaſion of the one, but a cauſe of neither, much leſs the onely intire cauſe of both. For albeit, conflict with Arians brought forth the occaſion of writing that Creed, which long after was made a part of the Church Liturgy, as Hymns and Sentences of Glory were a part thereof before; yet cauſe ſufficient there is, why both ſhould remain in uſe, the one as a moſt Divine Explication of the chiefeſt Articles of our Chriſtian Belief, the other as an Heavenly acclamation of joyful applauſe to his praiſes in whom we believe; neither the one, nor the other unworthy to be heard ſounding as they are in the Church of Chriſt, whether Arianiſm live or die. Againſt which poyſon likewiſe, if we think, that the Church at this day needeth not thoſe ancient preſervatives, which ages before us were ſo glad to uſe, we deceive our ſelves greatly. The Weeds of Hereſie being grown unto ſuch ripeneſs as that was, do even in the very cutting down, ſcatter oftentimes thoſe ſeeds which for a while lie unſeen and buried in the Earth, but afterward freſhly ſpring up again no leſs pernicious then at the firſt. Which thing they very well know, and I doubt not will eaſily confeſs, who live to their great, both toil and grief, where the blaſphemies of *Arians*, *Samoſatenians*, *Tritheits*, *Eutychians*, and *Macedonians*, are renewed by them,

who

who to hatch their Heresie, have chosen those Churches as fittest Nests where *Athanasius* Creed is not heard; by them, I say, renewed, who following the course of extream Reformation, were wont in the pride of their own proceedings to glory; that whereas *Luther* did but blow away the Roof, and *Zwinglius* batter but the Walls of Popish Superstition, the last and hardest work of all remained; which was, to raze up the very ground and foundation of Popery, that doctrine concerning the Deity of Christ, which *Satanasius* (for so it pleased those impious forsaken Miscreants to speak) hath in this memorable Creed explained. So manifestly true is, that which one of the Ancients hath concerning Arianism, *Mortuis authoribus hujus veneni, scelerata tamen eorum doctrina non moritur*, The Authors of this venom being dead and gone, their wicked doctrine notwithstanding continueth. *Fœbad.* contra Ar.

43. Amongst the heaps of these Excesses and Superfluities, there is espied the want of a principal part of duty, *There are no thanksgivings for the benefits, for which there are Petitions in our Book of Prayer.* This they have thought a point material to be objected. Neither may we take it in evil part to be admonished, what special duties of thankfulness we ow to that merciful God, for whose unspeakable Graces, the onely requital which we are able to make, is a true, hearty, and sincere acknowledgement, how precious we esteem such benefits received, and how infinite in goodness the Author from whom they come. But that to every Petition we make for things needful, there should be some answerable sentence of thanks provided particularly to follow such requests obtained; either it is not a matter so requisite as they pretend; or if it be, wherefore have they not then in such order framed their own Book of Common Prayer? Why hath our Lord and Saviour taught us a form of Prayer containing so many Petitions of those things which we want, and not delivered in like sort, as many several forms of Thanksgiving, to serve when any thing we pray for is granted? What answer soever they can reasonably make unto these demands, the same shall discover unto them how causeless a censure it is, that there are not, in our Book, Thanksgivings for all the benefits for which there are Petitions *. For concerning the Blessings of God, whether they tend unto this life, or the life to come, there is great cause why we should delight more in giving thanks, then in making requests for them, in as much as the one hath pensiveness and fear, the other always joy annexed; the one belongeth unto them that seek, the other unto them that have found happiness; they that pray, do but yet sow, they that give thanks, declare they have reaped. Howbeit, because there are so many Graces, whereof we stand in continual need, Graces for which we may not cease daily and hourly to sue, Graces which are in bestowing always, but never come to be fully had in this present life; and therefore, when all things here have an end, endless thanks must have their beginning in a state, which bringeth the full and final satisfaction of all such perpetual desires: Again, because our common necessities, and the lack which we all have, as well of ghostly as of earthly favors, is in each kinde so easily known; but the gifts of God, according to those degrees and times which he in his secret wisdom seeth meet, are so diversly bestowed, that it seldom appeareth what all receive, what all stand in need of it seldom lieth hid; we are not to marvel, though the Church do oftner concur in suits, then in thanks unto God for particular benefits. Nevertheless, lest God should be any way unglorified, the greatest part of our daily Service, they know, consisteth according to the [a] Blessed Apostles own precise rule, in much variety of Psalms and Hymns, for no other purpose, but onely, that out of so plentiful a treasure, there might be for every mans heart to chuse out his own Sacrifice, and to offer unto God by particular secret instinct, what fitteth best the often occasions which any several, either Party or Congregation, may seem to have. They that would clean take from us therefore, the daily use of the very best means we have to magnifie and praise the Name of Almighty God for his rich Blessings, they that complain of our reading and singing so many Psalms for so good an end; they, I say, that finde fault with our store, should of all men be least willing to reprove our scarcity of Thanksgivings. But because peradventure they see, it is not either generally fit or possible that Churches should frame Thanksgivings answerable to each Petition, they shorten somewhat the reins of their censure; there are no forms of Thanks-

Our want of particular Thanksgiving. As such prayers are needful, whereby we beg release from o distresses; so there ought to be as necessary Prayers of Thanksgiving, when we have received those things at the Lords hand which we asked. *T. C.* lib 1. pag. 138.

I do not simply require a solemn and expres Thanksgiving for such benefits; but onely upon a supposition, which is, that if it be expedient that there should be expres Prayers against so many of their earthly miseries, that then also it is meet that upon the deliverance, there should be an expres Thanksgiving. *T. C.* lib. 3. pag. 209.

* The default of the Book, for that there are no Forms of Thanksgiving for the release from those common calamities from which we have Petitions to be delivered. *T. C.* lib. 3. p. 208.

[a] Ephes. 5. 9. Colos. 3. 16.

Thankſgiving, they ſay, for releaſe of thoſe common calamities, from which we have Petitions to be delivered. *There are Prayers ſet forth to be ſaid in the common calamities and Univerſal ſcourges of the Realm, as Plague, Famine, &c. And indeed ſo it ought to be by the Word of God. But as ſuch Prayers are needful,* whereby we beg releaſe from our Diſtreſſes, ſo there ought to be as neceſſary Prayers of Thankſgiving, when we have received thoſe things at the Lords hand, which we asked in our Prayers. As oft therefore, as any Publick or Univerſal ſcourge is removed, as oft as we are delivered from thoſe, either imminent or preſent Calamities, againſt the ſtorm and tempeſt whereof we all inſtantly craved favor from above, let it be a Queſtion what we ſhould render unto God for his Bleſſings univerſally, ſenſibly, and extraordinarily beſtowed. A Prayer of three or four lines inſerted into ſome part of our Church Liturgy? No, we are not perſwaded that when God doth in trouble injoyn us the duty of Invocation, and promiſe us the benefit of Deliverance, and profeſs, That the thing he expecteth after at our hands, is to glorifie him as our mighty and onely Saviour, the Church can diſcharge in manner convenient, a work of ſo great importance, by fore-ordaining ſome ſhort Collect wherein briefly to mention thanks. Our cuſtom therefore, whenſoever ſo great occaſions are incident, is by Publick Authority to appoint throughout all Churches, ſet and ſolemn Forms, as well of Supplication, as of Thankſgiving, the preparations and intended Complements whereof may ſtir up the mindes of men in much more effectual ſort, then if onely there ſhould be added to the Book of Prayer, that which they require. But we err in thinking, that they require any ſuch matter. For albeit their words to our underſtanding be very plain, that in our Book *there are Prayers ſet forth* to be ſaid when *common calamities* are felt, as *Plague, Famine,* and ſuch like; Again, that *indeed ſo it ought to be by the Word of God:* That likewiſe *there ought to be as neceſſary Prayers of Thankſgiving when we have received thoſe things.* Finally, that the want of ſuch Forms of Thankſgiving for the releaſe from thoſe common calamities from which we have Petitions to be delivered, is the *default of the Book of Common Prayer:* Yet all this they mean, but onely by way of *ſuppoſition if expreſs Prayers* againſt ſo many Earthly miſeries were convenient, that then indeed as many expreſs and particular Thankſgivings ſhould be likewiſe neceſſary. Seeing therefore we know that they hold the one ſuperfluous, they would not have it ſo underſtood, as though their mindes were that any ſuch addition to the Book is needful, whatſoever they ſay for Arguments ſake concerning this pretended defect. The truth is, they wave in and out, no way ſufficiently grounded, no way reſolved what to think, ſpeak, or write, more then onely that, becauſe they have taken it upon them, they muſt (no remedy now) be oppoſite.

T. C. lib. 1. pag. 138.

In ſome things the Matter of our Prayer, as they affirm, Unſound.

44. The laſt ſuppoſed fault concerneth ſome few things, the very matter whereof, is thought to be much amiſs. In a Song of Praiſe to our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, we have theſe words, *When thou hadſt overcome the ſharpneſs of death, thou didſt open the Kingdom of Heaven to all Believers.* Which maketh ſome ſhew of giving countenance to their Error, who think, that the faithful which departed this life before the coming of Chriſt, were never till then made partakers of joy, but remained all in that place which they term the *Lake of the Fathers.* In our Liturgy, requeſt is made, that we may be preſerved from ſudden death. This ſeemeth frivolous, becauſe the godly ſhould always be prepared to die. Requeſt is made, that God would give thoſe things, which we for our unworthineſs, dare not ask. *This,* they ſay, *carrieth with it the note of Popiſh ſervile fear, and ſavoreth not of that confidence and reverent familiarity that the children of God have through Chriſt, with their Heavenly Father.* Requeſt is made, that we may evermore be defended from all adverſity. For this *there is no promiſe in Scripture*; and therefore *it is no Prayer of Faith, or of the which we can aſſure our ſelves, that we ſhall obtain it.* Finally, Requeſt is made, That God would have mercy upon all men. This is impoſſible, becauſe ſome are the Veſſels of Wrath, to whom God will never extend his Mercy.

45. As

45. As Christ hath purchased that Heavenly Kingdom, the last perfection whereof is, *Glory in the life to come*, Grace in this life, a preparation thereunto; so the same he hath opened to the World in such sort, that whereas none can possibly without him attain salvation, by him *all that believe*, are saved. Now whatsoever he did, or suffered, the end thereof was, to open the doors of the Kingdom of Heaven, which our iniquities had shut up. But because by *ascending after that the sharpness of death* was overcome, he took the very *local possession* of glory, and that *to the use of all that are his*, even as himself before had witnessed, *I go to prepare a place for you.* And again, *Whom thou hast given me, O Father, I will that where I am, they be also with me, that my glory which thou hast given me, they may behold.* It appeareth, that *when Christ did ascend*, he then most *liberally opened* the Kingdom of Heaven, *to the end*, that with him, and by him, all Believers might raign. In what estate the Fathers rested which were dead before, it is not hereby either one way or other determined. All that we can rightly gather, is, that as touching their souls, what degree of joy or happiness soever it pleased God to bestow upon them, *his Ascension* which succeeded, *procured* theirs, and theirs concerning the Body, must needs be *not onely of*, but after his. As therefore *Helvidius*, against whom St. *Jerome* writeth, abused greatly those words of *Matthew*, concerning *Joseph*, and the Mother of our Saviour Christ, *He knew her not till she had brought forth her first-born*, thereby gathering against the honor of the Blessed Virgin, that a thing denied with special circumstance, doth import an opposite affirmation when once that circumstance is expired: After the self-same manner, it should be a weak collection, if whereas we say, That when Christ had overcome the sharpness of death, he then opened the Kingdom of Heaven to all Believers; a thing in such sort affirmed with circumstance, were taken as insinuating an opposite denial before that circumstance be accomplished, and consequently, that because when the sharpness of death was overcome, he then opened Heaven *as well to believing Gentiles as Jews*, Heaven till then was no receptacle to the Souls of either. Wherefore, be the Spirits of the just and righteous before Christ, truly or falsly thought excluded out of Heavenly joy, by that which we in the words alledged before, do attribute to Christs Ascension, there is to no such opinion, nor to the favorers thereof, any countenance at all given. We cannot better interpret the meaning of these words, then Pope *Leo* himself expoundeth them, whose Speech concerning our Lords Ascension may serve instead of a Marginal gloss, *Christs Exaltation is our Promotion; and whither the glory of the Head is already gone before, thither the Hope of the Body also is to follow. For at this day, we have not onely the possession of Paradise assured unto us, but in Christ we have entred the highest of the Heavens.* His opening the Kingdom of Heaven, and his entrance thereinto, was not onely to his own use, but for the benefit of all Believers.

When thou hadst overcome the sharpness of death, thou didst open the Kingdom of Heaven unto all Believers.

John 14. 2. & 17. 24.

Jerom contra. *Helvid.* *August.* Hær. 84.

Lyr. super. Gen 29. *Th.* p. 3. q. 52.

Leo, Ser. 1. de Ascens.

46. Our good or evil estate after death, dependeth most upon the quality of our lives. Yet somewhat there is, why a vertuous minde should rather wish to depart this world with a kinde of treatable dissolution, then to be suddenly cut off in a moment; rather to be taken then snatched away from the face of the Earth. Death is that which all men suffer, but not all men with one minde, neither all men in one manner. For being of necessity a thing common, it is through the manifold perswasions, dispositions, and occasions of men, with equal desert both of praise and dispraise, shunned by some, by others desired. So that absolutely we cannot discommend, we cannot absolutely approve, either willingness to live, or forwardness to die. And concerning the ways of death, albeit the choice thereof be onely in his hands, who alone hath power over all flesh, and unto whose appointment we ought with patience meekly to submit our selves (for to be agents voluntarily in our own destruction, is against both God and Nature) yet there is no doubt, but in so great variety, our desires will and may lawfully prefer one kinde before another. Is there any man of worth and vertue, although not instructed in the School of Christ, or ever taught what the soundness of Religion meaneth, that had not rather end the days of this transitory life, as *Cyrus* in *Xenophon*, or in *Plato*, *Socrates*, are described, then to sink down with them, of whom *Elihu* hath said, *Momento moriuntur*, there is scarce an instant between their flourishing, and their not being? But let us which know what it is to die, as *Absalon*, or *Ananias* and *Saphira* died; let us beg of God, that when the hour

Touching Prayer for deliverance from sudden death.

Job 34. 20.

Heb. 11. 21. Deut. 33. Josh. 24. 1 King. 2.

hour of our rest is come, the patterns of our dissolution may be *Jacob*, *Moses*, *Joshua*, *David*; who leisureably ending their lives in peace, prayed for the Mercies of God to come upon their posterity; repleniſhed the hearts of the neareſt unto them, with words of memorable Consolation; ſtrengthned men in the fear of God, gave them wholeſome inſtructions of life, and confirmed them in true Religion; in ſum, Taught the World no leſs vertuouſly how to die, then they had done before how to live. To ſuch as judge things according to the ſenſe of natural men, and aſcend no higher, ſuddenneſs, becauſe it ſhortneth their grief, ſhould in reaſon be moſt acceptable. That which cauſeth bitterneſs in death, is the languiſhing attendance and expectation thereof, ere it come. And therefore Tyrants uſe what art they can, to increaſe the ſlowneſs of death. Quick riddance out of life, is often both requeſted and beſtowed as a benefit. Commonly therefore it is, for vertuous conſiderations, that Wiſdom ſo far prevaileth with men, as to make them deſirous of ſlow and deliberate death againſt the ſtream of their ſenſual inclination, content to endure the longer grief, and bodily pain, that the Soul may have time to call it ſelf to a juſt account of all things paſt, by means whereof, Repentance is perfected, there is wherein to exerciſe patience, the joys of the Kingdom of Heaven have leiſure to preſent themſelves, the pleaſures of ſin and this Worlds vanities, are cenſured with uncorrupt judgment, Charity is free to make adviſed choice of the ſoyl wherein her laſt Seed may moſt fruitfully be beſtowed, the minde is at liberty to have due regard of that diſpoſition of worldly things, which it can never afterwards alter; and becauſe the nearer we draw unto God, the more we are oftentimes enlightned with the ſhining beams of his glorious preſence, as being then even almoſt in ſight, a leiſureable departure may in that caſe bring forth for the good of ſuch as are preſent, that which ſhall cauſe them for ever after from the bottom of their hearts to pray, *O let us die the death of the righteous, and let our laſt end be like theirs.* All which benefits and opportunities are by ſudden death prevented. And beſides, for as much as death howſoever, is a general effect of the wrath of God againſt ſin, and the ſuddenneſs thereof, a thing which hapneth but to few: The World in this reſpect feareth it the more as being ſubject to doubtful conſtructions, which as no man willingly would incur, ſo they whoſe happy eſtate after life, is of all mens the moſt certain, ſhould eſpecially wiſh, that no ſuch accident in their death may give uncharitable mindes occaſion of raſh, ſiniſter, and ſuſpicious verdicts, whereunto they are over-prone: So that, whether evil men or good be reſpected, whether we regard our ſelves or others, to be preſerved from ſudden death, is a Bleſſing of God. And our Prayer againſt it, importeth a twofold deſire; firſt, That death when it cometh, may give us ſome convenient reſpight; or ſecondly, If that be denied us of God, yet we may have wiſdom to provide always beforehand; that thoſe evils overtake us not, which death unexpected doth uſe to bring upon careleſs men; and that although it be ſudden in it ſelf, nevertheleſs in regard of our prepared mindes, it may not be ſudden.

Cypr. de Mortal.

Prayer that thoſe things which we for our unworthineſs dare not ask, God for the worthineſs of his Son would vouchſafe to grant. This requeſt carrieth with it ſtill the note of the Popiſh ſervile fear, and favoreth not of that confidence and reverent familiarity that the Children of God have, through Chriſt, with their Heavenly Father.

47. But is it credible, that the very acknowledgment of our own unworthineſs to obtain, and in that reſpect our profeſſed fearfulneſs to ask any thing, otherwiſe then onely for his ſake, to whom God can deny nothing, that this ſhould be noted for a Popiſh Error; that this ſhould be termed baſeneſs, abjection of minde, or ſervility, is it credible? That which we for our unworthineſs are afraid to crave, our Prayer is, That God for the worthineſs of his Son, would notwithſtanding vouchſafe to grant. May it pleaſe them to ſhew us which of theſe words it is, that carrieth the note of Popiſh and ſervile fear? In reference to other Creatures of this inferior World, Mans worth and excellency is admired. Compared with God, the trueſt Inſcription wherewith we can circle ſo baſe a coyn, is, that of *David* *, *Univerſa vanitas eſt omnis homo*; Whoſoever hath the name of a mortal man, there is in him whatſoever the name of vanity doth comprehend. And therefore what we ſay of our own unworthineſs, there is no doubt but Truth will ratifie, alledged in Prayer, it both becometh and behoveth Saints. For as Humility is in Suiters a decent vertue; ſo the teſtification thereof, by ſuch effectual acknowledgments, not onely

T. C. lib. 1. pag. 136. * Pſal. 39. 5.

argueth

argueth a sound apprehension of his super-eminent Glory and Majesty before whom we stand, but putteth also into his hands, a kinde of pledge or bond for security against our unthankfulness, the very Natural Root whereof, is always either Ignorance, Dissimulation, or Pride: Ignorance, when we know not the Author from whom our good cometh: Dissimulation, when our hands are more open then our eyes, upon that we receive: Pride, when we think our selves worthy of that, which meer Grace and undeserved Mercy bestoweth. In Prayer therefore, to abate so vain imaginations with the *true conceit of unworthiness*, is rather to prevent, then commit a fault. It being no error thus to think, no fault thus to speak of our selves when we pray; is it a fault, that the consideration of our unworthiness, maketh us fearful to open our mouths by way of suit? While *Job* had prosperity, and lived in honor, men feared him for his authorities sake, and in token of their fear, when they saw him, they *hid themselves*. Between *Elihu*, and the rest of *Jobs* Familiars, the greatest disparity was but in years. And he, though riper then they in judgment, doing them reverence in regard of age, stood long * *doubtful*, and very loth to adventure upon speech in his Elders hearing. If so small inequality between man and man, make their modesty a commendable vertue, who, respecting Superiors *as Superiors*, can neither speak nor stand before them without fear; that the Publican approacheth not more boldly to God; that when Christ in mercy draweth near to *Peter*, he in humility and fear, craveth distance: That being to stand, to speak, to sue in the presence of so great Majesty, we are afraid, let no man blame us. In which consideration notwithstanding, because to flie altogether from God, to despair that Creatures unworthy shall be able to obtain any thing at his hands, and under that pretence, to surcease from Prayers, as bootless or fruitless offices, were to him no less injurious, then pernicious to our own souls; even that which we tremble to do we do, we ask those things which we dare not ask. The knowledge of our own unworthiness, is not without belief in the merits of Christ. With that true fear which the one causeth, there is coupled true boldness; and encouragement drawn from the other. The very silence which our unworthiness putteth us unto, doth it self make request for us, and that in the confidence of his Grace. Looking inward, we are stricken dumb; looking upward, we speak and prevail. O happy mixture, wherein things contrary do so qualifie and correct the one the danger of the others excess, that neither boldness can make us presume, as long as we are kept under with the sense of our own wretchedness; nor, while we trust in the Mercy of God through Jesus Christ, fear be able to tyrannize over us! As therefore our fear excludeth not that boldness * which becometh Saints; so if our familiarity with God, do not savor of this fear, it draweth too near that irreverend confidence, wherewith true Humility can never stand.

Μεμνημένος τῆς ἰδίας φύσεως πάντα ἀσθενείας, μεμνῆται καὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πάντα ἀφθόνως. *Philo.* de Sacrif. *Abel.* & *Cain.*

Job 29 8. Amongst the parts of honor *Aristotle* reckoneth αἰσχύνας and ἐκπλήξεις. *Rhet.* lib. 1. cap. 5.

* Job 32. 6.

The Publican did indeed not lift up his eyes: So that if by his example we should say, we dare ask nothing, we ought also to ask nothing; otherwise instead of teaching true humility, we open a School to hypocrisie, which the Lord detesteth. *T. C.* lib. 3. p. 203.

* Rom. 5. 2, 8, 15. Heb. 10. 19.

48. Touching continual deliverance in the World from all adversity, their conceit is, that we ought not to ask it of God by Prayer; for as much as in Scripture there is no promise that we shall be evermore free from vexations, calamities, and troubles. Mindes religiously affected, are wont in every thing of weight and moment, which they do or see, to examine according unto rules of Piety, what dependency it hath on God, what reference to themselves, what coherence with any of those duties whereunto all things in the World should lead, and accordingly they frame the inward disposition of their mindes, sometime to admire God, sometimes to bless him, and give him thanks, sometime to exult in his love, sometime to implore his mercy. All which different elevations of spirit unto God, are contained in the name of Prayer. Every good and holy desire, though it lack the form, hath notwithstanding in it self the substance, and with him the force of a Prayer, who regardeth the very moanings, groans, and sighs of the heart of man. Petitionary Prayer belongeth onely to such as are in themselves impotent, and stand in need of relief from others. We thereby declare unto God, what our own desire is, that he by his power should effect. It presupposeth therefore in us, First, the want of that which we pray for: Secondly, a feeling of that want: Thirdly, an earnest willingness of minde to be eased therein: Fourthly, a declaration of this our desire in the sight of God, not as if he should be otherwise ignorant of our necessities; but because we

Prayer to be evermore delivered from all adversity. For as much as there is no promise in the Scripture, that we should be free from all adversity, and thatevermore; it seemeth that this Prayer might have been better conceived, being no Prayer of Faith, or of the which we can assure our selves, that we shall obtain it. *T. C.* lib. 1. p. 136.

this way ſhew that we honor him as our God, and are verily perſwaded, that no good thing can come to paſs, which he by his omnipotent Power effecteth not. Now becauſe there is no mans Prayer acceptable, whoſe perſon is odious, neither any mans perſon gracious without Faith; it is of neceſſity required, that they which pray, do believe. The Prayers which our Lord and Saviour made, were for his own worthineſs accepted; ours God accepteth not, but with this condition, If they be joyned with belief in Chriſt. The Prayers of the Juſt are accepted always, but not always thoſe things granted for which they pray: For in Prayer, if Faith and Aſſurance to obtain, were both one and the ſame thing, ſeeing that the effect of not obtaining, is a plain teſtimony, that they which prayed, were not ſure they ſhould obtain; it would follow, that their Prayer being without certainty of the event, was alſo made unto God without Faith, and conſequently, that God abhorred it. Which to think of ſo many Prayers of Saints, as we finde have failed in particular requeſts, how abſurd were it? His faithful people have this comfort, that whatſoever they rightly ask, the ſame (no doubt, but) they ſhall receive, ſo far as may ſtand with the glory of God, and their own everlaſting good; unto either of which two, it is no vertuous mans purpoſe to ſeek, or deſire to obtain any thing prejudicial; and therefore that clauſe which our Lord and Saviour in the Prayer of his Agony did expreſs, we in Petitions of like nature, do always imply, *Pater, ſi poſſibile eſt,* If it may ſtand with thy will and pleaſure. Or if not, but that there be ſecret impediments and cauſes, in regard whereof, the thing we pray for, is denied us; yet the Prayer it ſelf, which we make, is a pleaſing Sacrifice to God, who both accepteth and rewardeth it ſome other way. So that ſinners, in very truth, are denied when they ſeem to prevail in their Supplications, becauſe it is not for their ſakes, or to their good, that their ſutes take place; the faithful contrariwiſe, becauſe it is for their good oftentimes that their Petitions do not take place, prevail even then when they moſt ſeem denied. *Our Lord God in anger hath granted ſome impenitent mens requeſts, as on the other ſide the Apoſtles ſute, he hath of favor and mercy not granted* (ſaith St. *Auguſtine.*) To think we may pray unto God for nothing, but what he hath promiſed in holy Scripture, we ſhall obtain, is perhaps an error. For of Prayer there are two uſes. It ſerveth as a mean to procure thoſe things which God hath promiſed, to grant when we ask; and it ſerveth as a mean to expreſs our lawful deſires alſo towards that, which whether we ſhall have or no, we know not, till we ſee the event. Things in themſelves unholy or unſeemly, we may not ask; we may whatſoever, being not forbidden, either Nature or Grace ſhall reaſonably move us to wiſh as importing the good of men; albeit, God himſelf have no where by promiſe aſſured us of that particular which our Prayer craveth. To pray for that, which is in it ſelf, and of its own nature, apparently a thing impoſſible, were not convenient. Wherefore, though men do without offence wiſh daily, that the affairs which with evil ſucceſs are paſt, might have faln out much better, yet to pray that they may have been any other then they are, this being a manifeſt impoſſibility in it ſelf, the Rules of Religion do not permit. Whereas contrariwiſe, when things of their own nature contingent and mutable, are by the ſecret determination of God, appointed one way, though we the other way make our Prayers, and conſequently ask thoſe things of God, which are by this ſuppoſition impoſſible, we notwithſtanding do not hereby in Prayer, tranſgreſs our lawful bounds. That Chriſt, as the onely begotten Son of God, having no Superior, and therefore owing honor unto none, neither ſtanding in any need, ſhould either give thanks, or make petition unto God, were moſt abſurd. As Man, what could beſeem him better, whether we reſpect his affection to Godward, or his own neceſſity, or his charity and love towards men? Some things he knew ſhould come to paſs, and notwithſtanding prayed for them, becauſe he alſo knew that the neceſſary means to effect them, were his Prayers. As in the *Pſalm* it is ſaid, *Ask of me, and I will give thee the Heathen for thine Inheritance, and the ends of the Earth for thy poſſeſſion.* Wherefore, that which here God promiſeth his Son, the ſame in the Seventeenth of *John* he prayeth for, *Father, the hour is now come, glorifie thy Son, that thy Son alſo may glorifie thee, according as thou haſt given him power over all fleſh.* But had Chriſt the like promiſe, concerning the effect of every particular for which he prayed? That which was not effected, could not be promiſed.

Oratio, quæ non fit per Chriſtum, non ſolum non poteſt delere peccatum, ſed etiam ipſa fit peccatum. *Aug.* Enar. 1. in Pſal. 108.

Numb. 11. 33. 1 Sam. 8. 7. Job 1. 12. & 2. 6. Luk. 8. 52.

2 Cor. 12. 7, 8, 9. *Aug.* Ep. 121. Ad Probam viduam.

Pſal. 2. 8.

John 17. 1, 2.

And

And we know in what sort he prayed for removal of that bitter Cup, which Cup he tasted, notwithstanding his Prayer. To shift off this example, they answer first, *That as other children of God, so Christ had a promise of deliverance, as far as the glory of God in the accomplishment of his vocation would suffer.* And if we our selves have not also in that sort the promise of God to be evermore delivered from all adversity, what meaneth the Sacred Scripture to speak in so large terms, *Be obedient, and the Lord thy God will make thee plenteous* [a] *in every work of thy hand, in the fruit of thy body, and in the fruit of thy cattel, and in the fruit of the Land for thy wealth.* Again, *Keep his Laws, and thou shalt be blest above all people, the Lord shall take from thee* [b] *all infirmities.* The man whose delight is in the Law of God, [c] *whatsoever he doth, it shall prosper.* For the ungodly there are *great plagues* remaining; but whosoever putteth his trust in the Lord, Mercy imbraceth him [d] *on every side.* Not onely that mercy which keepeth from being over-laid or oppress, but Mercy which saveth from being touched with grievous miseries, Mercy which turneth away the course of [e] *the great water flouds*, and permitteth them not to *come near.* Nevertheless, because the Prayer of Christ did concern but one calamity, they are still bold to deny the lawfulness of our Prayer for deliverance out of all, yea, though we pray with the same exception that he did, *If such deliverance may stand with the pleasure of Almighty God, and not otherwise.* For they have, secondly, found out a Rule, that Prayer ought onely to be made for deliverance [f] *from this or that particular adversity, whereof we know not, but upon the event, what the pleasure of God is.* Which quite overthroweth that other principle, wherein they require unto every Prayer, which is of Faith, an assurance to obtain the thing we pray for. At the first to pray against all adversity was unlawful, because we cannot assure our selves that this will be granted. Now we have licence to pray against any particular adversity, and the reason given, because we know not but upon the event what God will do. If we know not what God will do, it followeth, that for any assurance we have, he may do otherwise then we pray, and we may faithfully pray for that which we cannot assuredly presume that God will grant. Seeing therefore neither of these two Answers will serve the turn, they have a third, which is, That to pray in such sort, is but idly mispent labor, because God hath already revealed his Will touching this request; and we know, that the sute we make, is denied before we make it. Which neither is true, and if it were, was Christ ignorant what God had determined touching those things which himself should suffer? To say, *He knew not what weight of sufferances his Heavenly Father had measured unto him*, is somewhat hard; harder, that although *he knew them*, notwithstanding for the present time *they were forgotten, through the force of those unspeakable pangs which he then was in.* The one against the plain express words of the holy Evangelist, *He knew all things that should come upon him*; the other less credible, if any thing may be of less credit then what the Scripture it self gain-sayeth. Doth any of them which wrote his sufferings, make report that memory failed him? Is there in his words and speeches any sign of defect that way? Did not himself declare before, whatsoever was to happen in the course of that whole tragedy? Can we gather by any thing, after taken from his own mouth, either in the place of publick judgment, or upon the Altar of the Cross, that through the bruising of his Body, some part of the treasures of his Soul were scattered and slipt from him? If that which was perfect both before and after, did fail at this onely middle instant, there must appear some manifest cause how it came to pass. True it is, that the pangs of his heavines and grief were unspeakable; and as true, That because the mindes of the afflicted, do never think they have fully conceived the weight or measure of their own wo, they use their affection as a whetstone, both to wit and memory; these as Nurses do feed grief; so that the weaker his conceit had been touching that which he was to suffer, the more it must needs in that hour have helped to the mitigation of his anguish. But his anguish we see was then at the very highest whereunto it could possibly rise; which argueth his deep apprehension, even to the last drop of the Gall which that Cup contained, and of every circumstance wherein there was any force to augment heavines; but above all things, the resolute determination of God, and his own unchangeable purpose, which he at that time could not forget. To what intent then was his Prayer,

Matth. 26 39. Mark 14. 36. Luke 22. 42. Neither did our Saviour Christ pray without promise; for as other the Children of God, to whose condition he had humbled himself have, so had he a promise of deliverance so far, as the glory of God in that accomplishment of his vocation would suffer. *T. C.* lib. 3. pag 200.

[a] Deut. 30. 9.
[b] Deut. 7. 15.
[c] Psal. 1. 4.
[d] Psal. 32 11, 17.
[e] *T. C.* lib. 3. pag 201.
[f] We ought not to desire to be free from all adversity, if it be his will, considering that he hath already declared his Will therein. *T. C.* lib. 3. pag. 201.

T. C. lib. 3. p. 201.

John 18. 4.

which plainly teſtifieth ſo great willingneſs to avoid death? Will, whether it be in God or Man, belongeth to the Eſſence or Nature of both. The Nature therefore of God being one, there are not in God divers Wills, although the God-head be in divers perſons, becauſe the power of willing, is a natural, not a perſonal propriety. Contrariwiſe, the Perſon of our Saviour Chriſt being but one, there are in him two Wills; becauſe two Natures, the Nature of God, and the Nature of Man, which both do imply this Faculty and Power. So that in Chriſt there is a Divine, and there is an Humane will, otherwiſe he were not both God and Man. Hereupon the Church hath of old condemned Monothelites as Hereticks, for holding, That Chriſt had but one Will. The Works and Operations of our Saviours Humane will, were all ſubject to the Will of God, and framed according to his Law, *I deſire to do thy Will, O God, and thy Law is within mine heart.* Now as Mans will, ſo the Will of Chriſt hath two ſeveral kindes of operation, the one Natural or neceſſary; whereby it deſireth ſimply whatſoever is good in it ſelf, and ſhunneth as generally all things which hurt; the other Deliberate, when we therefore embrace things as good, becauſe the eye of underſtanding judgeth them good, to that end which we ſimply deſire. Thus in it ſelf we deſire health, Phyſick onely for healths ſake. And in this ſort ſpecial Reaſon oftentimes cauſeth the Will by choice to prefer one good thing before another, to leave one for anothers ſake, to forgo meaner for the attainment of higher deſires, which our Saviour likewiſe did. Theſe different inclinations of the Will conſidered, the reaſon is eaſie, how in Chriſt there might grow deſires ſeeming, but being not indeed oppoſite, either the one of them unto the other, or either of them to the Will of God. For let the manner of his ſpeech be weighed, *My Soul is now troubled, and what ſhould I ſay? Father, ſave me out of this hour. But yet for this very cauſe I am come into this hour.* His purpoſe herein was moſt effectually to propoſe to the view of the whole World two contrary Objects, the like whereunto in force and efficacy were never preſented in that manner to any, but onely to the Soul of Chriſt. There was preſented before his eyes in that fearful hour, on the one ſide Gods heavy indignation and wrath towards mankinde, as yet unappeaſed, death as yet in full ſtrength, Hell as yet never maſtered by any that came within the confines and bounds thereof, ſomewhat alſo peradventure more then is either poſſible or needful for the wit of man to finde out; finally, Himſelf fleſh and blood [a] left alone to enter into conflict with all theſe: On the other ſide, a World to be ſaved by One, a pacification of wrath through the dignity of that Sacrifice which ſhould be offered, a conqueſt over death through the power of that Deity, which would not ſuffer the Tabernacle thereof to ſee corruption, and an utter diſappointment of all the forces of infernal powers, through the purity of that Soul which they ſhould have in their hands, and not be able to touch. Let no man marvel, that in this caſe the Soul of Chriſt was much troubled. For what could ſuch apprehenſions breed, but (as their nature is) inexplicable Paſſions of minde, deſires abhorring what they embrace, and embracing what they abhor? In which Agony, *how ſhould the tongue go about to expreſs what the ſoul endured?* When the griefs of *Job* were exceeding great, his words accordingly to open them were many; howbeit, ſtill unto his ſeeming they were undiſcovered: *Though my talk* (ſaith *Job* [b]) *be this day in bitterneſs, yet my plague is greater then my groaning.* But here to what purpoſe ſhould words ſerve, when nature hath more to declare then groans and ſtrong cries, more then ſtreams of bloody ſweats, more then his doubled and tripled Prayers can expreſs, who thrice putting forth his hand to receive that Cup, beſides which, there was no other cauſe of his coming into the World, he thrice pulleth it back again, and as often even with tears of blood craveth, *If it be poſsible, O Father, or if not, even what thine own good pleaſure is*; for whoſe ſake the Paſſion that hath in it a bitter, and a bloody conflict, even with Wrath, and Death, and Hell, is moſt welcome. Whereas therefore we finde in God a will reſolved that Chriſt ſhall ſuffer; and in the Humane will of Chriſt two actual deſires, the one avoiding, and the other accepting death; Is that deſire which firſt declareth it ſelf by Prayer, againſt that wherewith he concludeth Prayer, or either of them

Pſal. 40. 8.

Joh. 12. 27.

[a] Matth 27. 46. Non potuit divinitas humanitatem, & ſecundum aliquid deſeruiſſe, & ſecundum aliquid non deſeruiſſe? Subtraxit protectionem, ſed non ſeparavit unionem. Sic ergo dereliquit ut non adjuvaret, ſed non dereliquit ut recederet. Sic ergo humanitas à divinitate in paſſione derelicta eſt. Quam tamen mortem quia non pro ſua iniquitate, ſed pro noſtra redemptione ſuſtinuit, quare ſit derelicta requirit non quaſi adverſus Deum de pœna murmurans, ſed nobis innocentiam ſuam in pœna demonſtrans. *Hug.* de Sacra. lib. 2. part. 1. cap. 10. Deus meus, utquid dereliquiſti me? Vox eſt nec ignorantiæ, nec diffidentiæ, nec querelæ, ſed admirationis tantum, quæ aliis inveſtigandæ cauſæ ardorem & diligentiam acuat. [b] Job 23 8.

againſt

againſt his minde, to whom Prayer in this caſe ſeeketh? We may judge of theſe diverſities in the Will, by the like in the Underſtanding. For as the intellectual part doth not croſs it ſelf, by conceiving man to be juſt and unjuſt, when it meaneth not the ſame man, nor by imagining the ſame man learned and unlearned, if learned in one skill, and in another kinde of learning unskilful, becauſe the parts of every true oppoſition do always both concern the ſame ſubject, and have reference to the ſame thing, ſith otherwiſe they are but in ſhew oppoſite, and not in truth: So the Will about one and the ſame thing may in contrary reſpects have contrary inclinations, and that without contrariety. The Miniſter of Juſtice may, for publike example to others, virtuouſly will the execution of that party, whoſe pardon another for conſanguinities ſake as virtuouſly may deſire. Conſider death in it ſelf, and nature teacheth Chriſt to ſhun it. Conſider death as a mean to procure the ſalvation of the World, and mercy worketh in Chriſt all willingneſs of minde towards it. Therefore in theſe two deſires, there can be no repugnant oppoſition. Again, compare them with the Will of God, and if any oppoſition be, it muſt be onely between his appointment of Chriſts death, and the former deſire which wiſheth deliverance from death. But neither is this deſire oppoſite to the Will of God. The Will of God was, that Chriſt ſhould ſuffer the pains of death. Not ſo his will, as if the torment of innocency did in it ſelf pleaſe and delight God; but ſuch was his Will, in regard of the end whereunto it was neceſſary, that Chriſt ſhould ſuffer. The death of Chriſt in it ſelf therefore, God willeth not, which to the end we might thereby obtain life, he both alloweth and appointeth. In like manner, the Son of Man endureth willingly to that purpoſe thoſe grievous pains, which ſimply not to have ſhunned had been againſt Nature, and by conſequent againſt God. I take it therefore to be an error, that Chriſt either knew not what himſelf was to ſuffer, or elſe had forgotten the things he knew. The root of which error, was an over-reſtrained conſideration of Prayer, as though it had no other lawful uſe, but onely to ſerve for a choſen mean, whereby the Will reſolveth to ſeek that which the Underſtanding certainly knoweth it ſhall obtain: Whereas Prayers, in truth, both ours are, and his were, as well ſometime a preſentation of meer deſires, as a mean of procuring deſired effects at the hands of God. We are therefore taught by his example, that the preſence of dolorous and dreadful objects, even in mindes moſt perfect, may as clouds over-caſt all ſenſible joy; that no aſſurance touching future victories can make preſent conflicts ſo ſweet and eaſie, but nature will ſhun and ſhrink from them; nature will deſire eaſe and deliverance from oppreſſive burthens; that the contrary determination of God is oftentimes againſt the effect of this deſire, yet not againſt the affection it ſelf, becauſe it is naturally in us; that in ſuch caſe our Prayers cannot ſerve us as means to obtain the thing we deſire; that notwithſtanding they are unto God moſt acceptable ſacrifices, becauſe they teſtifie we deſire nothing but at his hands, and our deſires we ſubmit with contentment to be over-ruled by his Will; and in general they are not repugnant unto the Natural Will of God, which wiſheth to the works of his own hands, in that they are his own handy-work, all happineſs, although perhaps for ſome ſpecial cauſe in our own particular, a contrary determination have ſeemed more convenient; finally, that thus to propoſe our deſires which cannot take ſuch effects as we ſpecifie, ſhall notwithſtanding otherwiſe procure us his Heavenly grace, even as this very Prayer of Chriſt obtained Angels to be ſent him, as comforters in his Agony. And, according to this example, we are not afraid to preſent unto God our Prayers for thoſe things, which that he will perform unto us, we have no ſure nor certain knowledge. St. *Pauls* Prayer for the Church of *Corinth* was, that they might not do any evil, although he knew that no man liveth which ſinneth not, although he knew that in this life we always muſt pray, *Forgive us our ſins*. It is our frailty, that in many things we all do amiſs; but a vertue, that we would do amiſs in nothing; and a teſtimony of that vertue, when we pray, That what occaſion of ſin ſoever do offer it ſelf, we may be ſtrengthned from above to withſtand it. They pray in vain to have ſin pardoned, which ſeek not alſo to prevent ſin by Prayer, even every particular ſin, by Prayer againſt all ſin, except men can name ſome tranſgreſſion wherewith we ought to have truce. For in very deed, although we cannot be free from all ſin collectively, in ſuch ſort that no part thereof, ſhall be found inherent in us, yet diſtributively,

Iſa. 53. 10. Job 10. 15.

Luke 22. 14.

2 Cor. 13. 7.

We may not pray in this life, to be free from all ſin, becauſe we muſt always prays, *Forgive us our ſins*. *T. C.* lib. 3. pag. 200.

butively, at the leaſt, all great and grievous actual offences, as they offer themſelves one by one, both may and ought to be by all means avoided. So that in this ſenſe, to be preſerved from all ſin, is not impoſſible. Finally, concerning deliverance it ſelf from all adverſity, we uſe not to ſay, men are in adverſity whenſoever they feel any ſmall hinderance of their welfare in this World, but when ſome notable affliction or croſs, ſome great calamity or trouble befalleth them. Tribulation hath in it divers circumſtances, the Minde ſundry faculties to apprehend them: It offereth ſometime it ſelf to the lower powers of the Soul, as a moſt unpleaſant ſpectacle; to the higher ſometimes, as drawing after it a train of dangerous inconveniences; ſometime as bringing with it remedies for the curing of ſundry evils, as Gods inſtrument of revenge and fury ſometime; ſometime as a rod of his juſt, yet moderate, ire and diſpleaſure; ſometime, as matter for them that ſpightfully hate us to exerciſe their poyſoned malice; ſometime as a furnace of tryal for vertue to ſhew it ſelf, and through conflict to obtain glory. Which different contemplations of adverſity, do work for the moſt part their anſwerable effects. Adverſity either apprehended by Senſe as a thing offenſive and grievous to Nature, or by Reaſon conceived as a ſnare, an occaſion of many mens falling from God, a ſequel of Gods indignation and wrath, a thing which Satan deſireth, and would be glad to behold; Tribulation thus conſidered being preſent cauſeth ſorrow, and being imminent breedeth fear. For moderation of which two affections, growing from the very natural bitterneſs and gall of adverſity, the Scripture much alledgeth contrary fruits, which Affliction likewiſe hath whenſoever it falleth on them that are tractable, the grace of Gods holy Spirit concurring therewith. But when the Apoſtle St. *Paul* teacheth, That every one which will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus, muſt ſuffer perſecution, and, by many tribulations we muſt enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, becauſe in a Foreſt of many Wolves, Sheep cannot chuſe but feed in continual danger of life; or when [a] St. *James* exhorteth, to account it a matter of exceeding joy, when we fall into divers temptations, becauſe by the tryal of Faith, Patience is brought forth; was it, ſuppoſe we, their meaning to fruſtrate our Lords admonition, *Pray that ye enter not into temptation?* When himſelf pronounceth them bleſſed that ſhould for his Names ſake be ſubject to all kindes of ignominy and opprobrious malediction, was it his purpoſe that no man ſhould ever pray with *David* [b], *Lord, remove from me ſhame and contempt?* In thoſe tribulations, ſaith St. *Auguſtine* [c], *which may hurt as well as profit, we muſt ſay with the Apoſtle, What we ſhould ask as we ought, we know not; yet becauſe they are tough, becauſe they are grievous, becauſe the ſenſe of our weakneſs flieth them, we pray according to the general deſire of the will of man, that God would turn them away from us, owing in the mean while this devotion to the Lord our God; that if he remove them not, yet we do not therefore imagine our ſelves in his ſight deſpiſed, but rather with godly ſufferance of evils, expect greater good at his merciful hands. For thus is vertue in weakneſs perfected.* To the fleſh (as the Apoſtle himſelf granteth) all affliction is naturally grievous. Therefore Nature which cauſeth to fear, teacheth to pray againſt all adverſity. Proſperity in regard of our corrupt inclination to abuſe the bleſſings of Almighty God, doth prove for the moſt part a thing dangerous to the Souls of Men. Very Eaſe it ſelf, is death to the wicked, and the proſperity of fools ſlayeth them: Their Table is a Snare, and their Felicity their utter overthrow. Few men there are, which long proſper and ſin not. Howbeit, even as theſe ill effects, although they be very uſual and common, are no bar to the hearty prayers, whereby moſt vertuous mindes wiſh peace and proſperity always where they love, becauſe they conſider, that this in it ſelf is a thing naturally deſired: So becauſe all adverſity is in it ſelf againſt nature, what ſhould hinder to pray againſt it, although the providence of God turn it often unto the great good of many men? Such Prayers of the Church to be delivered from all adverſity, are no more repugnant to any reaſonable diſpoſition of mens mindes towards death, much leſs to that bleſſed Patience and meek Contentment which Saints by Heavenly inſpiration have to endure, (what croſs or calamity ſoever it pleaſeth God to lay upon them) then our Lord and Saviours own Prayer before his Paſſion, was repugnant unto his moſt gracious reſolution to die for the ſins of the whole World.

Pſal. 119. 71.

2 Tim. 3. 12. To pray againſt perſecution, is contrary to that word which ſaith, That every one which will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus, muſt ſuffer perſecution. *T. C.* lib. 3. p. 200.

[a] Jam. 1. 3.
[b] Pſal. 119. 22.
[c] *Aug* Epiſt. 121 cap. 14.

Prov. 1. 32.

49. In

49. In praying for deliverance from all adversity, we seek that which Nature doth wish to it self; but by intreating for Mercy towards all, we declare that Affection wherewith Christian Charity thirsteth after the good of the whole World, we discharge that duty which the * Apostle himself doth impose on the Church of Christ, as a *commendable* office, a sacrifice *acceptable* in Gods sight, a service according to his heart, whose *desire* is to have all men saved: A work most suitable with his purpose, who gave himself to be the price of redemption *for all*, and a forcible mean to *procure the conversion* of all such, as are not yet acquainted with the Mysteries of that Truth which must save their Souls. Against it, there is but the bare shew of this one Impediment, that all mens salvation, and many mens eternal condemnation or death, are things, the one repugnant to the other; that both cannot be brought to pass; that we know there are Vessels of Wrath, to whom God will never extend mercy, and therefore that wittingly we ask an impossible thing to be had. The truth is, that as life and death, mercy and wrath, are matters of meer understanding or knowledge, all mens salvation, and some mens endless perdition are things so opposite, that whosoever doth affirm the one, must necessarily deny the other; God himself cannot effect both, or determine, that both shall be. There is in the knowledge both of God and Man, this certainty, That life and death have divided between them, the whole Body of mankinde. What portion either of the two hath, God himself knoweth; for us he hath left no sufficient means to comprehend, and for that cause neither given any leave to search in particular, who are infalliby the heirs of the Kingdom of God, who cast-aways. Howbeit, concerning the state of all men, with whom we live (for onely of them our Prayers are meant) we may till the Worlds end, *for the present*, always presume, That *as far as in us there is power to discern* what others are; and as far as any duty of ours dependeth upon the notice of their condition in respect of God, the safest Axioms for Charity to rest it self upon, are these. *He which believeth already, is*; and *he which believeth not as yet, may be the childe of God.* It becometh not us, *during life, altogether to condemn any man, seeing that* (for any thing we know) *there is hope of every mans forgiveness; the possibility of whose repentance, is not yet cut off by death.* And therefore Charity which *hopeth all things*, prayeth also for all Men. Wherefore to let go Personal Knowledge touching Vessels of Wrath and Mercy, what they are inwardly in the sight of God, it skilleth not; for us there is cause sufficient in all men, whereupon to ground our Prayers unto God in their behalf. For whatsoever the Minde of Man apprehendeth as good, the Will of Charity and Love, is to have it inlarged in the very uttermost extent, that all may enjoy it to whom it can any way add perfection. Because therefore, the farther a good thing doth reach, the nobler and worthier we reckon it; our Prayers for all mens good, no less then for our own, the Apostle with very fit terms commendeth as being καλὸν, a work commendable for the largeness of the affection from whence it springeth, even as theirs, which have requested at Gods hands, the salvation of many, with the loss of their own Souls, drowning, as it were, and over-whelming themselves in the abundance of their love towards others, is proposed as being in regard of the rareness of such affections ὑπερκαλὸν, more then excellent. But this extraordinary height of desire after other mens salvation, is no common mark. The other is a duty which belongeth unto all, and prevaileth with God daily. For as it is in it self good, so God accepteth and taketh it in very good part, at the hands of faithful men. Our Prayers for all men do include, both them that shall finde mercy, and them also that shall finde none. For them that shall, no man will doubt but our Prayers are both accepted and granted. Touching them for whom we crave that mercy which is not to be obtained, let us not think that our Saviour did mis-instruct his Disciples, willing them to pray for the peace, even of such as should be uncapable of so great a blessing; or that the Prayers of the Prophet *Jeremy* offended God, because the answer of God was a resolute denial of favor to them, for whom Supplication was made. And if any man doubt, how God should accept such Prayers in case they be opposite to his Will, or not grant them, if they be according unto that which himself willeth, our answer is, That such suits God accepteth, in that they are conformable unto his *general inclination*, which is, that all men might be saved; yet always he granteth them not, for as much as there is in God sometimes a more private *occasioned will*,

Prayer, that all men may finde Mercy, and of the Will of God, that all men might be saved.
* 1 Tim. 2. 3.

Sidon. Apol. lib. 6. Epist.

1 Cor. 14. 7.

Rom. 9. 3. & 10. 1.

Matth. 10. 11, 12.

Jere. 15. 1.

will, which determineth the contrary. So that the other being the rule of our actions, and not this; our requests for things opposite to this Will of God, are not therefore the less gracious in his sight. There is no doubt but we ought in all things to frame our wills to the Will of God, and that otherwise in whatsoever we do, we sin. For of our selves, being so apt to err, the onely way which we have to streighten our paths, is by following the rule of his Will, whose footsteps naturally are right. If the eye, the hand, or the foot, do that which the will commandeth, though they serve as instruments to sin, yet is sin the commanders fault, and not theirs, because Nature hath absolutely, and without exception, made them subjects to the will of man, which is Lord over them. As the body is subject to the will of man, so mans will to the Will of God; for so it behoveth, that the better should guide and command the worse. But because the subjection of the body to the will, is by natural necessity, the subjection of the Will unto God voluntary; we therefore stand in need of direction, after what sort our wills and desires may be rightly conformed to his. Which is not done, by willing always the self-same thing that God intendeth. For it may chance, that his purpose is sometime the speedy death of them, whose long continuance in life if we should not wish we were unnatural. When the object or matter therefore of our desires is (as in this case) a thing both good of it self, and not forbidden of God; when the end for which we desire it, is vertuous and apparently most holy; when the root from which our affection towards it proceedeth, is Charity; Piety that which we do in declaring our desire by Prayer; yea, over and besides all this, sith we know, that to pray for all men living, is but to shew the same affection which towards every of them our Lord Jesus Christ hath born, who knowing onely as God who are his, did as Man taste death for the good of all men; surely, to that Will of God which ought to be, and is the known rule of all our actions, we do not herein oppose our selves, although his secret determination haply be against us; which if we did understand, as we do not; yet to rest contented with that which God will have done, is as much as he requireth at the hands of men. And concerning our selves, what we earnestly crave in this case, the same, as all things else that are of like condition, we meekly submit unto his most gracious will and pleasure. Finally, as we have cause sufficient why to think the practice of our Church allowable in this behalf, so neither is ours the first which hath been of that minde. For to end with the words of *Prosper* *, *This Law of Supplication for all Men* (saith he) *the devout zeal of all Priests, and of all faithful Men, doth hold with such full Agreement; that there is not any part of all the World, where Christian people do not use to pray in the same manner. The Church every where maketh Prayers unto God, not onely for Saints, and such as already in Christ are regenerate; but for all Infidels and Enemies of the Cross of Jesus Christ, for all Idolaters, for all that persecute Christ in his followers, for Jews to whose blindness the Light of the Gospel doth not yet shine, for Hereticks and Schismaticks, who from the Unity of Faith and Charity are estranged. And for such, what doth the Church ask of God but this, That leaving their Errors, they may be converted unto him, that Faith and Charity may be given them, and that out of the darkness of ignorance, they may come to the knowledge of his truth? Which because they cannot themselves do in their own behalf, as long as the sway of evil custom over-beareth them, and the chains of Satan detain them bound, neither are they able to break through those Errors wherein they are so determinately setled, that they pay unto falsity, the whole sum of whatsoever love is owing unto Gods Truth. Our Lord merciful and just, requireth to have all men prayed for; that when we behold innumerable multitudes drawn up from the depth of so bottomless evils; we may not doubt, but (in part) God hath done the thing we requested; nor despair, but that being thankful for them, towards whom already he hath shewed mercy; the rest which are not as yet enlightned, shall before they pass out of life, be made partakers of the like grace. Or if the Grace of him which saveth [for so we see it falleth out] over-pass some, so that the Prayer of the Church for them be not received, this we may leave to the hidden Judgments of Gods Righteousness, and acknowledge that in this Secret there is a Gulf, which, while we live, we shall never sound.*

Propterea nihil contrarietatis erat, si Christus homo secundum affectum pietatis quam in humanitate sua assumpserat aliquid volebat, quod tamen secundum voluntatem divinam, in qua cum Patre omnia disponebat futurum non esse præsciebat, quia & hoc ad veram humanitatem pertinebat, ut pietate moveretur, & hoc ad veram divinitatem, ut à sua dispositione, non moveretur. *Hug.* de Quat. Christi Volunt.

* *Prosp.* de Vocat. Gen. lib 1. cap. 4. inter opera *Ambros.*

50. In-

50. Instruction and Prayer, whereof we have hitherto spoken, are duties which serve as Elements, Parts, or Principles to the rest that follow, in which number the Sacraments of the Church are chief. The Church is to us, that very,* Mother of our New Birth, in whose Bowels we are all bred, at whose Brests we receive nourishment. As many therefore as are apparently to our judgment born of God, they have the Seed of their Regeneration by the Ministery of the Church, which useth to that end and purpose, not onely the Word, but the Sacrament, both having Generative force and vertue. As oft as we mention a Sacrament properly understood (for in the Writings of the Ancient Fathers, all Articles which are peculiar to Christian Faith, all Duties of Religion containing that which Sense or Natural Reason cannot of it self discern, are most commonly named Sacraments) our restraint of the Word to some few principal Divine Ceremonies, importeth in every such Ceremony two things, the Substance of the Ceremony it self which is visible; and, besides that, somewhat else more secret, in reference whereunto we conceive that Ceremony to be a Sacrament. For we all admire and honor the holy Sacraments, not respecting so much the Service which we do unto God in receiving them, as the dignity of that Sacred and Secret Gift which we thereby receive from God. Seeing that Sacraments therefore consist altogether in relation to some such Gift or Grace Supernatural, as onely God can bestow, how should any but the Church administer those Ceremonies as Sacraments, which are not thought to be Sacraments by any, but by the Church? There is in Sacraments to be observed their Force and their Form of Administration. Upon their Force, their necessity dependeth. So that how they are necessary we cannot discern, till we see how effectual they are. When Sacraments are said to be Visible Signs of Invisible Grace, we thereby conceive how Grace is indeed the very end for which these Heaveuly Mysteries were instituted; and besides sundry other Properties observed in them, the matter whereof they consist, is such as signifieth, Figureth, and representeth their End. But still their efficacy resteth obscure to our understanding, except we search somewhat more distinctly what Grace in particular that is, whereunto they are referred, and what manner of operation they have towards it. The use of Sacraments is, but onely in this life, yet so, that here they concern a far better life then this, and are for that cause accompanied with Grace, which worketh Salvation. Sacraments are the Powerful Instruments of God to Eternal Life. For as our Natural Life consisteth in the Union of the Body with the Soul; so our Life Supernatural in the Union of the Soul with God. And for as much as there is no Union of God with Man, without that * mean between both, which is both; it seemeth requisite, that we first consider how God is in Christ, then how Christ is in us, and how the Sacraments do serve to make us partakers of Christ. In other things we may be more brief, but the weight of these requireth largeness.

Of the Name, the Author, and the force of Sacraments, which Force consisteth in this, That God hath ordained them as means to make us partakers of him in Christ, and of life through Christ.

* Gal. 4. 26. Isai. 54. 3.

* Oportebat Deum carnem fieri ut in semetipso concordiam consibularet Terrenorum pariter atque Cœlestium, dum utriusque partis in se connectens pignora, & Deum pariter homini, & hominem Deo copularet. *Tertul.* de Trinit.

51. The Lord our God is but one God. In which Indivisible Unity notwithstanding, we adore the Father, as being altogether of himself; we glorifie that Consubstantial Word which is the Son; we bless and magnifie that Co-essential Spirit eternally proceeding from both, which is the Holy Ghost. Seeing therefore the Father is of none, the Son is of the Father, and the Spirit is of both, they are by these their several Properties really distinguishable each from other. For the Substance of God, with this property *to be of none,* doth make the Person of the Father; the very selfsame Substance in number with this property *to be of the Father*, maketh the Person of the Son; the same Substance having added unto it, the property of *proceeding from the other two*, maketh the Person of the Holy Ghost. So that in every Person, there is implied both the Substance of God, which is one; and also, that property which causeth the same Person really and truly to differ from the other two. Every * Person hath his own subsistence, which no other besides hath, although there

That God is in Christ by the Personal Incarnation of the Son, who is very God. Isai. 9. 6. Jere. 23. 6. Rom 9. 5. John 16. 15. & 5. 21. Col. 2. 9. 1 Joh. 5. 20.

* Πρόσωπον ἢ γνῶ ὑπόστασις ἐστι κατὰ τοὺς ἁγίους πατέρας τὸ ἴδιον ἀλλὰ τὸ κοινὸν. Κοινότης γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ φύσις ἑκάστου πράγματος, ἴδιαι δὲ εἰσὶν αἱ ὑποστάσεις, *Suid.* Ἡ οὐσία καθ' ἑαυτὴν οὐχ ὑφίσταται, ἀλλὰ ἐν τῇ ὑποστάσει θεωρεῖται, τὸ δὲ κοινὸν μετὰ τοῦ ἰδιάζοντος ἔχει ἡ ὑπόστασις καὶ τὸ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ὑπάρξαι, *Damasc.* de Orthod. Fide, lib. 3. cap. 6.

be others beſides that are of the ſame Subſtance. As no man but *Peter* can be the perſon which *Peter* is, yet *Paul* hath the ſelf-ſame Nature which *Peter* hath: Again, Angels have every of them the Nature of pure and Inviſible Spirits, but every Angel is not that Angel which appeared in a Dream to *Joſeph*. Now when God became Man, leſt we ſhould err in applying this to the Perſon of the Father, or of the Spirit, St. *Peters* confeſſion unto Chriſt was, *Thou art the Son of the Living God*; and St. *Johns* Expoſition thereof was made plain, That it is the *Word* which was made Fleſh. [a] *The Father, and the Holy Ghoſt* (ſaith *Damaſcen*) *have no Communion with the Incarnation of the Word, otherwiſe then onely by approbation and aſſent.* Notwithſtanding, for as much as the Word and Deity are one Subject, we muſt beware we exclude not the Nature of God from Incarnation, and ſo make the Son of God incarnate, not to be very God. For undoubtedly, [b] even the Nature of God it ſelf, in the onely Perſon of the Son, is incarnate, and hath taken to it ſelf Fleſh. Wherefore, Incarnation may neither be granted to any Perſon, but onely One, nor yet denied to that Nature which is common unto all Three. Concerning the cauſe of which incomprehenble Myſtery, for as much as it ſeemeth a thing unconſonant, That the World ſhould honor any other as the Saviour, but him whom it honoreth as the Creator of the World, and in the Wiſdom of God, it hath not been thought convenient to admit any way of ſaving man, but by man himſelf, though nothing ſhould be ſpoken of the Love and Mercy of God towards Man; which this way are become ſuch a Spectacle, as neither Men nor Angels can behold without a kinde of Heavenly aſtoniſhment, we may hereby perceive there is cauſe ſufficient, why Divine Nature ſhould aſſume Humane, that ſo [c] God might be in Chriſt, reconciling to himſelf the World. And if ſome cauſe be likewiſe required, why rather to this end and purpoſe the Son, then either the Father, or the Holy Ghoſt, ſhould be made man, Could we which are born the children of wrath, be adopted the Sons of God, through Grace, any other then by the Natural Son of God, being Mediator between God and us? It [d] became therefore him, by whom all things are to be the Way of Salvation to all, that the Inſtitution and Reſtitution of the World might be both wrought by one hand. The Worlds Salvation was without the Incarnation of the Son of God, a thing impoſſible; not ſimply impoſſible, but impoſſible, it being preſuppoſed, That the Will of God, was no otherwiſe to have it ſaved, then by the Death of his own Son. Wherefore taking to himſelf our Fleſh, and by his Incarnation, making it his own Fleſh, he had now of his own, although from us, what to offer unto God for us. And as Chriſt took Manhood, that by it he might be capable of death, whereunto he humbled himſelf; ſo becauſe Manhood is the proper ſubject of compaſſion and feeling pity, which maketh the Scepter of Chriſts Regency even in the Kingdom of Heaven be amiable; he which without our Nature could not on Earth ſuffer for the ſins of the World, doth now alſo by means thereof, both make interceſſion to God for ſinners, and exerciſe domnion over all men with a true, a natural, and a ſenſible touch of Mercy.

Matth. 16. 16.
Joh. 1. 14.
Ignat. Epiſt. ad Magneſ.
a Ὃς ἔστιν ἀπὸ λόγου καὶ ὀυ ῥητὸς ἀλλὰ ὀυσιώδης. Ὀυ γὰρ ἔστι λαλιᾶς ἐνάρθρα φώνημα ἀλλ' ἐνεργείας θεικῆς ἔοικε γεννητή.
b Κατ' ὀυδένα λόγον κεκοινώνηκεν ὁ πατὴρ καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον τῇ σαρκώσει τὸ λόγου, εἰ μὴ κατ' ἐυδοκίαν καὶ βούλησιν. *Damaſc.*
In illo Divinitas eſt Unigeniti facta particeps mortalitatis noſtræ, ut & nos participes ejus immortalitatis eſſemus. *Aug.* Epiſt. 57.
c 2 Cor. 5. 19
d Heb. 2. 10.

Heb. 4. 15.

The Miſ interpretations which Hereſie hath made of the manner, how God and Man are United in one Chriſt.

52. It is not in mans ability, either to expreſs perfectly, or conceive the manner how this was brought to paſs. But the ſtrength of our Faith is tried by thoſe things wherein our wits and capacities are not ſtrong. Howbeit, becauſe this Divine Myſtery is more true then plain, divers having framed the ſame to their own conceits and fancies, are found in their Expoſitions thereof more plain then true: In ſo much, that by the ſpace of Five hundred years after Chriſt, the Church was almoſt troubled with nothing elſe, ſaving onely with care and travel to preſerve this Article from the ſiniſter conſtruction of Hereticks. Whoſe firſt miſts when the light of the *Nicene* Council had diſpelled, it was not long ere *Macedonius* transferred unto Gods moſt holy Spirit the ſame blaſphemy, wherewith *Arius* had already diſhonored his co-eternally begotten Son; not long ere *Apollinarius* began to pare away from Chriſts Humanity. In refutation of which impieties, when the Fathers of the Church, *Athanaſius*, *Baſil*, and the two *Gregories*, had by their painful travels, ſufficiently cleared the truth; no leſs for the Deity of the Holy Ghoſt, then for the compleat Humanity of Chriſt, there followed hereupon a final concluſion, whereby thoſe Controverſies, as alſo the reſt which *Paulus Samoſatenus*, *Sabellius*, *Photinus*, *Ætius*, *Eunomius*, together with the whole ſwarm of peſtilent *Demi-Arians*, had from time to time ſtirred up ſince the Council of *Nice*, were both privately, firſt

An. Dom. 325.
Μιαρὸν γὸ δεινώσαι φησὶ τὸν χαρακτῆρα ἐκείνου ἀνθρωπίνοις νοεῖν ἡγεμονεύμενον ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐνδεδυκότος θεότητος. *Suid.*

at *Rome* in a ſmaller Synod, and then at *Conſtantinople* in a general famous Aſſembly brought to a peaceable and quiet end, Sevenſcore Biſhops and ten agreeing in that Confeſſion, which by them ſet down, remaineth at this preſent hour, a part of our Church Liturgy, a Memorial of their Fidelity and Zeal, a ſoveraign preſervative of Gods people from the venemous infection of Hereſie. Thus in Chriſt the verity of God, and the compleat ſubſtance of man, were with full agreement eſtabliſhed throughout the World, till ſuch time as the Hereſie of *Neſtorius* broached it ſelf, *Dividing Chriſt into two Perſons, the Son of God, and the Son of Man, the one a Perſon begotten of God before all Worlds, the other alſo a Perſon born of the Virgin* Mary, *and in ſpecial favor choſen to be made intire to the Son of God above all men, ſo that whoſoever will honor God, muſt together honor Chriſt, with whoſe Perſon God hath vouchſafed to joyn himſelf in ſo high a degree of gracious reſpect and favor.* But that the ſelf-ſame Perſon, which verily is Man, ſhould properly be God alſo, and that by reaſon not of two Perſons linked in Amity, but of two Natures, Humane and Divine, conjoyned in one and the ſame Perſon, the God of Glory may be ſaid as well to have ſuffered death, as to have raiſed the dead from their Graves; the Son of Man as well to have made, as to have redeemed the World, *Neſtorius* in no caſe would admit. That which deceived him, was want of heed to the firſt beginning of that admirable combination of God with Man. The Word (ſaith St. *John*) was made fleſh, and dwelt [a] *in us*. The Evangeliſt uſeth the plural number, Men for Manhood, *us* for the nature whereof we conſiſt, even as the Apoſtle denying the Aſſumption of *Angelical Nature*, ſaith likewiſe in the plural number, he took not [b] *Angels*, but the Seed of *Abraham*. It pleaſed not the *Word* or Wiſdom of God, to take to it ſelf ſome one Perſon amongſt men, for then ſhould that one have been advanced which was aſſumed, and no more; but Wiſdom, to the end, ſhe might ſave many, built her Houſe of that *Nature* wnich is common unto all, ſhe made not *this or that* Man her Habitation, but dwelt *in us*. The Seeds of Herbs and Plants at the firſt, are not in act, but in poſſibility, that which they afterwards grow to be. If the Son of God had taken to himſelf a Man now made, and already perfected, it would of neceſſity follow, that there are in Chriſt two Perſons, the one aſſuming, and the other aſſumed; whereas the Son of God did not aſſume a mans perſon into his own, but a mans nature to his own Perſon, and therefore took *Semen*, the Seed of *Abraham*, the very firſt original Element of our Nature, before it was come to have any Perſonal Humane ſubſiſtence. The Fleſh and the Conjunction of the Fleſh with God, began both at one inſtant; his making, and taking to himſelf our fleſh, was but one act, ſo that in Chriſt, there is no Perſonal ſubſiſtence but one, and that from everlaſting. By taking onely the nature of man, he ſtill continueth one Perſon, and changeth but the manner of his ſubſiſting, which was before in the meer glory of the Son of God, and is now in the habit of our fleſh. For as much therefore as Chriſt hath no perſonal ſubſiſtence but one, whereby we acknowledge him to have been eternally the Son of God, we muſt of neceſſity apply to the Perſon of the Son of God, even that which is ſpoken of Chriſt, according to his Humane nature. For example, according to the fleſh, he was born of the Virgin *Mary*, baptized of *John* in the River *Jordan*, by *Pilate* adjudged to die, and executed by the Jews. We cannot ſay properly, that the Virgin bore, or *John* did baptize, or *Pilate* condemn, or the Jews crucifie the Nature of Man, becauſe theſe all are Perſonal Attributes; his Perſon is the ſubject which receiveth them, his Nature that which maketh his Perſon capable or apt to receive. If we ſhould ſay, that the Perſon of a Man in our Saviour Chriſt was the ſubject of theſe things, this were plainly to intrap our ſelves in the very ſnare of the Neſtorians Hereſie, between whom, and the Church of God, there was no difference, ſaving onely, that *Neſtorius* imagined in Chriſt, as well a Perſonal Humane ſubſiſtence, as a Divine; the Church acknowledging a ſubſtance, both Divine and Humane, but no other Perſonal ſubſiſtence then Divine, becauſe the Son of God took not to himſelf a mans perſon, but the nature onely of a man. Chriſt is a Perſon both Divine and Humane, howbeit not therefore two perſons in one; neither both theſe in one ſenſe, but a Perſon Divine, becauſe he is perſonally the Son of God; Humane, becauſe he hath really the nature of the Children of Men. In Chriſt therefore God and Man; *There is* (ſaith *Paſchaſius*) *a twofold ſubſtance,*

An. Dom. 381.

Οὐκ ἔτι ἡ ἕνωσιν ὁμολογεῖ μεθ' ἡμῶν. *Cyril.* Epiſt ad Eulog.

Οὐκ ἔλεγε γὰρ ἕνωσιν τὸ λόγον τοῦ θεοῦ εἶναι ἀνθρώπου, ἀλλὰ δύο ὑποστάσεις ἔλεγε καὶ διαίρεσιν. Εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἄνθρωπον καὶ θεὸν ἀπεκάλει τὸν Χριστὸν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπ' ὀνόματος ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ τῇ ὀφθείσῃ καὶ τῇ οἰκειώσει καὶ τὸ ταυτὰ ἀλλήλοις ἀξιοῦσθαι διὰ τὴν ὑποβολὴν τῆς φιλίας. *Leont.* de Sect.

[a] John 1. 14.
[b] Heb 2. 16.

Ἡ λαμβάνουσα φύσις οὐ σφετερίζεται τὸ λαμβανόμενον. *Theod.* Dial. Ἀπαθ.

Faſch lib. de Spir. Sanct.

not a twofold Person, because one Person distinguisheth another, whereas one nature cannot in another become extinct. For the Personal Being, which the Son of God already had, suffered not the Substance to be Personal which he took, although together with the Nature which he had, the Nature also which he took, continueth. Whereupon it followeth against *Nestorius*, That no Person was born of the Virgin but the Son of God, no Person but the Son of God baptized, the Son of God condemned, the Son of God and no other Person crucified; which one onely point of Christian Belief, *The infinite worth of the Son of God*, is the very ground of all things believed concerning Life and Salvation, by that which Christ either did or suffered as Man in our behalf. But for as much as St. *Cyril*, the chiefest of those Two hundred Bishops assembled in the Council of *Ephesus*, where the Heresie of *Nestorius* was condemned, had in his Writings against the Arians avouched, That the Word or Wisdom of God hath but one Nature which is Eternal, and whereunto he assumed Flesh, (for the Arians were of opinion, That besides Gods own Eternal Wisdom, there is a Wisdom which God created before all things, to the end he might thereby create all things else; and that this Created Wisdom was the Word which took Flesh.) Again, for as much as the same *Cyril* had given instance in the Body and the Soul of Man; no farther then onely to enforce by example against *Nestorius*, That a visible, and an invisible, a mortal and an immortal Substance, may united, make *one Person*; the words of *Cyril* were in process of time so taken, as though it had been his drift to teach, That even as in us the Body and the Soul, so in Christ, God and Man, make but *one Nature*. Of which Error, Six hundred and thirty Fathers in the Council of *Chalcedon* condemned *Eutiches*. For as *Nestorius* teaching rightly, That God and Man are distinct Natures, did thereupon mis-infer, That in Christ those Natures can by no conjunction make one Person; so *Eutiches*, of sound belief as touching their true Personal Copulation, became unsound, by denying the difference which still continueth between the one and the other Nature. We must therefore keep warily a middle course, shunning both that distraction of Persons, wherein *Nestorius* went awry; and also this latter confusion of Natures, which deceived *Eutiches*. These Natures from the moment of their first combination, have been and are for ever inseparable. For even when his Soul forsook the Tabernacle of his Body, his Deity forsook neither Body nor Soul. If it had, then could we not truly hold, either that the Person of Christ was buried, or that the Person of Christ did raise up it self from the dead. For the Body separated from the Word, can in no true sense be termed the Person of Christ; nor is it true, to say, That the Son of God in raising up that Body, did raise up himself, if the Body were not both with him, and of him, even during the time it lay in the Sepulchre. The like is also to be said of the Soul, otherwise we are plainly and inevitably Nestorians. The very Person of Christ therefore, for ever one and the selfsame, was onely, touching Bodily Substance, concluded within the Grave, his Soul onely from thence severed; but by Personal Union, his Deity still inseparably joyned with both.

An. Dom. 431.

An. Dom. 451.

Ἀχώριστον προσήκει τῆς σαρκὸς ἔτι τὴν θείαν φύσιν ὁμολογεῖν, κἂν τῷ σταυρῷ κἂν τῷ τάφῳ. *Theodor.* Dial. Ἀπαθής.

That by the Union of the one, with the other Nature in Christ, there groweth neither gain nor loss of Essential Properties to either.

53. The sequel of which Conjunction of Natures in the Person of Christ, is no abolishment of Natural Properties appertaining to either Substance, no transition or transmigration thereof, out of one substance into another: Finally, no such mutual infusion, as really causeth the same Natural Operations or Properties to be made common unto both Substances; but whatsoever is natural to Deity, the same remaineth in Christ uncommunicated unto his Manhood, and whatsoever natural to Manhood, his Deity thereof is uncapable. The true Properties and Operations of his Deity, are, To know that which is not possible for Created Natures to comprehend; to be simply the highest cause of all things, the Well-spring of Immortality and Life; to have neither end nor beginning of days; to be every where present, and inclosed no where; to be subject to no alteration nor passion; to produce of it self those effects, which cannot proceed but from infinite Majesty and Power. The true Properties and Operation of his Manhood, are such as *Irenæus* reckoneth up, *If Christ* (saith he) *had not taken flesh from the very Earth, he would not have coveted those earthly nourishments, wherewith bodies which be taken from thence, are fed. This was the Nature which felt hunger after long fasting, was desirous of rest after travel, testified compassion and love by tears, groaned in heaviness, and with extremity of grief, even*

Τοῦτα πάντα σύμβολα σαρκὸς τῆς ἀπὸ γῆς εἰλημμένης. *Iren.* lib. 3. Advers. Hæres.

even melted away it self into bloody sweats. To Christ we ascribe, both working of Wonders, and suffering of Pains; we use concerning him, speeches as well of Humility, as of Divine Glory; but the one we apply unto that Nature which he took of the Virgin *Mary*, the other to that which was in the beginning. We may not therefore imagine, that the properties of the weaker Nature, have vanished with the presence of the more glorious, and have been therein swallowed up as in a Gulf. We dare not in this point give ear to them, who over-boldly affirm, * *That the Nature which Christ took weak and feeble from us, by being mingled with Deity, became the same which Deity is; that the Assumption of our Substance unto his, was like the blending of a drop of Vinegar with the huge Ocean, wherein although it continue still, yet not with those properties which severed it hath; because sithence the instant of their conjunction, all distinction and difference of the one from the other, is extinct; and whatsoever we can now conceive of the Son of God, is nothing else but meer Deity:* Which words are so plain and direct for *Eutiches*, that I stand in doubt, they are not his whose name they carry. Sure I am, they are far from truth, and must of necessity give place to the better advised sentences of other men. *He which in himself was appointed* (saith *Hilary*) *a Mediator to save his Church, and for performance of that Mystery of Mediation between God and Man, is become God and Man, doth now being but one, consist of both those Natures united, neither hath he, through the Union of both, incurred the damage or loss of either, lest by being born a Man, we should think he hath given over to be God; or that, because he continued God, therefore he cannot be Man also; whereas the true belief which maketh a man happy, proclaimeth joyntly God and Man, confesseth the Word and Flesh together. Cyril* more plainly, *His two Natures have knit themselves the one to the other, and are in that nearness, as uncapable of confusion, as of distraction. Their coherence hath not taken away the difference between them, Flesh is not become God, but doth still continue Flesh, although it be now the Flesh of God. Yea, of each Substance* (saith *Leo*) *the Properties are all preserved and kept safe.* These two Natures are as causes and original Grounds of all things which Christ hath done. Wherefore some things he doth as God, because his Deity alone is the Well-spring from which they flow; some things as Man, because they issue from his meer Humane nature; some things joyntly as both God and Man, because both Natures concur as Principles thereunto. For albeit, the Properties of each Nature do cleave onely to that Nature whereof they are Properties; and therefore Christ cannot naturally be as God, the same which he naturally is as Man, yet both Natures may very well concur unto one effect, and Christ in that respect be truly said to work, both as God and as Man, one and the self-same thing. Let us therefore set it down for a rule or principle so necessary, as nothing more, to the plain deciding of all doubts and questions about the Union of Natures in Christ, that of both Natures there is a Co-operation often, an Association always, but never any Mutual Participation, whereby the Properties of the one are infused into the other. Which rule must serve for the better understanding of that which * *Damascene* hath touching cross and circulatory speeches, wherein there are attributed to God such things as belong to Manhood, and to Man such as properly concern the Deity of Christ Jesus, the cause whereof is the Association of Natures in one Subject. A kinde of Mutual Commutation there is, whereby those concrete Names, *God* and *Man*, when we speak of Christ, do take interchangeably one anothers room; so that for truth of speech, it skilleth not whether we say, That the Son of God hath created the World, and the Son of Man by his Death hath saved it; or else, That the Son of Man did create, and the Son of God die to save the World. Howbeit, as oft as we attribute to God what the Manhood of Christ claimeth, or to Man what his Deity hath right unto, we understand by the Name of God, and the Name of Man, neither the one nor the other Nature, but the whole Person of Christ, in whom both Natures are. When the Apostle saith of the Jews, that they crucified the Lord of Glory, and when the Son of Man, being on Earth, affirmeth, That the Son of Man was in Heaven at the same instant; there is in these two speeches that Mutual Circulation before-

Christ and all these α' θεοπρεπῆ καὶ ταπεινὰ ῥήματα. *Greg. Nazianz. Orat. 2. de Filio.*

Τὰς μὲν ταπεινὰς λέξεις τὰς ἐκ Μαρίας ἀνθρώπου, τοῦ δὲ ἀνωτέρω τὰς θεοπρεπεῖς τὰς ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντα λόγου. *Theod. Dial.* Ἀσύγ-

* *Greg. Nyss. Epist. ad Theophil. Alexandr.*

Hilar. de Trin. lib. 9.

Cyr. Epist. ad Nest.

Salva proprietate utriusque naturæ, suscepta est à Majestate humilitas, à virtute infirmitas, ab æternitate mortalitas. *Leo* Epist. ad *Flav.*

* Οὗτος ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἐναργείας αὐτοῖς ἀνταποδόσεως τῶν ἐναντίων τὰ ἴδια, διὰ τὴν τῆς καταλήψεως πυκνότητα, ἢ τὴν εἰς ἄλληλα αὐτῶν περιχώρησιν. *Damasc. de Orthod. Fid. lib. 3. cap. 4.*

Verum est duarum in Christo naturarum alteram suis alterius proprietates impertire, enunciando videlicet, idque non in abstracto sed in concreto solum, divinas homini non humanitati, humanas non deitati sed Deo tribui. Cujus hæc est ratio, quia, cum suppositum prædicationis sit ejusmodi ut utramque naturam in se contineat, sive ab una sive ab altera denominetur nihil refert.

mentioned,

1 Cor. 2. 8. John 3. 13. mentioned. In the one, there is attributed to God, or the Lord of Glory, Death, whereof Divine Nature is not capable; in the other Ubiquity unto Man, which Humane Nature admitteth not. Therefore by the Lord of Glory, we must needs understand the whole Person of Christ, who being Lord of Glory, was indeed crucified; but not in that nature, for which he is termed the Lord of Glory. In like manner, by the Son of Man, the whole Person of Christ must necessarily be meant, who being Man upon Earth, filled Heaven with his glorious presence, but not according to that nature, for which the title of man is given him. Without this Caution, the Fathers whose belief was sincere, and their meaning most sound, shall seem in their Writings, one to deny what another constantly doth affirm. *Theodoret* disputeth with great earnestness, that God cannot be said to suffer. But he thereby meaneth Christs Divine Nature against *Apollinarius*, which held even Deity it self passible. *Cyril* on the other side against *Nestorius*, as much contendeth, That whosoever will deny *very God* to have suffered death, doth forsake the Faith. Which notwithstanding to hold, were Heresie, if the Name of God in this Assertion did not import, as it doth, the Person of Christ, who being verily God, suffered death, but in the Flesh, and not in that substance for which the Name of God is given him.

Θρητὸν τὸ ὑπὲρ κατάληψιν θεότητος. *Greg. Nyss.* de Sectator. *Apollinar.* Epist. ad *Flav.*

What Christ hath obtained according to the Flesh, by the Union of his Flesh with Deity.

54. If then both Natures do remain with their properties in Christ thus distinct, as hath been shewed, we are for our better understanding, what either Nature receiveth from other, to note, That Christ is by three degrees a Receiver: First, In that he is the Son of God: Secondly, In that his Humane nature hath had the honor of Union with Deity bestowed upon it: Thirdly, In that by means thereof sundry eminent Graces have flowed as effects from Deity into that Nature which is coupled with it. On Christ therefore, is bestowed the Gift of Eternal Generation, the Gift of Union, and the Gift of Unction. By the Gift of Eternal Generation, Christ hath received of the Father one, and in number the [a] self-same substance, which the Father hath of himself, unreceived from any other. For every [b] *beginning is a Father* unto that which cometh of it, and every *off-spring is a Son* unto that out of which it groweth. Seeing therefore the Father alone is [c] originally that Deity which Christ [d] originally is not (for Christ is God [e], by being of God; Light [f], by issuing out of Light;) it followeth hereupon, That whatsoever Christ hath [g] common unto him with his Heavenly Father, the same of necessity must be given him, but naturally and [h] eternally given; not bestowed by way of benevolence and favor, as the other gifts both are. And therefore [i] where the Fathers give it out for a rule, That whatsoever Christ is said in Scripture to have received, the same we ought to apply onely to the Manhood of Christ: Their Assertion is true of all things which Christ hath received by Grace; but to that which he hath received of the Father, by Eternal Nativity or Birth, it reacheth not. Touching Union of Deity with Manhood, it is by Grace, because there can be no greater Grace shewed towards Man, then that God should vouchsafe to unite to Mans nature, the Person of his onely begotten Son. Because the Father [k] loveth the Son as Man, he hath by Uniting Deity with Manhood, given all things into his hands. It hath [l] pleased the Father, that in him all Fulness should dwell. The name which he hath above all names is [m] given him. As the Father hath life in himself, the Son in himself hath life also by the [n] gift of the Father. The gift whereby God hath made Christ a Fountain of Life, is, That [o] *conjunction of the Nature of God, with the Nature of Man,* in the Person of Christ, [p] *which gift* (saith Christ to the Woman of *Samaria*) if thou didst know, and in *that respect* understand, *who it is* which asketh

[a] Nativitas Dei non potest non eam ex qua profecta est tenere naturam. Neque enim aliud quàm Deus subsistit qui non aliunde quàm ex Deo Deus subsistit. *Hilar.* de Trin. lib. 5.

Cum sit gloria, sempiternitate, virtute, regno, potestate hoc quod Pater est, omnia tamen hæc non sine auctore sicut pater, sed ex patre tanquam filius sine initio & æqualis habet. *Ruffin.* in Symb. Apost. cap. 6.

Filium aliunde non deduco sed de substantia Patris omnem à patre consecutum potestatem. *Tertul.* contra Prax. *b* Ephes. 1. 15. πᾶσα πατρία, quicquid alteri quovis modo dat esse. *c* Jam. 1. 17. Pater luminum ἀφ' οὗ τε καὶ πνεύματος ἅγιον. *Pachym.* in *Dionys.* de Cœl. Hierar. cap. 1. Pater est principium totius divinitatis, quia ipse à nullo est. Non enim habet de quo procedat, sed ab eo & Filius est genitus & Spiritus sanctus procedit. *Aug.* de Trinit. lib. 4. cap. 40. Hinc Christus deitatis loco nomen ubique patris usurpat, quia pater nimirum est πηγαία θεότης. *d* Pater tota substantia est, filius vero derivatio totius & propagatio. *Tertul.* contra Prax. *e* Quod enim Deus est, ex Deo est. *Hilar.* de Trin. lib. 5. Nihil nisi natum habet filius. *Hilar.* lib. 4. *f* Ἀπαύγασμα δόξης. Heb. 1. 3. Ἐστὶν ἀπόρροια τοῦ παντοκράτορος δόξης εἰλικρινὴς ἀπαύγασμα φωτὸς ἀϊδίου. *Sap.* 7. 25, 27. *g* Nihil in se diversum ac dissimile habent natus & generans. *Hilar.* de Synod. Advers. Aria. In Trinitate alius atque alius, non aliud atque aliud, *Vincent. Lyr.* cap. 19. *h* Ubi author æternus est ibi & nativitatis æternitas est: Quia sicut nativitas ab authore est, ita & ab æterno authore æterna nativitas est. *Hilar.* de Trin. lib. 12. Sicut naturam præstat filio sine initio Generatio: Ita Spiritus sancti præstat essentiam sine initio Processio. *Aug.* de Trin. lib. 5. cap. 15. *i* Ὅσα λέγει ἡ γραφὴ ὅτι ἔλαβεν ὁ υἱὸς καὶ ἐδοξάσθη, διὰ τὸν ἀνθρωποπρεπῆ οἰκονομίαν λέγει, οὐ τὸν θεότητα. *Theod.* fol. 42. & ex *Greg. Nazianz.* Orat. 2. de Fil. ibid. 44. *k* John 3. 35. *l* Ephes. 1 5. *m* Phil. 2. 9. *n* John 5. 26. *o* 1 Joh 5 20. Hic est verus Deus, & vita æterna. *p* John 4. 10.

asketh water of thee, thou wouldſt ask of him, that he might give thee Living Water. The Union therefore of the Fleſh with Deity, is to that Fleſh a gift of Principal Grace and Favor. For by vertue of this Grace, Man is really made God, a Creature is exalted above the dignity of all Creatures, and hath all Creatures elſe under it. This admirable Union of God with Man, can inforce in that higher Nature no alteration; becauſe unto God there is nothing more natural, then not to be ſubject to any change. Neither is it a thing impoſſible, That the Word being made Fleſh, ſhould be that which it was not before, as touching the manner of ſubſiſtence, and yet continue in all Qualities or Properties of Nature the ſame it was, becauſe the Incarnation of the Son of God conſiſteth *meerly in the Union* of Natures, which Union doth adde Perfection to the Weaker, to the Nobler no alteration at all. If therefore it be demanded what the Perſon of the Son of God hath attained by aſſuming Manhood; ſurely, the whole ſum of all, is this, to be as we are, truly, really, and naturally Man, by means whereof he is made capable of meaner offices, then otherwiſe his Perſon could have admitted, the onely gain he thereby purchaſed for himſelf, was to be capable of loſs and detriment for the good of others. But may it rightly be ſaid concerning the Incarnation of Jeſus Chriſt, That as our Nature hath in no reſpect changed his, ſo from his to ours, as little alteration hath enſued? The very cauſe of his taking upon him our Nature, was to change it, to better the Quality, and to advance the condition thereof, although in no ſort to aboliſh the Subſtance which he took; nor to infuſe into it the Natural forces and Properties of his Deity. As therefore we have ſhewed, how the Son of God by his Incarnation hath changed the manner of that Perſonal ſubſiſtence, which before was ſolitary, and is now in the Aſſociation of Fleſh, no alteration thereby accruing to the Nature of God; ſo neither are the *Properties of Mans nature,* in the Perſon of Chriſt, by force and vertue of the ſame Conjunction ſo much altered, as not to ſtay within thoſe limits which our Subſtance is bordered withal; nor the *ſtate and quality* of our Subſtance ſo unaltered, but that there are in it many glorious effects proceeding from ſo near Copulation with Deity. God from us can receive nothing, we by him have obtained much. For albeit, the Natural Properties of Deity be not communicable to Mans nature, the Supernatural Gifts, Graces, and Effects thereof, are. The honor which our Fleſh hath by being the Fleſh of the Son of God, is in many reſpects great. If we reſpect but that which is common unto us with him, the Glory provided for him and his in the Kingdom of Heaven, his Right and Title thereunto, even in that he is Man, differeth from other mens, becauſe he is that Man of whom God is himſelf a part. We have right to the ſame Inheritance with Chriſt, but not the ſame right which he hath; his being ſuch as we cannot reach, and ours ſuch as he cannot ſtoop unto. Furthermore, to be the Way, the Truth, and the Life; to be the Wiſdom, Righteouſneſs, Sanctification, Reſurrection; to be the Peace of the whole World, the Hope of the Righteous, the Heir of all things; to be that Supream Head whereunto all Power, both in Heaven and in Earth is given: Theſe are not Honors common unto Chriſt, with other Men; they are Titles above the dignity and worth of any which were but a meer Man, yet true of Chriſt, even in that he is Man, but Man with whom Deity is perſonally joyned, and unto whom it hath added thoſe excellencies which makes him more then worthy thereof. Finally, Sith God hath deified our Nature, though not by turning it into himſelf, yet by making it his own inſeparable Habitation, we cannot now conceive, how God ſhould without Man, either [a] exerciſe Divine Power, or receive the glory of Divine Praiſe. For Man is in [b] both an Aſſociate of Deity. But to come to the Grace of Unction: Did the parts of our Nature, the Soul and Body of Chriſt receive by the influence of Deity, wherewith they were matcht, no ability of Operations, no Vertue, or quality above Nature? Surely, as the Sword which is made fiery, doth not onely cut by reaſon of the ſharpneſs which ſimply it hath, but alſo burn by means of that heat which it hath from fire; ſo, there is no doubt, but the Deity of Chriſt hath enabled that Nature which it took of Man, to do more then Man in this World hath power to comprehend;

Ὡσαὐτως δὴ ἀνθρώπων κοινὸν ὄφι τὸ θνητὸν ὂν, οὕτω ἁγίας θειότ. & κοινὸν τὸ ἀπρεπὲς τὸ ἀναλλοίωτον. *Theod. Dial.* Ἀπρεπὲς τῷ Θ. Periculum ſtatus ſui Deo nullum eſt. *Tertul.* de Car. *Chr.* Majeſtati Filii Dei corporea Nativitas nihil contulit, nihil abſtulit, *Leo* de Nativit. Ser. 8. Μένει ὁ ὢν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς. θεὸς μένει ἡμῶν ἐν ἑαυτῷ ὢν. σκευάζων ὑποδοχὴν. *Theophil.* In formam ſervi tranſiſſe non eſt naturam perdidiſſe Dei. *Hilar.* de Trin. lib. 12.

[a] Μετέχει ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη τῆς θείας ἐνεργείας. *Theod.*

[b] Ἡ ἀξία τῆς θεότ. ἡ ποσοτικὴ δύν. ἔντασις δύν. πάντων· ἧς ἐστιν ὁ κύριος· δι' ὃ καὶ πάντα ἐγένετο, αὐτῷ δὲ ἐνωθέντα θεὸς αὐτῷ ἄνθρωπον εἰς τὸ ἴδιον ἀνήγαγεν ὑφ' ἑαυτὸν διὰ τῆς ἑνώσεως. *Gregor. Nyſſ.* apud *Theod.* Ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως τῆς λαβὼν ἀπαρχὴν ἐκαθάρισεν ἑαυτῷ πᾶσαν ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐξουσίαν. *Chryſ.* in Pſal. 41.

for

for as much as (the bare Eſſential Properties of Deity excepted) he hath imparted unto it all things, he hath repleniſhed it with all ſuch Perfections, as the ſame is any way apt to receive, at the leaſt, according to the exigence of that œconomy or ſervice; for which, it pleaſed him in Love and Mercy to be made Man. For, as the Parts, Degrees, and Offices of that Myſtical Adminiſtration did require, which he voluntarily undertook, the Beams of Deity did in operation always accordingly, either reſtrain or enlarge themſelves. From hence we may ſomewhat conjecture, how the Powers of that Soul are illuminated, which being ſo inward unto God, cannot chuſe but be privy unto all things which God worketh, and muſt therefore of neceſſity be endued with knowledge, ſo far forth [a] Univerſal; though not with infinite knowledge, peculiar to Deity it ſelf. The Soul of Chriſt that ſaw, in this life, the Face of God, was here, through ſo viſible preſence of Deity, filled with all manner [b] of Graces and Vertues in that unmatchable degree of Perfection; for which, of him we read it written, *That God with the Oyl of Gladneſs, anointed* [c] *him* [d] *above his* [e] *fellows.* And as God hath in Chriſt, unſpeakably glorified the Nobler, ſo likewiſe the meaner part of our Nature, the very Bodily Subſtance of Man. Where alſo that muſt again be remembred, which we noted before, concerning the degrees of the influence of Deity proportionable unto his own purpoſes, intents, and counſels. For in this reſpect his Body, which by Natural condition was corruptible, wanted the gift of Everlaſting immunity from Death, Paſſion, and Diſſolution, till God which gave it to be ſlain for ſin, had for Righteouſneſs ſake reſtored it to life, with certainty of endleſs continuance. Yea, in this reſpect, the very glorified Body of Chriſt, retained in it the [f] skars and marks of former mortality. But ſhall we ſay, that in Heaven his glorious Body, by vertue of the ſame cauſe, hath now power to preſent it ſelf in all places, and to be every where at once preſent? We nothing doubt, but God hath many ways above the reach of our capacities, exalted that Body which it hath pleaſed him to make his own, that Body wherewith he hath ſaved the World, that Body which hath been, and is the Root of Eternal Life; the Inſtrument wherewith Deity worketh, the Sacrifice which taketh away ſin, the Price which hath ranſomed Souls from Death, the Leader of the whole Army of Bodies that ſhall riſe again. For though it had a beginning from us, yet God hath given it vital efficacy, Heaven hath endowed it with celeſtial power, that vertue it hath from above, in regard whereof, all the Angels of Heaven adore it. Notwithſtanding, a Body ſtill it continueth, a Body conſubſtantial with our Bodies, a Body of the ſame, both Nature and Meaſure which it had on Earth. To gather therefore into one ſum, all that hitherto hath been ſpoken, touching this point, there are but four things which concur to make compleat the whole ſtate of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; his Deity, his Manhood, the Conjunction of both, and the diſtinction of the one from the other, being joyned in one. Four principal Hereſies there are which have in thoſe things withſtood the truth. *Arians,* by bending themſelves againſt the Deity of Chriſt; *Apollinarians,* by maiming and miſinterpreting that which belongeth to his Humane Nature; *Neſtorians,* by renting Chriſt aſunder, and dividing him into two perſons; the followers of *Eutiches,* by confounding in his Perſon, thoſe Natures which they ſhould diſtinguiſh. Againſt theſe there have been four moſt famous Ancient General Councils; the Council of *Nice,* to define againſt *Arians*; againſt *Apollinarians,* the Council of *Conſtantinople*; the Council of *Epheſus* againſt *Neſtorians*; againſt *Eutichians,* the *Calcedon* Council. In four words, ἀληθῶς, τελέως, ἀδιαιρέτως, ἀσυγχύτως, *truly, perfectly, indiviſibly, diſtinctly:* The firſt, applied to his being God; and the ſecond, to his being Man; the third, to his being of both One; and the fourth, to his ſtill continuing in that One both. We may fully by way of Abridgment, comprize whatſoever Antiquity hath at large handled, either in Declaration of Chriſtian Belief, or in Refutation of the foreſaid Hereſies. Within the compaſs of which four heads, I may truly affirm, That all Hereſies which touch but the Perſon of Jeſus Chriſt, (whether they have riſen in theſe latter days, or in any age heretofore,) may be with great facility brought to confine themſelves. We conclude therefore, That to ſave the World, it was of neceſſity the Son of God ſhould be thus incarnate, and that God ſhould ſo be in Chriſt, as hath been declared.

Luk. 2. 47.

Ἡσυχάζοντος μὲν τὸ λόγῳ ἐν τῷ περιέχεσθαι καὶ σωτηρίως καὶ ἀποθησαυρίσειν, συγχωρεῖ τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῃ καὶ ὑπομένειν καὶ χρηστεύεσθαι καὶ ἀνίσασθαι καὶ ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι. *Theod. & Iren.* lib. 3. Adverſ. Hæreſ. Matth. 27. 46.

[a] Col 2. 3.
[b] Iſai. 11. 2.
[c] Iſai. 61. 1. Luk 4 18. Acts 4. 27.
[d] Heb. 1. 9.
[e] 2 Cor. 1. 21. 1 Joh. 2. 20, 27.
[f] John 20. 27.

Μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἀθάνατον μὲν δόξῃ καὶ ἄφθαρτον καὶ θείας δόξης μεστὸν, σῶμα δὲ ὅμως τὴν οἰκείαν ἔχον φύσιν. *Theod.* fol. 82.

55. Having

55. Having thus far proceeded in speech concerning the Person of Jesus Christ, his two Natures, their Conjunction, that which he either is, or doth in respect of both, and that which the one receiveth from the other; sith God in Christ is generally the Medicine which doth cure the World, and Christ in us is that Receipt of the same Medicine, whereby we are every one particularly cured: In as much as Christs Incarnation and Passion, can be available to no mans good, which is not made partaker of Christ, neither can we participate him without his Presence; we are briefly to consider how Christ is present, to the end, it may thereby better appear, how we are made partakers of Christ, both otherwise, and in the Sacraments themselves. All things are in such sort divided, into Finite and Infinite, that no one Substance, Nature, or Quality, can be possibly capable of both. The World and all things in the World, are stinted; all effects that proceed from them; all the powers and abilities whereby they work; whatsoever they do, whatsoever they may, and whatsoever they are, is limited. Which limitation of each Creature, is both the perfection, and also the preservation thereof. Measure, is that which perfecteth all things, because every thing is for some end; neither can that thing be available to any end, which is not proportionable thereunto; and to proportion as well excesses, as defects, are opposite. Again, for as much as nothing doth perish, but onely through excess or defect of that, the due proportioned measure whereof doth give perfection, it followeth, That measure is likewise the preservation of all things. Out of which premises, we may conclude, not onely, that nothing created, can possibly be unlimited, or can receive any such accident, quality, or property, as may really make it infinite (for then should it cease to be a Creature) but also, that every Creatures limitation is according to his own kinde; and therefore, as oft as we note in them any thing above their kinde, it argueth, That the same is not properly theirs, but groweth in them from a cause more powerful then they are. Such as the Substance of each thing is, such is also the Presence thereof. Impossible it is, that [a] God should withdraw his Presence from any thing, because the very Substance of God is infinite. He filleth Heaven and Earth, although he take up no room in either, because his Substance is immaterial, pure, and of us in this World so incomprehensible, that albeit [b] no part of us be ever absent from him, who is present whole unto every particular thing, yet his Presence with us, we no way discern further, then onely that God is present; which partly by Reason, and more perfectly by Faith, we know to be firm and certain. Seeing therefore that Presence every where is the sequel of an infinite and incomprehensible Substance, (for what can be every where, but that which can no where be comprehended?) To enquire, whether Christ be every where, is to enquire of a Natural Property, a Property that cleaveth to the Deity of Christ. Which Deity being common unto him with none, but onely the Father, and the Holy Ghost, it followeth, That nothing of Christ which is limited, that nothing created, that neither the Soul nor the Body of Christ, and consequently, not Christ as Man, or Christ according to his Humane Nature, can possibly be every where present, because those phrases of Limitation and Restraint, do either point out the principal subject whereunto every such attribute adhereth, or else they intimate the radical cause out of which it groweth. For example, when we say, that Christ as Man, or according to his Humane Nature, suffered death; we shew what Nature was the proper subject of Mortality: When we say, that as God, or according to his Deity, he conquered Death, we declare his Deity to have been the cause, by force and vertue whereof, he raised himself from the Grave. But neither is the Manhood of Christ, that subject whereunto Universal Presence agreeth, neither is it the cause original, by force whereof his Person is enabled to be every where present. Wherefore Christ is essentially present with all things, in that he is very God, but not present with all things as Man, because Manhood and the parts thereof, can neither be the cause, nor the true subject of such Presence. Notwithstanding, somewhat more plainly to shew a true immediate reason, wherefore the Manhood of Christ, can neither be every where present, nor cause the Person of Christ so to be; we acknowledge that of St. *Augustine* concerning Christ most true, [c] *In that he is personally the Word, he created all things; in that he is naturally Man, he himself is created of God;*

Of the Personal Presence of Christ every where, and in what sense it may be granted, he is every where present according to the Flesh.

a Psal. 133. 9, 8. Jere. 23. 24.

b Ideo Deus ubique esse dicitur, quia, nulli parti rerum absens est; ideo totus, quia non parti rerum partem sui præsentem præbet, & alteri parti alteram partem, sed non totum Universitati Creaturæ, verum etiam cuilibet parti ejus totus pariter adest. *Aug.* Epist 57.

c Quod ad verbum attinet, Creator est; quod ad hominem, creatura est, *Aug.* Epist. 57. Deus qui semper est, & semper erat, fit creatura, *Leo.* de Nativ. Multi timore trepidant ne Christum esse Creaturam dicere compellantur; nos proclamamus non esse periculum dicere, Christum esse Creaturam. *Hier.* in Epist. ad Eph. 2.

and it doth not appear, that any one Creature hath Power to be present with all Creatures. Whereupon nevertheless it will not follow, that Christ cannot therefore be thus present, because he is himself a Creature; for as much as onely Infinite Presence, is that which cannot possibly stand with the Essence or Being of any Creature; as for Presence with all things that are, sith the whole Race, Mass, and Body of them is Finite, Christ by being a *Creature*, is not *in that respect* excluded from possibility of Presence with them. That which excludeth him therefore, as Man, from so great largeness of Presence, is onely his being *Man*, a Creature *of this particular kinde*, whereunto the God of Nature hath set those bounds of restraint and limitation, beyond which, to attribute unto it any thing more then a Creature *of that sort* can admit, were to give it another Nature, to make it a Creature of some other kinde then in truth it is. Furthermore, if Christ, in that he is Man, be every where present, seeing this cometh not by the Nature of Manhood it self, there is no other way how it should grow, but either by the Grace of Union with Deity, or by the Grace of Unction received from Deity. It hath been already sufficiently proved, that by Force of Union, the Properties of both Natures are imparted *to the Person onely*, in whom they are, and not what belongeth to the one Nature, really conveyed or translated into the other; it hath been likewise proved, That Natures united in Christ, continue the very same which they are, where they are not united. And concerning the Grace of Unction, wherein are contained the Gifts and Vertues which Christ as Man hath above men, they make him Really and Habitually a Man more excellent then we are, they take not from him the Nature and Substance that we have, they cause not his Soul nor Body to be of another kinde, then ours is. Supernatural endowments, are an advancement, they are no extinguishment of that Nature whereto they are given. The Substance of the Body of Christ hath no Presence, neither can have, but onely Local. It was not therefore every where seen, nor did it every where suffer death, every where it could not be intombed, it is not every where now being exalted into Heaven. There is no proof in the World strong to inforce, that Christ had a true Body, but by the true and natural Properties of his Body. Amongst which Properties, Definite or Local Presence is chief, *How is it true of Christ* (saith *Tertullian*) *that he died, was buried, and rose again, if Christ had not that very flesh, the nature whereof is capable of these things, flesh mingled with blood, supported with bones, woven with sinews, embroidered with veins?* If his Majestical Body have now any such new property, by force whereof it may every where really, even *in Substance* present it self, or may at once be in many places; then hath the Majesty of his estate extinguished the verity of his Nature. *Make thou no doubt or question of it* (saith St. *Augustine*) *but that the Man Christ Jesus, is now in that very place from whence he shall come in the same Form and Substance of Flesh, which he carried thither, and from which he hath not taken Nature, but given thereunto Immortality. According to this Form, he spreadeth not out himself into all places: For it behoveth us to take great heed, lest while we go about to maintain the glorious Deity of him, which is Man, we leave him not the true Bodily Substance of a Man.* According to St. *Augustines* opinion therefore, that Majestical Body which we make to be every where present, doth thereby cease to have the Substance of a true Body. To conclude, We hold it in regard of the fore-alleaged proofs, a most infallible truth, That Christ as Man, is not every where present. There are which think it as infallibly true, That Christ is every where present as Man, which peradventure in some sense may be well enough granted. His Humane Substance in it self, is naturally absent from the Earth; his Soul and Body not on Earth, but in Heaven onely: Yet because this Substance is inseparably joyned to that Personal Word, which by his very Divine Essence, is present with all things; the Nature which cannot have in it self Universal Presence, hath it *after a sort*, by being *no where severed* from that which every where is present. For in as much as that Infinite Word is not divisible into parts, it could not in part, but must needs be wholly incarnate, and consequently whersoever the Word is, it hath with it Manhood, else should the Word be in part, or somewhere God onely, and not Man, which is impossible. For the *Person of Christ is whole*, perfect God, and perfect Man, whersoever; although the parts of his Manhood, being Finite, and his Deity Infinite, we cannot say, that the *whole of Christ* is simply every where, as we may say, that his Deity is, and that his Person is by Force of Deity. For, *somewhat of the Person of Christ* is not every where in that sort, namely, His Manhood,

Tertul. de Car. Chr.

Aug. Epist. 37.

hood; the *onely Conjunction* whereof with Deity is extended as far as Deity, the *actual poſition* reſtrained and tied to a certain place; yet preſence *by way of Conjunction*, is in ſome ſort preſence. Again, As the Manhood of Chriſt may after a ſort be every-where ſaid to be preſent, becauſe that Perſon is every where preſent, from whoſe Divine Subſtance, Manhood is no where ſevered: So the ſame Univerſality of Preſence, may likewiſe ſeem in another reſpect appliable thereunto, namely, by Co-operation with Deity, and that *in all things*. The Light created of God in the Beginning, did firſt by it ſelf illuminate the World; but after that the Sun and Moon were created, the World ſithence hath by them always enjoyed the ſame. And that Deity of Chriſt, which before our Lords Incarnation, wrought all things without man, doth now work nothing wherein the Nature which it hath aſſumed, is either abſent from it, or idle. Chriſt as Man, hath all Power both in Heaven and Earth given him. He hath as Man, not as God onely, Supream Dominion over quick and dead; for ſo much his Aſcenſion into Heaven, and his Seſſion at the right Hand of God, do import. The Son of God which did firſt humble himſelf, by taking our fleſh upon him, deſcended afterwards much lower, and became according to the Fleſh obedient, ſo far as to ſuffer Death, even the Death of the Croſs for all men, becauſe ſuch was his Fathers Will. The former was an Humiliation of Deity, the later an Humiliation of Manhood; for which cauſe there followed upon the latter an Exaltation of that which was humbled: For with Power he created the World, but reſtored it by obedience. In which obedience, as according to his Manhood, he had glorified God on Earth; ſo God hath glorified in Heaven, that Nature which yielded him obedience; and hath given unto Chriſt, even in that he is Man, ſuch Fulneſs of Power over the whole World, that he which before fulfilled in the ſtate of Humility and Patience, whatſoever God did require, doth now reign in Glory till the time that all things be reſtored. He which came down from Heaven, and deſcended into the loweſt parts of the Earth, is aſcended far above all Heavens; that ſitting at the right Hand of God, he might from thence fill all things with the gracious and happy fruits of his ſaving Preſence. Aſcenſion into Heaven, is a plain local tranſlation of Chriſt, according to his Manhood, from the lower to the higher parts of the World. Seſſion at the right Hand of God, is the actual exerciſe of that Regency and Dominion, wherein the Manhood of Chriſt is joyned, and matched with the Deity of the Son of God. Not that his Manhood was before without the Poſſeſſion of the ſame Power, but becauſe the full uſe thereof was ſuſpended, till that Humility which had been before as a vail to hide and conceal Majeſty, were laid aſide. After his riſing again from the dead, then did God ſet him at his right Hand in Heavenly places, far above all principality and power, and might, and domination, and every name that is named, not in this World onely, but alſo in that which is to come; and hath put all things under his feet, and hath appointed him over all the Head to the Church, which is his Body, the fulneſs of him that filleth all in all. The Scepter of which Spiritual Regiment over us in this preſent World is at the length to be yielded up into the hands of the Father which gave it; that is to ſay, The uſe and exerciſe thereof ſhall ceaſe, there being no longer on Earth any Militant Church to govern. This Government therefore he exerciſeth both as God and as Man; as God, by Eſſential Preſence with all things; as Man, by Co-operation with that which eſſentially is preſent. Touching the manner how he worketh as Man in all things; the Principal Powers of the Soul of Man, are the Will and Underſtanding, the one of which two in Chriſt aſſenteth unto all things, and from the other nothing which Deity doth work, is hid; ſo that by knowledge and aſſent, the Soul of Chriſt is preſent with all things which the Deity of Chriſt worketh. And even the Body of Chriſt it ſelf, although the definite limitation thereof be moſt ſenſible, doth notwithſtanding admit in ſome ſort a kinde of infinite and unlimited Preſence likewiſe. For his Body being a part of that Nature, which whole Nature is preſently joyned unto Deity; whereſoever Deity is, it followeth, That his Bodily Subſtance hath every where a Preſence of true Conjunction with Deity. And for as much as it is, by vertue of that Conjunction, made the Body of the Son of God, by whom alſo it was made a Sacrifice for the ſins of the whole World, this giveth it a *preſence of force and efficacy*, throughout all Generations of Men. Albeit therefore, nothing be *actually* infinite *in ſubſtance*, but God onely in that he is God; nevertheleſs,

Matth. 28. Rom. 14. 8. Phil. 2. 9. Heb. 2. 9. Revel. 5 12. Luk. 21. 27. Acts 3. 21. Epheſ. 4. 9. Epheſ. 1. 20. Pſal. 8. 6. Heb. 2. 8. 1 Cor. 15.

as every number is infinite by possibility of addition, and every line by possibility of extension infinite; so there is no stint which can be set to the value or merit of the Sacrificed Body of Christ, it hath no measured certainty of limits, bounds of efficacy unto life it knoweth none, but is also it self infinite in possibility of Application. Which things indifferently every way considered, that gracious promise of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ concerning presence with his to the very end of the World, I see no cause but that we may well and safely interpret he doth perform, both as God, by essential presence of Deity, and as Man, in that order, sense, and meaning, which hath been shewed.

The Union or Mutual Participation which is between Christ and the Church of Christ, in this present World.

56. We have hitherto spoken of the Person and of the presence of Christ. Participation is that mutual inward hold which Christ hath of us, and we of him, in such sort that each possesseth other by way of special interest, property, and inherent copulation. For plainer explication whereof, we may from that which hath been before sufficiently proved, assume to our purpose these two Principles, *That every original cause imparteth it self unto those things which come of it; and whatsoever taketh Being from any other, the same is after a sort in that which giveth it Being.* It followeth hereupon, that the Son of God being Light of Light, must needs be also Light in Light. The Persons of the Godhead, by reason of the Unity of their substance, do as necessarily remain one within another, as they are of necessity to be distinguished one from another, because two are the issue of one, and one the Off-spring of the other two; onely of three, one not growing out of any other. And sith they all are but one God in number, one indivisible Essence or Substance, their distinction cannot possibly admit Separation. For how should that subsist solitarily by it self, which hath no substance, but individually the very same, whereby others subsist with it; seeing that the Multiplication of Substances in particular, is necessarily required to make those things subsist apart, which have the self-same General Nature, and the Persons of that Trinity, are not three particular Substances, to whom one General Nature is common, but three that subsist by one substance, which it self is Particular; yet they all three have it, and their several ways of having it, are that which maketh their Personal distinction? The Father therefore is in the Son, and the Son in him; they both in the Spirit, and the Spirit in both them. So that the Fathers first Off-spring which is the Son, remaineth eternally in the Father; the Father eternally also in the Son, no way severed or divided, by reason of the sole and single Unity of their Substance. The Son in the Father, as Light in that Light out of which it floweth without separation; the Father in the Son, as Light in that Light which it causeth, and leaveth not. And because in this respect his eternal Being is of the Father, which eternal Being is his Life, therefore he by the Father liveth. Again, sith all things do accordingly love their Off-spring, as themselves are more or less contained in it, he which is thus the onely begotten, must needs be in this degree the onely Beloved of the Father. He therefore which is in the Father, by eternal Derivation of Being and Life from him, must needs be in him through an eternal Affection of love. His Incarnation causeth him also as man to be now in the Father, and the Father to be in him. For in that he is Man, he receiveth Life from the Father, as from the Fountain of that Ever-living Deity, which in the Person of the Word hath combined it self with Manhood, and doth thereunto impart such life, as to no other Creature besides him is communicated. In which consideration likewise, the love of the Father towards him, is more then it can be towards any other; neither can any attain unto that perfection of love, which he beareth towards his Heavenly Father. Wherefore God is not so in any, nor any so in God as Christ; whether we consider him as the Personal Word of God, or as the Natural Son of Man. All other things that are of God, have God in them, and he them in himself likewise. Yet because their Substance and his wholly differeth, their coherence and communion either with him or amongst themselves, is in no sort like unto that before mentioned. God hath his influence into the very Essence of all things, without which influence of Deity supporting them, their utter annihilation could not chuse but follow. Of him all things have both received their first Being, and their continuance to be that which they are. All things are therefore partakers of God, they are his Off-spring, his influence is in them, and the Personal Wisdom of God is, for that very cause, said

In the bosome of the Father, Joh. 1. 18. Ecce dico alium esse Patrem, & alium Filium; non divisione alium, sed distinctione, *Tertul.* contra Prax. Nec in numerum pluralem defluit incorporea generatio, nec in divisionem cadit, ubi qui nascitur nequaquam à generante separatur. *Ruf. fin* in Symbol.

Luke 3 22. Joh. 3. 34, 35. & 5. 20. & 10. 17. & 14. 31. & 15. 10.

to

to excel in nimbleneſs or agility, to pierce into all intellectual, pure, and ſubtile ſpirits, to go through all, and to reach unto every thing which is. Otherwiſe, how ſhould the ſame Wiſdom be that which ſupporteth, beareth up, and ſuſtaineth all? Whatſoever God doth work, the hands of all three Perſons are joyntly and equally in it, according to *the order of that connexion*, whereby they each depend upon other. And therefore albeit in that reſpect the Father be firſt, the Son next, the Spirit laſt, and conſequently neareſt unto every effect which groweth from all three; nevertheleſs, they all being of one Eſſence, are likewiſe all of one Efficacy. Dare any man, unleſs he be ignorant altogether how inſeparable the Perſons of the Trinity are, perſwade himſelf that every of them may have their ſole and ſeveral Poſſeſſions, or that we being not partakers of all, can have fellowſhip with any one? The Father as Goodneſs, the Son as Wiſdom, the Holy Ghoſt as Power, do all concur in every particular, outwardly iſſuing from that one onely glorious Deity which they all are. For that which moveth God to work, is Goodneſs; and that which ordereth his Work, is Wiſdom; and that which perfecteth his Work, is Power. All things which God in their times and ſeaſons hath brought forth, were eternally and before all times in God, as a work unbegun is in the Artificer, which afterward bringeth it unto effect. Therefore whatſoever we do behold now in this preſent World, it was inwrapped within the Bowels of Divine Mercy, written in the Book of Eternal Wiſdom, and held in the hands of Omnipotent Power, the firſt Foundations of the World being as yet unlaid. So that all things which God hath made, are in that reſpect the Off-ſpring of God, they are in him as effects in their higheſt cauſe; he likewiſe actually is in them, the aſſiſtance and influence of his Deity is their life. Let hereunto ſaving efficacy be added, and it bringeth forth a ſpecial Off-ſpring amongſt men, containing them to whom God hath himſelf given the gracious and amiable name of Sons. We are by Nature the Sons of *Adam*. When God created *Adam*, he created us; and as many as are deſcended from *Adam*, have in themſelves the Root, out of which they ſpring. The Sons of God we neither are all, nor any one of us, otherwiſe then onely by grace and favor. The Sons of God have Gods own Natural Son, as a ſecond *Adam* from Heaven, whoſe Race and Progeny they are by Spiritual and Heavenly Birth. God therefore loving eternally his Son, he muſt needs eternally in him, have loved and preferred before all others, them which are ſpiritually ſithence deſcended and ſprung out of him. Theſe were in God as in their Saviour, and not as in their Creator onely. It was the purpoſe of his *ſaving* Goodneſs, his *ſaving* Wiſdom, and his *ſaving* Power, which inclined it ſelf towards them. They which thus were in God eternally by their intended admiſſion to life, have, by vocation or adoption, God actually now in them, as the Artificer is in the Work, which his hand doth preſently frame. Life as all other gifts and benefits, groweth originally from the Father, and cometh not to us but by the Son; nor by the Son to any of us in particular, but through the Spirit. For this cauſe the Apoſtle wiſheth to the Church of *Corinth*, The Grace of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, and the Love of God, and the Fellowſhip of the Holy Ghoſt. Which three St. *Peter* comprehendeth in one, *The participation of Divine Nature*. We are therefore in God, through Chriſt eternally, according to that intent and purpoſe, whereby we are choſen to be made his in this preſent World, before the World it ſelf was made: We are in God, through the knowledge which is had of us, and the love which is born towards us from everlaſting. But in God we actually are no longer then onely from the time of our actual Adoption into the Body of his true Church, into the Fellowſhip of his Children. For his Church he knoweth and loveth; ſo that they which are in the Church, are thereby known to be in him. Our being in Chriſt by Eternal fore-knowledge ſaveth us not, without our Actual and Real Adoption into the Fellowſhip of his Saints in this preſent World. For in him we actually are by our actual incorporation into that Society which hath him for their Head; and doth make together with him one Body, (he and they in that reſpect having one name) for which cauſe by vertue of this Myſtical Conjunction, we are of him, and in him, even as though our very fleſh and bones ſhould be made continuate with his. We are in Chriſt, becauſe he knoweth and loveth us, even as parts of himſelf. No man actually is in him, but they in whom he actually is. For he

Wiſd. 7. 23. Heb. 1. 3. John 14. 23. Acts 17. 28, 29. Joh. 1. 4. & 1. 13. Iſai. 40. 26. 1 John 3. 1. 1 Cor. 15. 47. Epheſ. 1. 3, 4. 1 Joh. 5. 11. Rom. 8. 10. 2 Cor. 13. 13. 2 Pet. 1. 4. Col. 2. 10. 1 Cor. 12. 12. Epheſ. 5. 30. John 15. 9. 1 John 5. 12.

which

John 15. 5, 6. which hath not the Son of God, hath not Life: *I am the Vine, and ye are the Branches: He which abideth in me, and I in him, the same bringeth forth much Fruit*; but the Branch severed from the Vine, withereth. We are therefore adopted Sons of God to Eternal Life, by Participation of the onely begotten Son of God, whose Life
John 14. 19. is the Well-spring and cause of ours. It is too cold an interpretation, whereby
Ephes. 5. 23. some men expound our Being in Christ to import nothing else, but onely, That the self-same Nature which maketh us to be Men, is in him, and maketh him Man as we are. For what man in the World is there, which hath not so far forth communion with Jesus Christ? It is not this that can sustain the weight of such sentences as
John 14. 20. speak of the Mystery of our Coherence with Jesus Christ. The Church is in Christ,
& 15. 4. as *Eve* was in *Adam*. Yea, by Grace we are every of us in Christ, and in his Church, as by Nature we were in those our first Parents. God made *Eve* of the Rib of *Adam*: And his Church he frameth out of the very Flesh, the very wounded and bleeding side of the Son of Man. His Body crucified and his Blood shed for the Life of the
1 Cor. 15. 48. World, are the true Elements of that Heavenly Being, which maketh us such as himself is of whom we come. For which cause the words of *Adam* may be fitly the words of Christ concerning his Church, *Flesh of my Flesh, and Bone of my Bones*; a true Nature extract out of my own Body. So that in him, even according to his Manhood, we, according to our Heavenly Being, are as Branches in that Root out of which
John 1. they grow. To all things he is Life, and to men Light, *as the Son of God*; to the
& 6. 57. Church, both Life and Light Eternal, by being made the Son of Man for us, and by being in us a Saviour, whether we respect him as God, or as Man. *Adam* is in us as an original cause of our Nature, and of that corruption of Nature which causeth
Heb. 5. 9. death; Christ as the cause original of Restauration to Life. The person of *Adam* is not in us, but his nature, and the corruption of his nature derived into all men by Propagation; Christ having *Adams* nature, as we have, but incorrupt, deriveth not nature but incorruption, and that immediately from his own Person, into all that belong unto him. As therefore we are really partakers of the body of Sin and Death received from *Adam*; so except we be truly partakers of Christ, and as really pos-
1 Cor 15. 45, sessed of his Spirit, all we speak of Eternal Life, is but a dream. That which quick-
52. neth us, is the Spirit of the Second *Adam*, and his Flesh that wherewith he quickneth. That which in him made our Nature uncorrupt, was the Union of his Deity with our Nature. And in that respect the sentence of Death and Condemnation, which onely taketh hold upon sinful flesh, could no way possibly extend unto him. This caused his voluntary death for others to prevail with God, and to have the force of an Expiatory Sacrifice. The Blood of Christ, as the Apostle witnesseth, doth
Heb. 9. 14. therefore take away sin, because *through the Eternal Spirit, he offered himself unto God without spot*. That which sanctified our Nature in Christ, that which made it a Sacrifice available to take away sin, is the same which quickneth it, raised it out of the Grave after Death, and exalted it unto Glory. Seeing therefore that Christ is in us as a quickning Spirit, the first degree of Communion with Christ, must needs consist
Cypr. de Cœna Dom. cap. 6. in the Participation of his Spirit, which *Cyprian* in that respect well termeth *Germanissimam Societatem*, the highest and truest Society that can be between man and
Cyril in *Joan.* lib. 10. cap. 13. him, which is both God and Man in one. These things St. *Cyril* duly considering, reproveth their speeches, which taught that onely the Deity of Christ, is the Vine whereupon we by Faith do depend as Branches, and that neither his Flesh nor our Bodies are comprised in this resemblance. For doth any man doubt, but that even from the Flesh of Christ, our very Bodies do receive that Life which shall make them glorious at the latter day; and for which, they are already accounted parts of his Blessed Body? Our corruptible bodies could never live the life they shall live, were it not that here they are joyned with his Body, which is incorruptible, and that his is in ours as a cause of immortality, a cause by removing through the Death and Merit of his own Flesh that which hindered the life of ours. Christ is therefore, both as God and as Man, that true Vine whereof we both spiritually and corporally are Branches. The mixture of his Bodily Substance with ours is a thing which the Ancient Fathers [a] disclaim. Yet the mixture of his Flesh with ours they [b] speak of, to

[a] Nostra quippe & Ipsius conjunctio nec miscet personas nec unit substantias, sed affectus consociat & confœderat voluntates. *Cypr.* de Cœn. Dom. [b] Quomodo dicunt carnem in corruptionem devenire, & non percipere vitam, quæ à corpore Domini & sanguine alitur? *Iræn.* lib. 4. Adverf. Hæres. cap. 34.

signifie

signifie what our very bodies, through Mystical Conjunction, receive from that vital efficacy which we know to be in his; and from bodily mixtures, they borrow divers Similitudes, rather to declare the Truth, then the manner of coherence between his sacred, and the sanctified Bodies of Saints. Thus much no Christian Man will deny, That when Christ sanctified his own Flesh, giving as God, and taking as Man the Holy Ghost, he did not this for himself onely, but for our sakes, that the Grace of Sanctification and Life, which was first received in him, might pass from him to his whole Race, as Malediction came from *Adam* unto all mankinde. Howbeit, because the Work of his Spirit to those effects is in us prevented by Sin and Death, possessing us before; it is of necessity, that as well our present Sanctification unto newness of life; as the future Restauration of our Bodies, should presuppose a participation of the Grace, Efficacy, Merit, or Vertue of his Body and Blood; without which Foundation first laid, there is no place for those other operations of the Spirit of Christ to ensue. So that Christ imparteth plainly himself by degrees. It pleaseth him in Mercy, to account himself incompleat and maimed [a] without us. But most assured we are, that we all receive of his Fulness, because he is in us as a moving and working Cause; from which, many blessed effects are really found to ensue, and that in sundry, both kindes and degrees, all tending to eternal happiness. It must be confest, that of Christ, working as a Creator, and a Governor of the World by providence, all are partakers; not all partakers of that Grace, whereby he inhabiteth whom he saveth. Again, as he dwelleth not by Grace in all, so neither doth he equally work in all them in whom he dwelleth. [b] *Whence is it* (saith St. *Augustine*) *that some be holier then others are, but because God doth dwell in some more plentifully then in others?* And because the Divine Substance of Christ, is equally in all, his Humane Substance equally distant from all; it appeareth, that the participation of Christ, wherein there are many degrees and differences, must needs consist in such effects, as being derived from both Natures of Christ really into us, are made our own; and we by having them in us, are truly said to have him from whom they come; Christ also more or less, to inhabit and impart himself, as the Graces are fewer or more, greater or smaller, which really flow into us from Christ. Christ is whole with the whole Church, and whole with every part of the Church, as touching his Person which can no way divide it self, or be possest by degrees and portions. But the Participation of Christ importeth, besides the Presence of Christs Person, and besides the Mystical Copulation thereof, with the Parts and Members of his whole Church, a true actual influence of Grace whereby the life which we live according to godliness, is his; and from him we receive those perfections wherein our eternal happiness consisteth. Thus we participate Christ, partly by imputation; as when those things which he did, and suffered for us, are imputed unto us for Righteousness: Partly by habitual and real infusion, as when Grace is inwardly bestowed while we are on Earth, and afterwards more fully, both our Souls and Bodies make like unto his in Glory. The first thing of his so infused into our hearts in this life, is the Spirit of Christ; whereupon, because the rest, of what kinde soever, do all both necessarily depend and infallibly also ensue; therefore the Apostles term it, sometime the Seed of God, sometime the Pledge of our Heavenly Inheritance, sometime the Hansel or Earnest of that which is to come. From hence it is, that they which belong to the Mystical Body of our Saviour Christ, and be in number as the Stars of Heaven, divided successively, by reason of their mortal condition, into many Generations, are notwithstanding coupled every one to Christ their Head, and all unto every particular person amongst themselves, in as much as the same Spirit, which anointed the Blessed Soul of our Saviour Christ, doth so formalize, unite, and actuate his whole Race, as if both he and they, were so many Limbs compacted into one Body, by being quickned all with one and the same Soul. That wherein we are Partakers of Jesus Christ by Imputation, agreeth equally unto all that have it. For it consisteth in such Acts and Deeds of his, as could not have longer continuance, then while they were in doing, nor at that very time belong unto any other, but to him from whom they come; and therefore how men, either then, or before, or sithence, should be made Partakers of them, there can be no way imagined, but onely by Imputation. Again, a Deed must either not be imputed to any, but rest altogether in him, whose it is; or if at all it be imputed, they which have

Unde considerandum est non solum ὁμοίωσιν seu conformitate affectionum, Christum in nobis esse; verum etiam participatione Naturali (id est, reali & vera:) quemadmodum si quis igne liquefactam ceram alii ceræ similiter liquefactæ ita miscuerit ut unum quid ex utrisq; factum videatur; sic Communicatione Corporis & Sanguinis Christi ipse in nobis est, & nos in ipso. *Cyril. in Joan.* lib. 10. cap. 13.

[a] Eph. 1. 23. Ecclesia complementum ejus qui implet omnia in omnibus. Τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι πληρουμένου.

[b] *Aug.* Ep 55.

Gal. 2. 20.

Isa. 53. 5. Eph. 1. 7.

Rom. 8. 9. Gal. 4. 6.

1 John 3. 9. Eph. 1. 14. Rom. 8. 23.

1 Cor. 12. 27. Eph. 4. 15. Rom. 12. 5. Eph. 4. 25.

have it by Imputation, muſt have it ſuch as it is, whole. So that degrees being neither in the Perſonal Preſence of Chriſt, nor in the Participation of thoſe effects which are ours by Imputation onely, it reſteth, that we wholly apply them to the Participation of Chriſts infuſed Grace; although, even in this kinde alſo, the firſt beginning of Life, the Seed of God, the First-fruits of Chriſts Spirit, be without latitude. For we have hereby onely the being of the Sons of God, in which number how far ſoever one may ſeem to excel another, yet touching this that all are Sons, they are all equals, ſome happily better Sons then the reſt are, but none any more a Son then another. Thus therefore we ſee, how the Father is in the Son, and the Son in the Father; how they both are in all things, and all things in them; what Communion Chriſt hath with his Church, how his Church and every Member thereof, is in him by original derivation, and he perſonally in them, by way of Myſtical Aſſociation, wrought through the Gift of the Holy Ghoſt, which they that are his, receive from him, and together with the ſame, what benefit ſoever the vital force of his Body and Blood may yield; yea, by ſteps and degrees they receive the compleat meaſure of all ſuch Divine Grace as doth ſanctifie and ſave throughout, till the day of their Final Exaltation to a ſtate of Fellowſhip in glory with him, whoſe partakers they are now in thoſe things that tend to glory. As for any mixture of the Subſtance of his Fleſh with ours, the Participation which we have of Chriſt includeth no ſuch kinde of groſs ſurmiſe.

The neceſſity of Sacraments unto the Participation of Chriſt.

57. It greatly offendeth, that ſome, when they labor to ſhew the uſe of the holy Sacraments, aſſign unto them no end but onely to teach the minde, by other ſenſes, that which the Word doth teach by Hearing. Whereupon, how eaſily neglect and careleſs regard of ſo Heavenly Myſteries may follow, we ſee in part by ſome experience had of thoſe Men, with whom that opinion is moſt ſtrong. For where the Word of God may be heard, which teacheth with much more Expedition, and more full Explications, any thing we have to learn; if all the benefit we reap by Sacraments be inſtruction, they which at all times have opportunity of uſing the better mean to that purpoſe, will ſurely hold the worſe in leſs eſtimation. And unto Infants which are not capable of inſtruction, who would not think it a meer ſuperfluity, that any Sacrament is adminiſtred, if to adminiſter the Sacraments, be but to teach receivers what God doth for them? There is of Sacraments therefore, undoubtedly, ſome other more excellent and Heavenly uſe. Sacraments, by reaſon of their mixt Nature, are more diverſly interpreted and diſputed of, then any other part of Religion beſides; for that in ſo great ſtore of Properties belonging to the ſelf-ſame thing, as every Mans wit hath taken hold of ſome eſpecial conſideration above the reſt, ſo they have accordingly ſeemed one to croſs another, as touching their ſeveral opinions about the neceſſity of Sacraments; whereas in truth their diſagreement is not great. For, let reſpect be had to the duty which every Communicant doth undertake, and we may well determine concerning the uſe of Sacraments, that they ſerve as Bonds of Obedience to God, ſtrict Obligations to the mutual exerciſe of Chriſtian Charity, Provocations to Godlineſs, Preſervations from Sin, Memorials of the Principal benefits of Chriſt; reſpect the time of their inſtitution, and it thereby appeareth, that God hath annexed them for ever unto the New Teſtament, as other Rites were before with the Old; regard the weakneſs which is in us, and they are warrants for the more ſecurity of our belief: Compare the receivers of them with ſuch as receive them not, and Sacraments are marks of diſtinction to ſeparate Gods own from ſtrangers; ſo that in all theſe reſpects, they are found to be moſt neceſſary. But their chiefeſt force and vertue, conſiſteth not herein ſo much, as in that they are Heavenly Ceremonies, which God hath ſanctified and ordained to be adminiſtred in his Church: Firſt, As marks whereby to know when God doth impart the vital or ſaving Grace of Chriſt unto all that are capable thereof; and ſecondly, as Means conditional, which God requireth in them, unto whom he impart-eth Grace. For, ſith God in himſelf is inviſible, and cannot by us be diſcerned working; therefore when it ſeemeth good in the eyes of his Heavenly Wiſdom, that men for ſome ſpecial intent and purpoſe, ſhould take notice of his glorious Preſence, he giveth them ſome plain and ſenſible token whereby to know what they cannot ſee. For *Moſes* to ſee God and live, was impoſſible; yet *Moſes* by fire, knew where the

Exod. 3. 2.

glory

glory of God extraordinarily was present. The Angel, by whom God endued the Waters of the Pool, called *Bethesda*, with Supernatural Vertue to Heal, was not seen of any; yet the time of the Angels presence known by the troubled motions of the Waters themselves. The Apostles by Fiery Tongues which they saw, were admonished when the Spirit, which they could not behold, was upon them: In like manner it is with us. Christ and his holy Spirit with all their blessed Effects, though entring into the Soul of Man, we are not able to apprehend or express how, do notwithstanding give notice of the times, when they use to make their access, because it pleaseth Almighty God to communicate by sensible means those Blessings which are incomprehensible. Seeing therefore, that Grace is a consequent of Sacraments, a thing which accompanieth them as their end, a benefit which they have received from God himself, the Author of Sacraments, and not from any other Natural or Supernatural Quality in them; it may be hereby both understood, That Sacraments are necessary, and that the manner of their necessity to Life Supernatural, is not in all respects as food unto Natural Life, because they contain in themselves no vital force or efficacy; they are not Physical, but Moral Instruments of Salvation, duties of Service and Worship; which unless we perform as the Author of Grace requireth, they are unprofitable. For, all receive not the Grace of God, which receive the Sacraments of his Grace. Neither is it ordinarily his Will to bestow the Grace of Sacraments on any, but by the Sacraments; which Grace also, they that receive by Sacraments or with Sacraments, receive it from him, and not from them. For of Sacraments, the very same is true which *Solomons* Wisdom observeth in the Brazen Serpent: [a] *He that turned towards it, was not healed by the thing he saw, but by thee, O Saviour of all.* This is therefore the necessity of Sacraments. That saving Grace which Christ originally is, or hath for the general good of his whole Church, by Sacraments he severally deriveth into every member thereof. Sacraments serve as the Instruments of God, to that end and purpose: Moral Instruments, the use whereof is in our own hands, the effect in his; for the use, we have his express Commandment; for the effect, his Conditional Promise: So that without our obedience to the one, there is of the other no apparent assurance; as contrariwise, where the Signs and Sacraments of his Grace, are not either through contempt unreceived, or received with contempt, we are not to doubt, but that they really give what they promise, and are what they signifie. For we take not Baptism, nor the Eucharist, for bare resemblances or memorials of things absent, neither for naked signs and testimonies assuring us of Grace received before, but (as they are indeed and in verity) for means effectual, whereby God, when we take the Sacraments, delivereth into our hands that Grace available unto Eternal Life, which Grace the Sacraments [b] represent or signifie. There have grown in the Doctrine concerning Sacraments many difficulties for want of distinct Explication, what kinde or degree of Grace doth belong unto each Sacrament. For by this it hath come to pass, that the true immediate cause why Baptism, and why the Supper of our Lord is necessary, few do rightly and distinctly consider. It cannot be denied, but sundry the same effects and benefits which grow unto men by the one Sacrament, may rightly be attributed unto the other. Yet then doth Baptism challenge to it self but the inchoation of those Graces, the consummation whereof dependeth on Mysteries ensuing. We receive Christ Jesus in Baptism once, as the first beginner; in the Eucharist often, as being by continual degrees, the finisher of our Life. By Baptism therefore, we receive Christ Jesus; and from him that saving Grace which is proper unto Baptism. By the other Sacrament we receive him also, imparting therein himself, and that Grace which the Eucharist properly bestoweth. So that each Sacrament having both that which is general or common, and that also which is peculiar unto it self, we may hereby gather, that the Participation of Christ, which properly belongeth to any one Sacrament, is not otherwise to be obtained, but by the Sacrament whereunto it is proper.

John 5. 4.

Acts 2. 3.

[a] Wisd. 16. 17. Spiritus Sancti munus est gratiam implere mysterii, *Ambr.* in Luc. cap. 3. Sanctificatis Elementis effectum non propria ipsarum natura præbet, sed virtus divina potentius operatur. *Cypr.* de Christm.

[b] Dum homini bonum invisibile redditur, foris ei ejusdem significatio per species visibiles adhibetur: Ut foris excitetur & intus reparetur. In ipsa vasis specie virtus exprimitur medicinæ. *Hugo* de Sacram. lib. 1. cap. 3. Si ergo vasa sunt spiritualis gratiæ sacramenta, non ex suo sanant, quia vasa ægrotum non curant, sed medicina. *Idem*, lib. 1. cap. 4.

The Substance of Baptism; the Rites or Solemnites thereunto belonging, and that the Substance thereof being kept, other things in Baptism may give place to necessity.

58. Now even as the Soul doth Organize the Body, and give unto every Member thereof, that substance, quantity, and shape which Nature seeth most expedient; so, the inward Grace of Sacraments may teach what serveth best for their outward form; a thing in no part of Christian Religion, much less here, to be neglected. Grace intended by Sacraments, was a cause of the choice, and is a reason of the fitness of the Elements themselves. Furthermore, seeing that the Grace which here we receive, doth no way depend upon the Natural force of that which we presently behold, it was of necessity, That words of express Declaration taken from the very mouth of our Lord himself, should be added unto visible Elements, that the one might infallibly teach what the other do most assuredly bring to pass. In writing and speaking of the Blessed Sacrament, we [a] use for the most part under the name of their Substance, not onely to compriſe that, whereof they outwardly and sensibly consist, but also the secret Grace which they signifie and exhibit. This is the reason wherefore commonly in [b] definitions, whether they be framed larger to augment, or stricter to abridge the number of Sacraments, we finde Grace expressly mentioned as their true Essential Form, Elements as the matter whereunto that Form doth adjoyn it self. But if that be separated, which is secret, and that considered alone, which is seen, as of necessity it must in all those speeches that make distinction of Sacraments from Sacramental Grace; the name of a Sacrament, in such speeches, can imply no more then what the outward substance thereof doth comprehend. And to make compleat the outward substance of a Sacrament, there is required an outward Form, which Form Sacramental Elements receive from Sacramental words. Hereupon it groweth, that [c] many times there are three things said to make up the Substance of a Sacrament; namely, the Grace which is thereby offered, the Element which shadoweth or signifieth Grace, and the Word which expresseth what is done by the Element. So that whether we consider the outward by it self alone, or both the outward and inward substance of any Sacraments, there are in the one respect but two essential parts, and in the other but three that concur to give Sacraments their full being. Furthermore, because definitions are to express but the most immediate and neareſt parts of Nature, whereas other principles farther off, although not specified in defining, are notwithstanding in Nature implied and presupposed, we must note, that in as much as Sacraments are actions religious and mystical, which Nature they have not unless they proceed from a serious meaning; and what every mans private minde is, as we cannot know, so neither are we bound to examine: Therefore always in these cases, the known intent of the Church generally doth suffice; and where the contrary is not [d] manifest, we may presume, that he which outwardly doth the work, hath inwardly the purpose of the Church of God. Concerning all other Orders, Rites, Prayers, Lessons, Sermons, Actions, and their Circumstances whatsoever, they are to the outward Substance of Baptism but things accessory, which the wisdom of the Church of Christ is to order according to the exigence of that which is principal. Again, Considering that such Ordinances have been made to adorn the Sacrament, [e] not the Sacrament to depend upon them; seeing also, that they are not of the Substance of Baptism, and that Baptism is far more necessary, then any such incident rite or solemnity ordained for the better Administration thereof, [f] if the case be such as permitteth not Baptism to have decent Complements of Baptism, better it were to enjoy the Body without his Furniture, then to wait for this, till the opportunity of that for which we desire it be lost. Which Premises standing, it seemeth to have been no absurd Collection, that in cases of necessity, which will not suffer delay till Baptism be administred, with usual solemnities, (to speak the least) it may be tolerably given without them, rather then any man without it should be suffered to depart this life.

a Eucharistia duabus ex rebus constat, terrena & cœlesti. *Iren.* Adverſ. Hæreſ. lib. 4. cap. 34

Arcanarum rerum symbola non nudis signis, sed signis simul & rebus constant. *Helvet.* Confeſ. Prior. Art. 2.

b Sacramentum est, cum res gesta visibilis longè aliud invisibile intus operatur. *Isid.* Etym. lib. 1.

Sacramentum est per quod sub regumento rerum visibilium divina virtus salutem secretiùs operatur. *Greg.* Mag.

Sacramentum est signum significans efficaciter effectum Dei gratuitum. *Occa.* Sent. lib 4. d. 1.

Sacramentum propriè non est signum cujusliber rei sacræ, sed tantum rei sacræ sanctificantis homines, *Tho.* 12. q. 101. 4. & q. 102. 5.

Sacramentum est signum Passionis Christi gratiæ & gloriæ. Ideo est commemorario præteriti, demonstrario præsentis, & prognosticon futuri. *Tho.* 3. q. 60. 3.

Sacramenta sunt signa & symbola visibilia rerum, internarum & invisibilium, per quæ, seu per media, Deus virtute Spiritus sancti in nobis agit. Conf. Belg. Art. 33. Item *Bohem.* Conf. cap. 11.

c Sacramenta constant verbo, signis, & rebus significatis. Confeſs. *Helvet.* Post. c. 19.

d Si aliquid Ministri agere intendant, purà sacris illudere mysteriis, vel aliud quod Ecclesiæ non consentiat, nihil agitur; sine fide enim spiritualis potestas exerceri quidem potest, sine Ecclesiæ intentione non potest. *Lancel.* Inst. Jur. Can. lib. 2. Tit. 2. 5. Hoc tamen

e Accessorium non regulat Principale sed ab eo regulatur. 42. De Regul. Jur. in Sext. lib. 3. ff. quod jussit.

f Etsi nihil facile mutandum est ex solennibus, tamen ubi æquitas evidens poscit subveniendum est. Lib. 183. de Reg. Jur.

59. They

59. They which deny that any ſuch caſe of neceſſity can fall, in regard whereof the Church ſhould tolerate Baptiſm without the decent Rites and Solemnities thereunto belonging, pretend, that ſuch Tolerations have riſen from a falſe interpretaon which certain men have made of the Scripture, grounding a neceſſity of External Baptiſm, upon the words of our Saviour Chriſt: *Unleſs a man be born again of Water, and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* For by Water and the Spirit, we are in that place to underſtand (as they imagine) no more then if the Spirit alone had been mentioned, and Water not ſpoken of. Which they think is plain, becauſe elſwhere it is not improbable, that *the Holy Ghoſt and Fire,* do but ſignifie the Holy Ghoſt in operation reſembling Fire. Whereupon they conclude, That ſeeing Fire in one place may be, therefore Water in another place is, but a Metaphor: Spirit, the interpretation thereof; and ſo the words do onely mean, *That unleſs a man be born again of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* I hold it for a moſt infallible rule in Expoſitions of Sacred Scripture, that where a literal conſtruction will ſtand, the fartheſt from the Letter is commonly the worſt. There is nothing more dangerous then this licentious and deluding Art, which changeth the meaning of words, as Alchymy doth or would do the ſubſtance of Metals, maketh of any thing what it liſteth, and bringeth in the end all Truth to nothing. Or howſoever ſuch voluntary exerciſe of wit might be born with, otherwiſe; yet in places which uſually ſerve, as this doth, concerning Regeneration by Water and the Holy Ghoſt, to be alledged for Grounds and Principles, leſs is permitted. To hide the general conſent of Antiquity, agreeing in the literal interpretation, they cunningly affirm, That certain have taken thoſe words as meant of Material Water, when they know, that of all the Ancients there is not one to be named, that ever did otherwiſe, either expound or alledge the place, then as implying External Baptiſm. Shall that which hath always [a] received this, and no other conſtruction, be now diſguiſed with a toy of Novelty? Muſt we needs at the onely ſhew of a critical conceit, without any more deliberation, utterly condemn them of Error, which will not admit that Fire in the words of *John*, is quenched with the Name of the Holy Ghoſt; or, with the name of the Spirit, Water dried up in the words of Chriſt? When the Letter of the Law hath two things plainly and expreſly ſpecified, Water and the Spirit; Water as a duty required on our parts, the Spirit as a Gift which God beſtoweth: There is danger in preſuming ſo to interpret it, at if the clauſe which concerneth our ſelves, were more then needeth. We may by ſuch rare Expoſitions, attain perhaps in the end to be thought witty, but with ill advice. Finally, if at [b] the time, when that Baptiſm which was meant by *John*, came to be really and truly performed by Chriſt himſelf, we finde the Apoſtles, that had been, as we are, before Baptized, new Baptized with the Holy Ghoſt; and in this their latter Baptiſm as well a [c] viſible deſcent of Fire, as a ſecret miraculous infuſion of the Spirit; if on us he accompliſh likewiſe the Heavenly work of our New birth, not with the Spirit alone, but with Water thereunto adjoyned; ſith the faithfulleſt Expounders of his words are his own Deeds, let that which his hand hath manifeſtly wrought, declare what his ſpeech did doubtfully utter.

The Grounds in Scripture, whereupon a neceſſity of outward Baptiſm hath been built. *T. C.* lib. 1. p. 143

Private Baptiſm firſt roſe upon a falſe interpretation of the place of St. *John.* Chap. 3. 5 *Unleſs a man be born again of Water, and of the Spirit, &c.* where, certain do interpret the word *Water*, for the Material and Elemental Water, when as our Saviour Chriſt taketh Water there by a borrowed ſpeech, for the Spirit of God, the effect whereof it ſhadoweth out. For even as in another place, *Matth.* 3. 11. *By Fire and the Spirit*, he meaneth nothing but the Spirit of God, which purgeth and purifieth as the Fire doth: So in this place, by Water and the Spirit, he meaneth nothing elſe but the Spirit of God which cleanſeth the filth of ſin, and cooleth the boiling heat of an unquiet Conſcience; as Water waſheth the thing which is foul, and quencheth the heat of the Fire.

[a] Minimè ſunt mirandæ, quæ interpretationem certam ſemper habuerunt. D. lib. tit. 2. lib. 23. [b] Acts 1. 3 *John Baptized with Water, but you ſhall within few days be Baptized with the Holy Ghoſt.* [c] Acts 2 3.

60. To this they add, That as we err by following a wrong conſtruction of the place before alledged; ſo our ſecond over-ſight is, that we thereupon infer a neceſſity over-rigorous and extream. The true neceſſity of Baptiſm, a few Propoſitions con-

What kinde of neceſſity in outward Baptiſm hath been gathered by the words of our Saviour Chriſt, and what the true neceſſity thereof indeed is. *T. C.* lib. 1. pag. 143. Secondly, This Error (of Private Baptiſm) came by a falſe and unneceſſary concluſion drawn from that place. For, although the Scripture ſhould ſay, That none can be ſaved, but thoſe which have the Spirit of God, and are Baptized with Material and Elemental Water; yet ought it to be underſtood of thoſe which can conveniently and orderly be brought to Baptiſm; as the Scripture, ſaying, That who ſo doth not believe the Goſpel, is condemned already, *Joh.* 3. 18. meaneth this ſentence of thoſe which can hear the Goſpel, and have diſcretion to underſtand it when they hear it; and cannot here ſhut under this condemnation, either thoſe that be born deaf and ſo remain, or little Infants, or natural Fools that have no wit to conceive what is Preached.

sidered, will soon decide. All things which either are known [a] Causes or set Means, whereby any great Good is usually procured, or Men delivered from grievous evil, the same we must needs confess necessary. And if Regeneration were not in this very sense a thing necessary to eternal life, would Christ himself have taught *Nicodemus*, that to see the Kingdom of God is [b] impossible, saving onely for those Men which are born from above? His words following in the next Sentence, are a proof sufficient, that to our Regeneration, his Spirit is no less [c] necessary, then Regeneration it self necessary unto Life. Thirdly, Unless as the Spirit is a necessary inward cause; so Water were a necessary outward mean to our Regeneration, what construction should we give unto those words wherein we are said to be new born, and that ἐξ ὕδατος, even of Water? Why are we taught, that [d] with Water, God doth purifie and cleanse his Church? Wherefore do the Apostles of Christ term Baptism [e] a Bath of Regeneration? What purpose had they in giving men advice to receive outward Baptism, and in perswading them, it did avail [f] to remission of sins? If outward Baptism were a cause in it self, possessed of that power, either Natural or Supernatural, without the present operation whereof no such effect could possibly grow; it must then follow, That seeing effects do never prevent the necessary causes, out of which they spring, no man could ever receive Grace before Baptism: Which being apparently both known, and also confest to be otherwise in many particulars, although in the rest we make not Baptism a cause of Grace; yet the Grace which is given them with their [g] Baptism, doth so far forth depend on the very outward Sacrament, that God will have it embraced, not onely as a sign or token what we receive; but also as an Instrument or Mean whereby we receive Grace, because Baptism is a Sacrament which God hath instituted in his Church, to the end, that they which receive the same, might thereby be [h] incorporated into Christ; and so through his most precious Merit obtain, as well that saving Grace of Imputation which taketh away [i] all former guiltiness, as also that [k] infused Divine Vertue of the Holy Ghost, which giveth to the Powers of the Soul their first disposition towards future newness of life. There are that elevate too much the ordinary and immediate means of life, relying wholly upon the bare conceit of that Eternal Election, which notwithstanding, includeth a subordination of means, without which, we are not actually brought to enjoy what God secretly did intend; and therefore to build upon Gods Election, if we keep not our selves to the ways which he hath appointed for men to walk in, is but a self-deceiving vanity. When the Apostle saw men called to the participation of Jesus Christ. after the Gospel of God embraced, and the Sacrament of Life received, he feareth not [l] then to put them in the number of Elect Saints; he [m] then accounteth them delivered from death, and clean purged from all sin. Till then, notwithstanding their preordination unto life, which none could know of, saving God; what were they in the Apostles own [n] account, but Children of Wrath, as well as others, plain Aliens, altogether without hope, strangers, utterly without God in this present World? So that by Sacraments, and other sensible tokens of Grace, we may boldly gather that he, whose Mercy vouchsafeth now to bestow the means, hath also long sithence intended us that whereunto they lead. But let us never think it safe to presume of our own last end, by bare conjectural Collections of his first intent and purpose, the means failing that should come between. Predestination bringeth not to life, without the Grace of External [o] Vocation, wherein our Baptism is implied. For, as we are not Naturally men without birth, so neither are we Christian men in the eye of the Church of God, but by New birth; nor according to the manifest ordinary course of Divine Dispensation new born, but by that Baptism which both declareth and maketh us Christians. In which respect, we justly hold

[a] Ἀναγκαῖον λέγω οὐ ἄνευ ἣν ἐνδέχ(ε)ται ὡς τύπον· ἢ ὧν ἄνευ τὸ ἀγαθὸν μὴ ἐνδέχ(ε)ται ἢ εἶναι ἢ γένεσθαι, ἢ τι ναὸν ἀπὸ βαλεῖν, ἢ σεπτὸν εἶναι. Necessarium id dicitur, sine quo ut concausa, fieri non potest ut vivatur: Et ea sine quibus fieri nequit ut bonum aut sit aut fiat; vel malum aliquod amoveatur, aut non adsit. *Arist.* Metaph. 5. cap. 5.

[b] Joh. 3. 3.

[c] Vers. 5.

[d] Ephes. 5. 26.

[e] Tit. 3. 5.

[f] Acts 2. 38.

[g] Fideles salutem ex istis Elementis non quærunt, etiamsi in istis quærunt. Non enim ista tribuunt quod per ista tribuitur. *Hugo* de Sacram lib. 1. cap. 3.

[h] Susceptus à Christo, Christumque suscipiens, non idem fit post lavacrum qui ante Baptismum fuit; sed corpus regenerati fit caro crucifixi. *Leo.* Serm. 4. de Pas. Dom.

[i] Caro abluitur ut anima emaculetur. *Tert.* de Carn. Resur.

Homo per aquam Baptismi licet à sordis idem esse videatur, intus tamen alter efficitur; cum peccato natus sine peccato renascitur; prioribus perit, succedentibus proficit; deterioribus exuitur; in meliora innovatur persona tingitur, & natura mutatur. *Euseb.* Emis. de *Epiphan.* Homil. 3. Τελειοῖ γέννησιν ἡμῶν δίδυμον ὁ λόγος, τὸ ἐκ σώματος, τὸ ἐκ βαπτίσματος, τὸ ἐξ ἀναστάσεως. Αὐτὰ μὲν ἡ τοῦ βαπτίσματος χάρις καὶ δύναμις οὐ κόσμῳ κατακλυσμὸν ὡς πάλαι, τὴ δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον ἁμαρτίας κάθαρσιν ἔχουσα. *Gregor.* Homil. de Sanct. Bapt. Unde genitalis auxilio superioris ævi labe detersa in expiatum pectus ac purum desuper se lumen infundit. *Cypr.* Epist. ad Donat. Οὐ μόνον τῆς παλαιῶν ἁμαρτημάτων δωρεᾶται τὴ ἄφεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς ἐπαγγελμένων ἐντίδοσιν ἀγαθῶν, καὶ τοῦ δεσποτικοῦ σώματος καθίστησι κοινωνούς, καὶ τὴ τοῦ πνεύματος δωρεᾶς τὴ μετουσίαν χαρίζεται. *Theodoret.* Epito. Divin. Dogmat. Baptisari, est purgari à sordibus peccatorum, & donari varia Dei gratia ad vitam novam & innocentem. Confess. Helvet. cap. 20. [l] Eph. 1. 1. [m] Eph. 5. 8. [n] Eph. 2. 3. 12. [o] Rom. 8. 30.

it to be the Door of our Actual Entrance into Gods House, the first apparent [p] beginning of Life, a Seal perhaps to the [q] Grace of Election before received; but to our Sanctification here, a step that hath not any before it. There were of the old *Valentinian* Hereticks, some which had Knowledge in such admiration, that to it they ascribed all, and so despised the Sacraments of Christ, pretending, That as Ignorance had made us subject to all misery, so the full Redemption of the Inward Man, and the Work of our Restauration, must needs belong unto Knowledge onely. They draw very near unto this Error, who fixing wholly their mindes on the known necessity of Faith, [r] imagine, that nothing but Faith is necessary for the attainment of all Grace. Yet is it a Branch of Belief, that Sacraments are in their place no less required then Belief it self. For when our Lord and Saviour promiseth Eternal Life, is it any otherwise, then as he promised Restitution of health unto *Naaman* the *Syrian*, namely, with this condition, [t] *Wash and be clean?* or as to them which were stung of Serpents, health by [u] beholding the Brazen Serpent? If Christ himself which giveth Salvation do [x] require Baptism; it is not for us that look for Salvation, to sound and examine him, whether unbaptized men may be saved; but seriously to [y] do that which is required, and religiously to fear the danger which may grow by the want thereof. Had Christ onely declared his Will to have all men Baptized, and not acquainted us with any cause why Baptism is necessary, our ignorance in the reason of that he enjoyneth, might perhaps have hindered somewhat the forwardness of our obedience thereunto: Whereas now being taught, that Baptism is necessary to take away sin, how have we the fear of God in our hearts, if care of delivering Mens Souls from sin, do not move us to use all means for their Baptism? [z] *Pelagius* which denied utterly the guilt of Original sin, and in that respect, the necessity of Baptism, did notwithstanding both Baptize Infants, and acknowledge their Baptism necessary for entrance into the Kingdom of God. Now the Law of Christ, which in these considerations maketh Baptism necessary, must be construed and understood according to Rules of [a] Natural Equity. Which Rules, if they themselves did not follow in expounding the Law of God, would they ever be able to prove, that [b] the Scripture, in saying, *Who-so believeth not the Gospel of Christ, is condemned already*; meaneth this sentence of those which can hear the Gospel, and have discretion when they hear to understand it; neither ought it to be applied unto Infants, Deaf-men, and Fools? That which teacheth them thus to interpret the Law of Christ, is Natural Equity. And (because Equity so teacheth) it is on all parts gladly confest, *That there may be in divers cases* Life by vertue of inward Baptism, even where outward is not found. So that if any question be made, it is but about the bounds and limits of this possibility. For example, to think that a man whose Baptism the Crown of Martyrdom preventeth, doth lose, in that case, the happiness which so many thousands enjoy, that onely have had the Grace to Believe, and not the Honor to seal the testimony thereof with Death, were almost barbarous. Again, When [c] some certain opinative men in St. *Bernards* time began privately to hold that, because our Lord hath said, *Unless a Man be born again of Water*, therefore life, without either Actual Baptism, or Martyrdom in stead of Baptism, cannot possibly be obtained at the hands of God; *Bernard* considering, that the same equity which had moved them to think the necessity of Baptism no Bar against the happy estate of Unbaptized Martyrs, is as forcible for the warrant of their Salvation, in whom, although there be not the Sufferings of holy Martyrs, there are the Vertues which sanctified those Sufferings, and made them precious in Gods sight, professed himself an enemy to that severity and strictness which admitteth no exception but of Martyrs onely. For, saith he, if a Man desirous of Baptism, be suddenly cut off by Death, in whom there wanted neither sound Faith, devout Hope, not sincere Charity (God be merciful unto me, and pardon me if I err) but verily of such a ones Salvation, in whom there is no other defect besides his faultless lack of Baptism; despair I cannot, nor induce my minde to think his Faith void, his Hope con-

[p] Ἀρχὴ μὲν ζωῆς τὸ βάπτισμα. *Basil. de Spir. Sanct. cap. 10.*

[q] *T. C. lib. 3. pag. 134.* He which is not a Christian before he come to receive Baptism, cannot be made a Christian by Baptism; which is onely the Seal of the Grace of God before received.

[r] *Iren. contra Hæres. lib. 1. cap. 18.*

[s] Hic ecclesiasticos illi provocant quæstiones. Adeo dicunt, Baptismus non est necessarius quibus fides satis est. *Tert. de Baptis.* Huic nulla proderit fides, qui, cum possit, non percipit Sacramentum. *Bern. Epist. 70. ad Hugon.*

[t] 2 Kings 5. 14.

[u] Numb. 21. 8.

[x] Mark 16. 16.

[y] Institutio Sacramentorum quantum ad Deum Authorem, dispensationis est; quantum vero ad hominem obedientem, necessitatis. Quoniam in potestate Dei est præter ista hominem salvare, sed in potestate hominis non est sine istis ad salutem pervenire. *Hugo. de Sacra. lib. 1. cap. 5.*

[z] *Pelagius* asserere arrepta impietate præsumit non propter vitam, sed propter regnum Cœlorum Baptismum parvulis conferendum. *Euseb. Emiss. Hom. 5. de Pasch.*

[a] Benignius leges interpretandæ sunt, quò voluntas earum conservetur. *L. Benign. D. de legib. & Senatusc.*

[b] *T. C. lib. 1. pag. 143.*

[c] *Bern. Epist. 70. ad Hugonem.*

founded,

founded, and his Charity faln to nothing, onely becauſe he hath not that which not contempt but impoſſibility with-holdeth. *Tell me, I beſeech you,* (ſaith *Ambroſe*) *what there is in any of us, more then to will, and to ſeek for our own good. Thy Servant* Valentinian, *O Lord, did both.* (For *Valentinian* the Emperor died before his purpoſe to receive Baptiſm could take effect.) *And is it poſſible, that he which had purpoſely thy Spirit given him to deſire Grace, ſhould not receive thy Grace which that Spirit did deſire? Doth it move you, that the outward accuſtomed Solemnities were not done? As though Converts that ſuffer Martyrdom before Baptiſm, did thereby forfeit their right to the Crown of Eternal Glory in the Kingdom of Heaven. If the Blood of Martyrs in that caſe be their Baptiſm, ſurely his religious deſire of Baptiſm ſtandeth him in the ſame ſtead.* It hath been therefore conſtantly held as well touching other Believers, as Martyrs, That Baptiſm, taken away by neceſſity, is ſupplied by deſire of Baptiſm, becauſe with Equity this opinion doth beſt ſtand. Touching Infants which die unbaptized, ſith they neither have the Sacrament it ſelf, nor any ſenſe or conceit thereof, the judgment of many hath gone hard againſt them. But yet ſeeing Grace is not abſolutely tied unto Sacraments; and beſides, ſuch is the lenity of God, that unto things altogether impoſſible, he bindeth no man; but, where we cannot do what is enjoyned us, accepteth our will to do in ſtead of the deed it ſelf. Again, For as much as there is in their Chriſtian Parents, and in the Church of God, a preſumed deſire, That the Sacrament of Baptiſm might be given them, yea, a purpoſe alſo that it ſhall be given; remorſe of Equity hath moved divers of the [a] School-Divines in theſe conſiderations, ingeuouſly to grant, That God, all-merciful to ſuch as are not in themſelves able to deſire Baptiſm, imputeth the ſecret deſire that others have in their behalf, and accepteth the ſame as theirs, rather then caſteth away their Souls, for that which no man is able to help. And of the Will of God to impart his Grace unto Infants without Baptiſm, in that caſe, the very circumſtance of their Natural Birth may ſerve as a juſt Argument; whereupon it is not to be miſliked, that men in charitable preſumption do gather a great likelihood of their Salvation, to whom the benefit of Chriſtian Parentage being given, the reſt that ſhould follow, is prevented by ſome ſuch caſualty, as man hath himſelf no power to avoid. For, we are plainly taught of God; [b] That the Seed of Faithful Parentage is holy from the very Birth. Which albeit, we may not ſo underſtand, as if the Children of Believing Parents were without Sin; or Grace, from Baptized Parents, derived by Propagation; or God, by Covenant and Promiſe, tied to ſave any in meer regard of their Parents Belief: Yet ſeeing, that to all Profeſſors of the Name of Chriſt, this pre-eminence above Infidels, is freely given; the fruit of their Bodies bringeth into the World with it, a preſent intereſt and right to thoſe means wherewith the Ordinance of Chriſt is, that his Church ſhall be ſanctified; it is not to be thought, that he which, as it were, from Heaven, hath nominated and deſigned them unto Holineſs by ſpecial priviledge of their very Birth, will himſelf deprive them of Regeneration and Inward Grace, onely becauſe neceſſity depriveth them of outward Sacraments. In which caſe, it were the part of Charity to hope, and to make men rather partial then cruel Judges, if we had not thoſe fair apparancies which here we have. Wherefore a neceſſity there is of Receiving, and a neceſſity of Adminiſtring the Sacrament of Baptiſm; the one peradventure not ſo abſolute as ſome have thought, but out of all peradventure the other more ſtraight and narrow, then that the Church which is by Office a Mother unto ſuch as crave at her hands the Sacred Myſtery of their new Birth, ſhould repel them; and ſee them die unſatisfied of theſe their Ghoſtly deſires, rather then give them their Souls Rights, with omiſſion of thoſe things which ſerve [c] but onely for the more convenient and orderly Adminiſtration thereof. For as on the one ſide we grant, that thoſe ſentences of holy Scripture which make Sacraments moſt neceſſary to eternal life, are no prejudice to their Salvation, that want them by ſome inevitable neceſſity, and without any fault of their own: So it ought, in reaſon, to be likewiſe acknowledged, that for as much as our Lord himſelf maketh Baptiſm neceſſary, neceſſary whether we reſpect the good received by Baptiſm, or the Teſtimony thereby yielded unto God, of that Humility and meek Obedience, which repoſing wholly it ſelf on the abſolute Authority of his Commandment;

and

Qui ad tolerandam omnem pro Dei gloria injuriam ſemel dicavit animum in Martyrium, mihi videtur implêſſe. Summi ergo meriti eſt ſemel fixiſſe ſententiam, atque ideo, ut dixi, ratio principatum obtinet paſſionis, & ſi ſors perpetiendi defeget facultatem, pertulit tamen; cuncta quæ voluit paſſus. *Joſeph.* lib. de Imper. Ration.

[a] *Gerſ.* Serm. in Nativit. Beatæ Mar. *Cajetan.* in 3. *Tho.* 9. 68. Art. 1. & 2. *Biel.* in 4. Senten d. 4. q 2. *Tilman. Segeberg.* de Sacr. cap. 1. *Eliſius Neapol.* in Clyp. Adverſ. Hæreſ. cap. de Baptiſ.

[b] 1 Cor. 7. 12.

[c] *T. C.* lib. 3. pag. 218. It is in queſtion, whether there be any ſuch neceſſity of Baptiſm, as that for the Miniſtring thereof, the common decent Orders ſhould be broken.

and on the Truth of his Heavenly Promise, doubteth not but from Creatures despicable in their own condition and substance, to obtain Grace of inestimable value; or rather not from them, but from him, yet by them, as by his appointed means. Howsoever he, by the secret ways of his own incomprehensible Mercy, may be thought to save without Baptism; this cleareth not the Church from guiltiness of Blood, if through her superfluous scrupulosity, lets and impediments of less regard should cause a Grace of so great moment to be withheld, wherein our mercileſs strictness may be our own harm, although not theirs towards whom we shew it; and we for the hardness of our hearts may perish, albeit they through Gods unspeakable Mercy do live. God which did not afflict that Innocent, whose Circumcision *Moses* had over-long deferred, took revenge upon *Moses* himself, for the injury which was done through so great neglect; giving us thereby to understand, that they whom Gods own Mercy saveth without us, are on our parts notwithstanding, and as much as in us lieth, even destroyed; when under unsufficient pretences, we defraud them of such ordinary outward helps, as we should exhibit. We have for Baptism no day set, as the Jews had for Circumcision; neither have we by the Law of God, but onely by the Churches discretion, a place thereunto appointed. Baptism therefore, even in the meaning of the Law of Christ, belongeth unto Infants capable thereof, from the * very instant of their Birth. Which if they have not howsoever, rather then lose it by being put off, because the time, the place, or some such like circumstance doth not solemnly enough concur, the Church, as much as in her lieth, wilfully casteth away their Souls.

Exod. 4. 24.

* In omnibus obligationibus in quibus dies non ponitur, præsenti die debetur. Lib. 14. D. de Reg. Jur.

61. The Ancients, it may be, were too severe, and made the necessity of Baptism more absolute then Reason would, as touching Infants. But will [a] any man say, that they, notwithstanding their too much rigor herein, did not in that respect sustain and tolerate defects of Local, or of Personal Solemnities, belonging to the Sacrament of Baptism? The Apostles themselves did neither use nor appoint for Baptism, any certain time. The Church for general Baptism heretofore, made choice of two chief days in the year; the Feast of *Easter*, and the Feast of *Pentecost*. Which Custom, when certain Churches in *Sicily* began to violate without cause, they were by [b] *Leo*, Bishop of *Rome*, advised, rather to conform themselves to the rest of the World in things so reasonable, then to offend mens mindes through needless singularity: Howbeit, always providing, That nevertheless in apparent peril of death, danger of siege, streights of persecution, fear of shipwrack, and the like exigents; no respect of times should cause this singular defence of true safety to be denied unto any. This of *Leo* did but confirm that sentence, which [c] *Victor* had many years before given, extending the same exception, as well unto places as times. That which St. *Augustine* speaketh of Women, hasting to bring their children to the Church when they saw danger, is a weak proof, *That when necessity did not leave them so much time*, it was not then permitted them neither to make a Church of their own home. Which answer discharged likewise their example of a sick Jew, carried in a Bed to the place of Baptism, and not baptized at home in private. The cause why such kinde of Baptism barred men afterwards from entring into holy Orders, the reason wherefore it was objected against *Novatian*, in what respect, and how far forth it did disable, may be gathered by the Twelfth Canon, set down in the Council of *Neocæsarea*, after this manner. *A man which hath been baptized in sickness, is not after to be ordained Priest.* For it may be thought, *That such do rather at that time, because they see no other remedy, then of a voluntary minde, lay hold on the Christian Faith, unless their true and sincere meaning be made afterwards the more manifest, or else the scarcity of others inforce the Church to admit them.* They bring in *Justinians* Imperial Constitution, but to what purpose? seeing it onely forbiddeth men to have the Mysteries of God administred in their Private Chappels, lest under that pretence, Hereticks

What things in Baptism have been dispenced with by the Fathers, respecting necessity.

[a] *T. C.* lib. 1. pag. 146. The Authors themselves of that Error, that they cannot be saved which are not baptized, did never seek a remedy of the mischief, in Womens or Private Baptism. *T. C.* lib 3. p. 219. What plainer Testimony can there be then that of *Augustine*; which noteth the use of the Church to have been, to come to the Church with their Children in danger of death, and that when some had opinion, that their

Children could not be saved, if they were not baptized, *Cont.* Lit. *Parm.* lib. 2. cap. 13. I would also know of him what he will answer to that, which is noted of a Christian Jew desperately sick of the Palsie, that was with his Bed carried to the place of Baptism, *Socr.* lib. 7. c. 4. What will he answer to this, That those which were baptized in their Beds, were thereby made unapt to have any place amongst the Clergy (as they call them?) doth it not leave a note of infamy in those, which had procured that Baptism should be ministred in private houses? *Euseb.* lib. 6. cap. 43. What unto the Emperors Decree, which upon authority of the ancient Laws, and of the Apostles, forbiddeth, That the holy things should be administred in any mans house? *Just. Novel.* 57. [c] *Leo.* Epist. 4. an Episc. Cicil. [k] *Vict.* Epist. ad *Theoph. Alexand.* in *Pontif. Damasc.*

should

should do secretly those things which were unlawful? In which consideration he therefore commandeth, that if they would use those private Oratories otherwise then onely for their private Prayers, the Bishop should appoint them a Clerk, whom they might entertain for that purpose. This is plain by latter Constitutions, made in the time of *Leo*: *It was thought good* (saith the Emperor) *in their judgment which have gone before, that in private Chappels none should celebrate the holy Communion, but Priests belonging unto greater Churches. Which Order they took as it seemeth for the custody of Religion; lest men should secretly receive from Hereticks, in stead of the food, the bane of their Souls, pollution in place of expiation.* Again, *Whereas a Sacred Canon of the Sixth Reverend Synod requireth Baptism, as others have likewise the holy Sacrifices and Mysteries, to be celebrated onely in Temples hallowed for publick use, and not in private Oratories; which strict Decrees appear to have been made heretofore in regard of Hereticks, which entred closely into such mens houses as favored their opinions, whom, under colour of performing with them such Religious Offices, they drew from the soundness of true Religion: Now that perverse Opinions, through the Grace of Almighty God, are extinct and gone, the cause of former restraints being taken away we see no reason but that private Oratories may hence forward enjoy that liberty, which to have granted them heretofore, had not been safe.* In sum, all these things alledged are nothing, nor will it ever be proved while the World doth continue, but that the practice of the Church in cases of extream necessity, hath made for private Baptism always more then against it. Yea, *Baptism by any man in the case of necessity*, was the [a] voice of the whole World heretofore. Neither is *Tertullian*, *Epiphanius*, *Augustine*, or any other of the Ancient against it. The boldness of such, as pretending *Teclaes* example, took openly upon them both Baptism, and all other Publick Functions of Priesthood, *Tertullian* severely controlleth, saying, [b] *To give Baptism is in truth the Bishops Right: After him it belongeth unto Priests and Deacons; but not to them without authority from him received. For so the honor of the Church requireth, which being kept, preserveth peace. Were it not in this respect, the Laity might do the same; all sorts might give, even as all sorts receive.* But because Emulation is the Mother of Schisms, *Let it content thee* (which art of the order of Lay-men) *to do it in necessity, when the state of time, or place, or person thereunto compelleth. For then is their boldness priviledged that help, when the circumstance of other mens dangers craveth it.* What he granteth generally to Lay-persons of the House of God, the same we cannot suppose he denieth to any sort or sex contained under that name, unless himself did restrain the limits of his own speech; especially seeing that *Tertullians* rule of interpretation is [b] elswhere, *Specialties are signified under that which is general, because they are therein comprehended.* All which *Tertullian* doth [c] deny, is, That Women may be called to bear, or publickly take upon them to execute Offices of Ecclesiastical Order, whereof none but men are capable. As for *Epiphanius*, he striketh on the very self-same Anvil with *Tertullian*. And in necessity, if St. *Augustine* alloweth as much unto Laymen, as *Tertullian* doth, his not mentioning of Women, is but a slender proof that his meaning was to exclude Women. Finally, the Council of *Carthage* likewise, although it make no express submission, may be very well presumed willing to stoop, as other Positive Ordinances do, to the countermands of necessity. Judge therefore what the Antients would have thought, if in their days it had been heard, which is published in ours, [d] that because, *The Substance of the Sacrament doth chiefly depend on the Institution of God, which is the form, and as it were the life of the Sacrament*; therefore first, *If the whole Institution be not kept, it is no Sacrament*; and secondly, If Baptism be private, his Institution is broken, in as much as *according to*

Leo, Const. 4.

Idem, Const. 15.

a *T. C.* lib. 1. pag. 145. To allow of Womens Baptising, is not onely contrary to the learned Writers now, but also contrary to all learned Antiquity, and contrary to the practise of the Church whilest there was any tolerable estate. *Tertul.* de Virgin. Veland. & lib. de Baptis. *Epipha.* lib. 1. & lib. 2. cont. Hæres S. *Augustine* although he seem to allow of a Lay-mans Baptism in time of necessity, Conc. Epist. *Parmen.* lib. 2. cap. 13. Yet there he mentioneth not Womens Baptism; and in the Fourth Council of *Carthage*, cap. 100. It is

simply, without exception decreed, That a Woman ought not to Baptize. *Tertul.* de Baptis. *b* Subjectum est generali speciale. In ipso significatur, quia in ipso continetur. *Tertul.* de Veland. Virg. Posito genere, supponitur species. *Aug.* in lib. 2. cap. de Transact. *c* Non permittitur mulieri in ecclesia loqui, sed nec docere, nec tingere, nec offerre, nec ullius virilis muneris nedum sacerdotalis officii sortem sibi vendicare. *Tertul.* de Veland. Virg. *d* *T. C.* lib. 1. pag 144. The Substance of the Sacrament dependeth chiefly of the Institution and Word of God, which is the Form, and, as it were, the Life of the Sacrament. *T. C.* lib. 1. pag. 144. Although part of the Institution be observed, yet if the whole Institution be not, it is no Sacrament. *T. C.* lib. 1. pag. 146. The Orders which God hath set, are, That it should be done in the Congregation, and by the Minister. *T. C.* lib. 1. pag. 146. And I will further say, That although the Infants which die without Baptism, should be assuredly damned (which is most false,) yet ought not the Orders which God hath set in his Church, be broken after this sort.

the orders which he hath set for Baptism, it should be done in the Congregation; from whose Ordinance in this point, *we ought not to swerve, although we know that Infants should be assuredly damned without Baptism.* O Sir, you that would spurn thus at such, as in case of so dreadful extremity should lie prostrate before your feet; you that would turn away your face from them at the hour of their most need; you that would dam up your ears, and harden your hearts as Iron, against the unresistable cries of Supplicants, calling upon you for mercy with terms of such invocation, as that most dreadful perplexity might minister, if God by miracle did open the mouths of Infants, to express their supposed necessity, should first imagine your self in their case, and them in yours. This done, let their Supplications proceed out of your mouth, and your answer out of theirs. Would you then contentedly hear, *My Son, the Rites and Solemnities of Baptism must be kept; we may not do ill, that good may come of it; neither are Souls to be delivered from eternal death and condemnation, by breaking Orders which Christ hath set:* Would you in their case your self be shaken off with these answers, and not rather embrace, inclosed with both your arms, a sentence, which now is no Gospel unto you, *I will have Mercy, and not Sacrifice?* To acknowledge Christs Institution, the ground of both Sacraments, I suppose, no Christian man will refuse: For it giveth them their very Nature, it appointeth the Matter whereof they consist, the Form of their Administration it teacheth; and it blesseth them with that Grace, whereby to us they are both Pledges and Instruments of life. Nevertheless, seeing Christs Institution containeth, besides that which maketh compleat the Essence or Nature, other things that only are parts, as it were, of the Furniture of Sacraments; the difference between these two must unfold that which the general terms of indefinite speech would confound. If the place appointed for Baptism, be a part of Christs Institution, it is but his Institution as Sacrifice, Baptism his Institution as Mercy: In this case, He which requireth both Mercy and Sacrifice, rejecteth his own Institution of Sacrifice, where the Offering of Sacrifice would hinder Mercy from being shewed: External Circumstances even in the holiest and highest actions, are but the *lesser things of the Law*, whereunto those actions themselves being compared, are the greater; and therefore as the greater are of such importance, that they must be done; so in that extremity before supposed if our account of the lesser which are not to be omitted, should cause omission of that which is more to be accounted of, were not this our strict obedience to Christs Institution touching Mint and Cummin, a disobedience to his Institution concerning Love? But sith no Institution of Christ hath so strictly tied Baptism to publick Assemblies, as it hath done all men unto Baptism; away with these merciless and bloody sentences, let them never be found standing in the Books and Writings of a Christian man; they savor not of Christ, nor of his most gracious and meek Spirit, but under colour of exact obedience, they nourish cruelty and hardness of heart.

Nostro peccato alterius saluti consulere non debemus. *Aug.* lib. cont. Mend. cap. 17.

Matth. 9. 13.

Matth. 23. 23.

62. To leave Private Baptism therefore, and to come unto Baptism by Women, which they say [a], is no more a Sacrament, then any other ordinary Washing or Bathing of a Mans Body: The reason whereupon, they ground their opinion herein is such, as making Baptism by Women void, because Women are no Ministers in the Church of God, must needs generally annihilate the Baptism of all unto whom their conceit shall apply this exception, Whether it be in regard of Sex, of Quality, of Insufficiency, or whatsoever. For if want of Calling do frustrate Baptism, they that Baptize without Calling do nothing, be they Women or Men. To make Women Teachers in the House of God, were a gross absurdity, seeing the Apostle hath said, [b] *I permit not a Woman to teach.* And again, [c] *Let your Women in Churches be silent.* Those extraordinary gifts of speaking with Tongues and Prophecying, which God at that time did not only bestow upon Men, but on Women also, made it the harder to hold them confined with private bounds. Whereupon the Apostles Ordinance was necessary against Womens publick Admission to teach. And because, when Law hath begun some one thing or other

Whether Baptism by Women, be true Baptism, good and effectual to them that receive it.

a *T. C.* lib. 1. pag. 144. On this point, whether he be a Minister, or no; dependeth not only the dignity, but also the being of the Sacrament. So that I take the Baptism of Women to be no more the holy Sacrament of Baptism, then any other daily or ordinary washing of the Childe. b 1 Tim. 2. 12. c 1 Tim. 14. 34.

well, it giveth good occaſion, either to draw by Judicious Expoſition out of the very Law it ſelf, or to annex to the Law by Authority and Juriſdiction, things of like conveniency; therefore *Clement* extendeth this Apoſtolick Conſtitution to Baptiſm. *For* (ſaith he) *if we have denied them leave to teach, how ſhould any man diſpence with Nature, and make them Miniſters of holy things; ſeeing this unskilfulneſs is a part of the Grecians impiety, which for the ſervice of Women-Goddeſſes, have Women-Prieſts?* I ſomewhat marvel, that Men which would not willingly be thought to ſpeak or write, but with good conſcience, dare hereupon openly avouch *Clement* for a witneſs, *That, as, when the Church began not onely to decline, but to fall away from the ſincerity of Religion, it borrowed a number of other prophanations of the Heathens; ſo it borrowed this; and would needs have Women-Prieſts, as the Heathens had; and that this was one occaſion of bringing Baptiſm by Women into the Church of God.* Is it not plain in their own eyes, that firſt by an evidence which forbiddeth Women to be Miniſters of Baptiſm, they endeavor to ſhew how Women were admitted unto that Function in the wain and declination of Chriſtian Piety. Secondly, That by an evidence, rejecting the Heathens, and condemning them of Impiety, they would prove ſuch affection towards Heathens, as ordereth the Affairs of the Church by the pattern of their example: And Thirdly, That out of an evidence which nameth the Heathens, as being in ſome part a reaſon why the Church had no Women-Prieſts, they gather, the Heathens to have been one of the firſt occaſions why it had. So that throughout every branch of this teſtimony, their iſſue is, Yea; and their evidence directly No. But to Womens Baptiſm in private, by occaſion of urgent neceſſity, the reaſons that onely concern Ordinary Baptiſm in publick, are no juſt prejudice; neither can we by force thereof, diſprove the practice of thoſe Churches which (neceſſity requiring) allow Baptiſm in private to be Adminiſtred by Women. We may not from Laws that prohibite any thing with reſtraint, conclude abſolute and unlimited prohibitions: Although we deny not, but they which utterly forbid ſuch Baptiſm, may have perhaps wherewith to juſtifie their orders againſt it. For, even things lawful are [a] well prohibited, when there is fear leſt they make the way to unlawful more eaſie. And it may be, the Liberty of Baptiſm by Women at ſuch times, doth ſometimes embolden the raſher ſort to do it where no ſuch neceſſity is. But whether of Permiſſion beſides Law, or in Preſumption againſt Law they do it, is it thereby altogether fruſtrate, void, and as though it were never given? They which have not at the firſt their right Baptiſm, muſt of neceſſity be Rebaptized, becauſe the Law of Chriſt treth all men to receive Baptiſm. Iteration of Baptiſm once given, hath been always thought a manifeſt contempt of that Ancient Apoſtolick Aphoriſm, [b] *One Lord, One Faith, One Baptiſm:* Baptiſm not onely one, in as much as it hath every where the ſame Subſtance, and offereth unto all men the ſame Grace; but one alſo, for that it ought not to be received by any one man above once. We ſerve that Lord which is but one, becauſe no other can be joyned with him: We embrace that Faith which is but one; becauſe it admitteth no innovation: That Baptiſm we receive which is but one, becauſe it cannot be received often. For how ſhould we practice Iteration of Baptiſm, and yet teach, that we are by Baptiſm born anew: That by Baptiſm we are admitted unto the Heavenly Society of Saints, that thoſe things be really and effectually done by Baptiſm, which are no more poſſible to be often done, [c] then a man can naturally be often born, or civilly be often adopted into any ones Stock and Family? This alſo is the cauſe, why they that preſent us unto Baptiſm, are entituled for ever after, our Parents in God; and the reaſon why there we receive new names, in token, that by Baptiſm we are made new Creatures. As Chriſt hath therefore died, and riſen from the dead but once; ſo that Sacrament, which both extinguiſheth in him our former ſin, and beginneth in us a new condition of life, is by one onely Actual Adminiſtration for ever available; according to that in the *Nicene* Creed, *I believe one Baptiſm for*

Clem. Conſt. Apoſtol. lib 2. cap. 9.

T. C. lib. 1. pag. 144.

[a] Licita prohibentur, ne, ſi permitterentur, eorum occaſione perveniatur ad illicita. Lib. neque tamen. *Juſt.* de *Juſtin.* Tut. lib. Officium. D. de rei Vind.

[b] Epheſ. 4. 5.

[c] Una eſt Nativitas de terrâ, alia de cœlo; una de carne, alia de Spiritu; Una de æternitate, alia de mortalitate; una de maſculo & fœmina, alia de Deo & Eccleſia. Sed ipſæ duæ ſingulares ſunt. Quo modo enim uterus non poteſt repeti, ſic nec Baptiſmus iterari. *Proſp.* Senten. 331. Ea fratres lacteum geniralis fontis ad laticem convolare, ut ſemper vobis aqua ſufficiat, hoc ante omnia ſcientes quia hanc nec effundere licet nec rurſus haurire. *Zenoph.* Invit. ad Font.

remiſſion

remission of sins. And because second Baptism was ever abhorred in the Church of God, as a kinde of incestuous Birth, they that iterate Baptism, are driven under some pretence or other, to make the former Baptism void. *Tertullian*, the first that proposed to the Church; *Agrippinus* the first in the Church that accepted, and against the use of the Church; *Novatianus* the first, that publickly began to practice Rebaptization, did it therefore upon these two grounds; a true perswasion, that Baptism is necessary; and a false, that the Baptism which others administred was no Baptism. *Novatianus* his conceit was, that none can administer true Baptism, but the true Church of Jesus Christ; that he and his followers alone, were the Church; and for the rest, he accounted them wicked and prophane persons, such as by Baptism could cleanse no man, unless they first did purifie themselves, and reform the faults wherewith he charged them. At which time, St. *Cyprian* with the greatest part of African Bishops, because they likewise thought, that none but onely the true Church of God can Baptize; and were of nothing more certainly perswaded, then that Hereticks are as rotten Branches cut off from the Life and Body of the true Church, gathered hereby, That the Church of God both may with good consideration, and ought to reverse that Baptism which is given by Hereticks. These held and practised their own opinion, yet with great Protestations often made, that they neither loved awhit the less, nor thought in any respect the worse of them that were of a contrary minde. In requital of which ingenuous moderation, the rest that withstood them, did it in peaceable sort, with very good regard had of them, as of men in Error, but not in Heresie. The Bishop of *Rome* against their Novelties, upheld, as beseemed him, the ancient and true Apostolick Customs, till they which unadvisedly before had erred, became in a manner all [a] reconciled friends unto Truth, and saw that Heresie in the Ministers of Baptism, could no way evacuate the force thereof: [b] Such Heresie alone excepted, as by reason of unsoundness in the highest Articles of Christian Faith, presumed to change, and by changing to maim the Substance, the Form of Baptism. In which respect, the Church did neither simply disannul, nor absolutely ratifie Baptism by Hereticks. For the Baptism which Novatianists gave, stood firm; whereas they whom [c] Samosotenians had baptized, were rebaptized. It was likewise ordered in the Council of *Arles* [d], That if any Arian did reconcile himself to the Church, they should admit him without new Baptism, unless by examination they found him not baptized in the Name of the Trinity. *Dionysius*, Bishop of *Alexandria* [e], maketh report, how there lived under him a man of good reputation, and of very ancient continuance in that Church, who being present at the Rites of Baptism, and observing with better consideration then ever before, what was there done, came, and with weeping submission craved of his Bishop, not to deny him Baptism, the due of all which profess Christ, seeing it had been so long sithence his evil hap to be deceived by the fraud of Hereticks, and at their hands (which till now, he never throughly and duly weighed) to take a Baptism full fraught with blasphemous impieties; a Baptism in nothing like unto that which the true Church of Christ useth. The Bishop was greatly moved thereat, yet durst not adventure to Rebaptize, but did the best he could to put him in good comfort, using much perswasion with him not to trouble himself with things that were past and gone, nor after so long continuance in the Fellowship of Gods people, to call now in question his first entrance. The poor man that saw himself in this sort answered, but not satisfied, spent afterwards his life in continual perplexity, whereof the Bishop remained fearful to give release; perhaps too fearful, if the Baptism were such as his own Declaration importeth. For that, the substance whereof was rotten at the very first, is never by tract of time able to recover soundness. And where true Baptism was not before given, the case of Rebaptization is clear. But by this it appeareth, that Baptism is not void in regard of Heresie, and therefore much less through any other Moral defect in the Minister thereof. Under which second pretence, Donatists notwithstanding, took upon them to make frustrate

August. de Bapt. de Don. lib. 2. cap. 14. *Tert.* de Bapt. *Cypr.* Epist. 71.

Euseb. lib. 7. cap. 1, 2, 3. *Cypr.* Epist. 70, 71, 72 73, 74, 75, 76.

[a] Illi ipsi Episcopi qui Rebaptizandos Hæreticos cum *Cypriano* statuerant, ad antiquam consuetudinem revoluti novum emisêre decretum. *Hierom.* cont. *Lucifer.* Vide & *August.* cont. *Cresc.* lib. 3. cap. 2, 3. & Epist. 48.

[b] Dixisti fieri non posse ut in falso Baptismate inquinatus abluat, immundus emunder, supplantator erigat, perditus liberet, reus veniam tribuat, damnatus absolvat. Bene hæc omnia poterunt ad solos Hæreticos pertinere, qui falsaverunt Symbolum, dum alter dixerit duos Deos cum Deus unus sit, alter Patrem vult in persona Filii cognosci, alter carnem sub lucens Filio Dei per quam Deo reconciliatus est mundus: Et cæteri hujusmodi, qui à Sacramentis Catholicis alieni noscuntur. *Optat.* lib. 1. [c] Synod. *Nicæ.* cap. 19. [d] Synod. 1. *Arelat.* cap. 8. [e] *Euseb.* Eccles. Hist lib. 7. cap. 8.

the Churches Baptiſm, and themſelves to Rebaptize their own fry. For whereas ſome forty years after the Martyrdom of Bleſſed *Cyprian*, the Emperor *Diocleſian* began to perſecute the Church of Chriſt; and for the ſpeedier aboliſhment of their Religion, to burn up their Sacred Books; there were in the Church it ſelf Traditors, content to deliver up the Books of God by compoſition, to the end, their own lives might be ſpared. Which men growing thereby odious to the reſt, whoſe conſtancy was greater; it fortuned that after, when one *Cæcilian* was ordained Biſhop in the Church of *Carthage*, whom others endeavored in vain to defeat by excepting againſt him as a Traditor, they whoſe accuſations could not prevail, deſperately joyned themſelves in one, and made a Biſhop of their own crue, accounting from that day forward, their Faction, the onely true and ſincere Church. The firſt Biſhop on that part, was *Majorinus*, whoſe Succeſſor *Donatus*, being the firſt that wrote in defence of their Schiſm, the Birds that were hatched before by others, have their names from him. Arians and Donatiſts began both about one time. Which Hereſies according to the different ſtrength of their own ſinews, wrought as hope of ſucceſs led them; the one with the choiceſt wits, the other with the multitude, ſo far, that after long and troubleſome experience, the perfecteſt view men could take of both, was hardly able to induce any certain determinate reſolution, whether Error may do more by the curious ſubtilty of ſharp Diſcourſe, or elſe by the meer appearance of zeal and devout affection; the latter of which two aids, gave Donatiſts, beyond all mens expectation, as great a ſway as ever any Schiſm or Hereſie had within that reach of the Chriſtian World, where it bred and grew; the rather perhaps, becauſe the Church which neither greatly feared them, and beſides had neceſſary cauſe to bend it ſelf againſt others that aimed directly at a far higher mark, the Deity of Chriſt, was contented to let Donatiſts have their courſe, by the ſpace of Threeſcore years and above, even from Ten years before *Conſtantine*, till the time that *Optatus*, Biſhop of *Milevis*, publiſhed his Books againſt *Parmenian*. During which term, and the ſpace of that Schiſms continuance afterwards, they had, beſides many other Secular and Worldly means to help them forward, theſe ſpecial advantages. Firſt, the very occaſion of their breach with the Church of God, a juſt hatred and diſlike of Traditors, ſeemed plauſible; they eaſily perſwaded their hearers, that ſuch men could not be holy as held communion and fellowſhip with them that betrayed Religion. Again, when to dazle the eyes of the ſimple, and to prove, that it can be no Church which is not holy, they had in ſhew and ſound of words the glorious pretence of the Creed Apoſtolick, *I believe the holy Catholick Church:* We need not think it any ſtrange thing that with the multitude they gain credit. And avouching that ſuch as are not of the true Church, can adminiſter no true Baptiſm, they had for this point whole Volums of St. *Cyprians* own writing, together with the judgment of divers *Affrican* Synods, whoſe ſentence was the ſame with his. Whereupon, the Fathers were likewiſe in defence of their juſt cauſe very greatly prejudiced, both for that they could not inforce the duty of mens communion with a Church, confeſt to be in many things blame-worthy, unleſs they ſhould oftentimes ſeem to ſpeak as half-defenders of the faults themſelves, or at the leaſt not ſo vehement accuſers thereof, as their adverſaries; And to withſtand iteration of Baptiſm, the other Branch of the Donatiſts Hereſie was impoſſible, without manifeſt and profeſt rejection of *Cyprian*, whom the World univerſally did in his life time, admire as the greateſt among Prelates, and now honor as not the loweſt in the Kingdom of Heaven. So true we finde it by experience of all Ages in the Church of God, that the teachers error is the peoples tryal, harder and heavier by ſo much to bear, as he is in worth and regard greater, that miſ-perſwadeth them. Although there was odds between *Cyprians* cauſe and theirs, he differing from others of founder underſtanding in that point, but not dividing himſelf from the Body of the Church by Schiſm, as did the Donatiſts. For which cauſe, ſaith *Vincentius*, *Of one and the ſame opinion we judge (which may ſeem ſtrange) the Authors Catholick, and the followers heretical; we acquit the Maſters, and condemn the Scholars; they are Heirs of Heaven which have writen thoſe Books, the defenders whereof, are trodden down to the pit of Hell.* The Invectives of Catholick Writers therefore againſt them, are ſharp; the words of * Imperial Edicts by *Honorius* and *Theodoſius*, made to bridle them very

Circa An. 300.

Circa An. 370.

Vincent Lyren. Adverſ. Hæreſ. cap. 11.

* Vide *C. Theod.* lib. 16. tit. 6. lib. Adverſarios & lib. Nullus circa An. 405.

very bitter, the puniſhments ſevere in revenge of their folly. Howbeit, for fear (as we may conjecture) leſt much ſhould be derogated from the Baptiſm of the Church, and Baptiſm by Donatiſts be more eſteemed of then was meet; if on the one ſide, that which Hereticks had done ill, ſhould ſtand as good; on the other ſide, that be reverſed which the Catholick Church, had well and religiouſly done; divers better minded then adviſed men, thought it fitteſt to meet with this inconvenience, by Rebaptiſing Donatiſts, as well as they Rebaptized Catholicks. For ſtay whereof, the ſame Emperors ſaw it meet to give their Law a double edge, whereby it might equally, on both ſides, cut off not onely Hereticks which Rebaptized, whom they could pervert; but alſo Catholick and Chriſtian Prieſts which did the like unto ſuch as before had taken Baptiſm at the hands of Hereticks, and were afterwards reconciled to the Church of God. Donatiſts were therefore, in proceſs of time, though with much ado, wearied, and at the length worn out by the conſtancy of that Truth which teacheth, that evil Miniſters of good things are as Torches, a Light to others, a Waſte to none but themſelves onely; and that the foulneſs of their hands, can neither any whit impair the Vertue, nor ſtain the Glory of the Myſteries of Chriſt. Now that which was done amiſs by vertuous and good men, as *Cyprian* carried aſide with hatred againſt Hereſie; and was ſecondly followed by Donatiſts, whom Envy and Rancor, covered with ſhew of Godlineſs, made obſtinate to cancel whatſoever the Church did in the Sacrament of Baptiſm; hath of latter days, in another reſpect, far different from both the former, been brought freſhly again into practice. For the Anabaptiſt Rebaptizeth, becauſe, in his eſtimation, the Baptiſm of the Church is fruſtrate, for that we give it unto Infants which have not Faith; whereas, according unto Chriſts Inſtitution, as they conceive it, true Baptiſm ſhould always preſuppoſe Actual Belief in Receivers, and is otherwiſe no Baptiſm. Of theſe three Errors, there is not any but hath been able, at the leaſt, to alledge in defence of it ſelf, many fair probabilities. Notwithſtanding, ſith the Church of God hath hitherto always conſtantly maintained, that to Rebaptize them which are known to have received true Baptiſm is unlawful; that if Baptiſm ſeriouſly be adminiſtred in the ſame Element, and with the ſame form of words which Chriſts Inſtitution teacheth, there is no other defect in the World that can make it fruſtrate, or deprive it of the Nature of a true Sacrament: And laſtly, That Baptiſm is onely then to be re-adminiſtred, when the firſt delivery thereof is void, in regard of the forealledged imperfections, and no other: Shall we now in the caſe of Baptiſm, which having both for matter and form, the ſubſtance of Chriſts Inſtitution, is by a fourth ſort of men voided, for the onely defect of Eccleſiaſtical Authority in the Miniſter, think it enough, that they blow away the force thereof, with the bare ſtrength of their very breath, by ſaying, *We take ſuch Baptiſm to be no more the Sacrament of Baptiſm, then any other ordinary Bathing to be a Sacrament*? It behoveth generally all ſorts of men to keep themſelves within the limits of their own vocation. And ſeeing God, from whom mens ſeveral degrees and pre-eminences do proceed, hath appointed them in his Church, at whoſe hands his pleaſure is, that we ſhould receive both Baptiſm, and all other publick medicinable helps of Soul, perhaps thereby the more to ſettle our hearts in the love of our ghoſtly ſuperiors, they have ſmall cauſe to hope that with him their voluntary ſervices will be accepted, who thruſt themſelves into Functions, either above their capacity, or beſides their place, and over-boldly intermeddle with Duties, whereof no charge was ever given them. They that in any thing exceed the compaſs of their own order, do as much as in them lieth, to diſſolve that Order which is the Harmony of Gods Church. Suppoſe therefore, that in theſe and the like conſiderations, the Law did utterly prohibite Baptiſm to be adminiſtred by any other, then perſons thereunto ſolemnly conſecrated, what neceſſity ſoever happen; Are not * many things firm being done, although in part done otherwiſe then Poſitive Rigor and Strictneſs did require? Nature, as much as is poſſible, inclineth unto validities and preſervations. Diſſolutions and Nullities of things done are not onely not favored, but hated, when either urged without cauſe, or extended beyond their reach: If therefore at any time it come to paſs, that in teaching publickly or privately,

Si quis C. Ne. Sanct. Bapt. Circa An. 413.

Numb. 16. 10. Levit. 10. 1. 1 Sam. 13. 11. 2 Sam. 6. 6. 2 Chro. 26. 16. Heb. 5. 4.

* Sect. 306. Lugdunenſis ex literis Decret. de Matrim. contract. Damaſc. Eurchar Reg. 105. Prohibita fieri ſi fiant non tenent. In prohibitionibus autem circa res favorabiles, contrariam obtinet.

ly, in delivering this Blessed Sacrament of Regeneration, some unsanctified hand, contrary to Christs supposed Ordinance, do intrude it self to execute that, whereunto the Laws of God and his Church have deputed others, Which of these two opinions seemeth more agreeable with Equity, ours that disallow what is done amiss, yet make not the force of the Word and Sacraments, much less their nature and very substance to depend on the Ministers authority and calling, or else [a] theirs which defeat, disannul, and annihilate both, in respect of that one onely personal defect, there being not any Law of God, which saith, That if the Minister be incompetent, his Word shall be no Word, his Baptism no Baptism? He which teacheth, and is not sent, loseth the reward, but yet retaineth the name of a Teacher: His usurped actions have in him the same nature which they have in others, although they yield him not the same comfort. And if these two cases be Peers, the case of Doctrine, and the case of Baptism both alike; sith no defect in their vocation that teach the Truth, is able to take away the benefit thereof from him which heareth, Wherefore should the want of a lawful calling in them that Baptize, make Baptism to be vain? [b] They grant, that the Matter and the Form in Sacraments are the onely parts of Substance, and that if these two be retained, albeit other things besides be used which are inconvenient, the Sacrament notwithstanding is administred, but not sincerely. Why persist they not in this opinion? when by these fair speeches, they have put us in hope of agreement? Wherefore sup they up their words again, interlacing such frivolous Interpretations and Glosses as disgrace their Sentence? What should move them, having named the Matter and the Form of the Sacrament, to give us presently warning, [c] that they mean by the Form of the Sacrament, the Institution; which Exposition darkneth whatsoever was before plain? For whereas in common understanding, that Form, which added to the Element, doth make a Sacrament, and is of the outward substance thereof, containeth onely the words of usual Application, they set it down. (lest common Dictionaries should deceive us) that the Form doth signifie in their Language, the Institution; which Institution in truth, comprehendeth both Form and Matter. Such are their fumbling shifts to inclose the Ministers vocation within the compass of some essential part of the Sacrament. A thing that can never stand with sound and sincere construction. For what if the [d] Minister be *no circumstance, but a subordinate efficient cause in the work of Baptism?* What if the Ministers Vocation be a Matter [e] *of perpetual necessity, and not a Ceremony variable as times and occasions require? What if his calling be a principal part of the Institution of Christ?* Doth it therefore follow, that the Ministers authority is [f] *of the Substance of the Sacrament*, and as incident into the nature thereof, as the Matter and the Form it self, yea, more incident? For whereas in case of necessity, the greatest amongst them professeth the change of the Element of Water lawful, and others which like not so well this opinion, could be better content, that voluntarily the words of Christs Institution were altered, and Men baptized in the Name of Christ, without either mention made of the Father, or of the Holy Ghost; nevertheless, in denying that Baptism administred by private persons ought to be reckoned of as a Sacrament, they both agree. It may therefore please them both to consider, That Baptism is an Action in part Moral, in part Ecclesiastical, and in part Mystical: Moral, as being a duty which men perform towards God; Ecclesiastical, in that it belongeth unto Gods Church as a publick duty: Finally, Mystical, if we respect what God doth thereby intend to work. The greatest Moral perfection of Baptism consisteth in mens devout obedience to the Law of God, which Law requireth both the outward act or thing done, and also that Religious affection which God doth so much regard, that without it, whatsoever we do, is hateful in his sight, who therefore is said to respect *Adverbs*, more then *Verbs*, because the end of his Law, in appointing what we shall do, is

[a] *T. C.* lib. 1. pag. 144. As St. *Paul* saith, *That a man cannot Preach which is not sent Rom.* 10. 15. No not although he speak the words of the Scripture, and interpret them: So I cannot see how a man can Baptize unless he be sent to that end, although he pour water, and rehearse the words which are to be rehearsed in the Ministry of Baptism.

[b] *T. C.* lib. 1. pag. 165. If either the Matter of the Sacrament, or the Form of it, which is the Institution (which things are onely substantial parts) were wanting, there should then have been no Sacrament at all ministred. But they being retained, and yet other things used which are not convenient, the Sacrament is ministred, but not sincerely.

[c] *T. C.* lib. 3. pag. 117.

[d] *T. C.* lib. 3. pag. 121.

[e] *T. C.* lib. 3. pag. 135. The Minister is of the Substance of the Sacrament, considering that it is a principal part of Christs Institution. *Beza*, Epist. 2. Desit aqua, & tamen Baptismus alicujus differri cum ædificatione non possit nec debeat, ego certe quovis alio liquore non minus ritè quàm aqua Baptisarim.

[f] *T. C.* lib. 3. pag. 138. Shew me why the breach of the Institution in the Form should make the Sacrament unavailable, and not the breach of this part (which concerneth the Minister) *T. C.* ibid. Howsoever some learned and godly give some liberty in the change of the Elements of the holy Sacrament; yet I do not see how that can stand, *Idem*, pag. 137. I would rather judge him baptized, who is baptized into the Name of Christ, without adding the Father and the Holy Ghost, when the Element of Water is added, then when the other words being duly kept, some other liquor is used.

our own Perfection; which Perfection consisteth chiefly in the vertuous disposition of the Minde, and approveth it self to him, not by doing, but by doing well. Wherein appeareth also, the difference between Humane and Divine Laws; the one of which two are content with *Opus operatum*, the other require *Opus operantis*; the one do but claim the Deed, the other, especially the Minde. So that according to Laws, which principally respect the heart of Men, Works of Religion being not religiously performed, cannot Morally be perfect. Baptism as an Ecclesiastical work, is for the manner of performance, ordered by divers Ecclesiastical Laws, providing, That as the Sacrament it self, is a gift of no mean worth; so the Ministery thereof, might in all circumstances, appear to be a Function of no small regard. All that belongeth to the Mystical Perfection of Baptism outwardly, is the Element, the Word, and the serious Application of both, unto him which receiveth both; whereunto, if we add that secret reference which this action hath to life and remission of sins, by vertue of Christs own compact solemnly made with his Church, to accomplish fully the Sacrament of Baptism, there is not any thing more required. Now put the Question, Whether Baptism, Administred to Infants, without any Spiritual Calling, be unto them both a true Sacrament, and an effectual instrument of Grace; or else an act of no more account, then the ordinary Washings are. The sum of all that can be said to defeat such Baptism, is, That those things which have no Being, can work nothing; and that Baptism, without the power of Ordination, is, as a Judgment without sufficient Jurisdiction, void, frustrate, and of no effect. But to this we answer, That the Fruit of Baptism dependeth onely upon the Covenant which God hath made: That God by Covenant requireth in the elder sort, Faith and Baptism; in Children, the Sacrament of Baptism alone, whereunto he hath also given them right by special priviledge of Birth, within the bosom of the holy Church: That Infants therefore, which have received Baptism compleat, as touching the Mystical Perfection thereof, are by vertue of his own Covenant and Promise cleansed from all sin; for as much as all other Laws, concerning that which in Baptism is either Moral or Ecclesiastical, do binde the Church which giveth Baptism, and not the Infant which receiveth it of the Church. So that if any thing be therein amiss, the harm which groweth by violation of holy Ordinances, must altogether rest, where the Bonds of such Ordinances hold. For, that in actions of this nature, it fareth not as in Jurisdictions, may somewhat appear by the very opinion which men have of them. The nullity of that which a Judge doth by way of Authority without Authority, is known to all men, and agreed upon with full consent of the whole World, every man receiveth it as a general Edict of Nature; whereas the nullity of Baptism, in regard of the like defect, is onely a few mens new ungrounded, and as yet unapproved imagination. Which difference of generality in mens perswasions on the one side, and their paucity whose conceit leadeth them the other way, hath risen from a difference easie to observe in the things themselves. The exercise of unauthorised Jurisdiction is a grievance unto them that are under it, whereas they that without Authority presume to Baptize, offer nothing but that which to all men is good and acceptable. Sacraments are food, and the Ministers thereof, as Parents, or as Nurses; at whose hands when there is necessity, but no possibility of receiving it, if that which they are not present to do in right of their Office, be of pity and compassion done by others; shall this be thought to turn Celestial Bread into Gravel, or the Medicine of Souls into Poyson? Jurisdiction is a yoke, which Law hath imposed on the necks of men in such sort, that they must endure it for the good of others, how contrary soever it be to their own particular appetites and inclinations: Jurisdiction bridleth men against their wills; that which a Judge doth, prevails by vertue of his very Power; and therefore, not without great reason, except the Law hath given him Authority, whatsoever he doth, vanisheth. Baptism on the other side, being a favor which it pleaseth God to bestow, a benefit of Soul to us that receive it, and a Grace, which they that deliver, are but as meer Vessels, either appointed by others, or offered of their own accord to this Service; of which two, if they be the one, it is but their own honor, their own offence to be the other: Can it possibly stand with * Equity and Right, That the faultiness of their presumption in giving Baptism, should be able to prejudice us, who by taking

Baptism

* Factum alterius, alii nocere non debet. *Ulp.* lib. de *Pupillo*, sect. Si Plurimum. Item, *Alpher.* lib. Pater familias. De Hære. Instit. Maleficia tenent Authores suos, non alios. Lib. Sancimus 22. C. de Pœn.

Baptiſm have no way offended? I know there are many Sentences found in the Books and Writings of the Ancient Fathers, to prove both Eccleſiaſtical and alſo Moral defects in the Miniſter of Baptiſm, a bar to the Heavenly benefit thereof. Which Sentences we always ſo underſtand, as *Auguſtine* underſtood in a caſe of like nature, the words of St. *Cyprian*. When Infants baptized, were, after their Parents revolt, carried by them in arms to the Stews of Idols, thoſe wretched Creatures, as St. *Cyprian* thought, were not onely their own ruine, but their Childrens alſo: *Their Children*, whom this their Apoſtaſie prophaned, *did loſe what Chriſtian Baptiſm had given them being newly born. They loſt* (ſaith St. *Auguſtine*) *the Grace of Baptiſm, if we conſider to what their Parents impiety did tend*; although the Mercy of God preſerved them, and will alſo in that dreadful day of account give them favorable audience, pleading in their own behalf: *The harm of other mens perfidiouſneſs, it lay not in us to avoid.* After the ſame manner, whatſoever we read written, if it ſound to the prejudice of Baptiſm, through any either Moral or Eccleſiaſtical defect therein, we conſtrue it, as Equity and Reaſon teacheth, with reſtraint to the offender onely; which doth, as far as concerneth himſelf, and them which wittingly concur with him, make the Sacrament of God fruitleſs. St. *Auguſtines* donbtfulneſs, Whether Baptiſm by a Lay-man may ſtand, or ought to be readminiſtred, ſhould not be mentioned by them which preſume to define peremptorily of that, wherein he was content to profeſs himſelf unreſolved. Albeit, in very truth, his opinion is plain enough; but the manner of delivering his judgment being modeſt, they make of a vertue, an imbecillity, and impute his calmneſs of ſpeech to an irreſolution of minde. His Diſputation in that place, is againſt *Parmenian*, which held, That a Biſhop, or a Prieſt, if they fall into any Hereſie, do thereby loſe the Power which they had before to Baptize; and that therefore Baptiſm by Hereticks, is meerly void. For anſwer whereof, he firſt denieth, That Hereſie can more deprive men of power to Baptize others, then it is of force to take from them their own Baptiſm: And in the ſecond place, he farther addeth, That if Hereticks did loſe the power which before was given them by Ordination, and did therefore unlawfully uſurp as oft as they took upon them to give the Sacrament of Baptiſm, it followeth not, That Baptiſm, by them adminiſtred without Authority, is no Baptiſm. For then, what ſhould we think of Baptiſm by Laymen, to whom Authority was never given? I doubt (ſaith St. *Auguſtine*) whether any man which carrieth a vertuous and godly minde, will affirm, That the Baptiſm which Laymen do in caſe of neceſſity adminiſter, ſhould be iterated, "*For to do it unneceſſarily, is to execute another mans office; neceſſity urging, to do it is then either no fault at all* (much leſs ſo grievous a crime, that it ſhould deſerve to be termed by the name of Sacriledge,) *or, if any, a very pardonable fault. But ſuppoſe it even of very purpoſe uſurped and given unto any man, by every man that liſteth; yet that which is given, cannot poſsibly be denied to have been given, how truly ſoever we may ſay, it hath not been given lawfully. Unlawful Uſurpation, a penitent Affection muſt redreſs. If not, the thing that was given, ſhall remain to the hurt and detriment of him, which unlawfully either adminiſtred, or received the ſame; yet ſo, that in this reſpect it ought not to be reputed, as if it had not at all been given.* Whereby we may plainly perceive, that St. *Auguſtine* was not himſelf uncertain what to think, but doubtful, Whether any well-minded man, in the whole World, could think otherwiſe then he did. Their * Argument taken from a ſtoln Seal, may return to the place out of which they had it, for it helpeth their cauſe nothing. That which men give or grant to others, muſt appear to have proceeded of their own accord. This being manifeſt, their Gifts and Grants are thereby made effectual, both to bar themſelves from revocation, and to aſſecure the right they have given. Wherein, for further prevention of miſchiefs that otherwiſe might grow by the malice, treachery, and fraud of men, it is both equal and meet, that the ſtrength of Mens Deeds, and the Inſtruments which declare the ſame, ſhould ſtrictly depend upon divers Solemnities, whereof there cannot be the like reaſon in things that paſs between God and us; becauſe ſith we need not doubt, leſt the

Auguſt. Epiſt. 23.

T. C. lib. 3. pag. 136. *Auguſtine* ſtandeth in doubt, whether Baptiſm by a Lay-man be available, or no. Cont. Lit. *Parm.* lib. 2. c. 13. Where, by all likelihood he was out of doubt, that that which was miniſtred by a Woman, whoſe unaptneſs herein is double to that of a Layman, was of no effect.

T. C. lib. 1. pag. 116. The Sacriledge of Private Perſons, Women eſpecially, in Adminiſtring the holy Sament of Baptiſm.

* *T. C.* lib. 3. pag. 139. As by [the Seal which the Prince hath ſet apart to Seal his Grants with, when it is ſtoln and ſet to by him that hath no authority, there groweth no aſſurance to the party that hath it: So if it were poſſible to be the Seal of God, which a Woman ſhould ſet to, yet for that, ſhe hath ſtoln it, and put it to; not onely without, but contrary to the Commandment of God; I ſee not how any can take any aſſurance by reaſon thereof.]

Treasures of his Heavenly Grace, should, without his consent, be past by forged conveyances; nor lest he should deny at any time his own acts, and seek to revoke what hath been consented unto before: As there is no such fear of danger through deceit and falshood in this case, so neither hath the circumstance of mens persons that waight in Baptism; which for good and just considerations in the custody of Seals of Office, it ought to have. The Grace of Baptism cometh by Donation from God alone: That God hath committed the Ministery of Baptism unto special men; it is for orders sake in his Church, and not to the end, that their Authority might give being, or add force to the Sacrament it self. That Infants have right to the Sacrament in Baptism, we all acknowledge. Charge them we cannot, as guilful and wrongful possessors of that, whereunto they have right by the manifest will of the Donor, and are not parties unto any defect or disorder in the manner of receiving the same. And if any such disorder be, we have sufficiently before declared, That *delictum cum capite semper ambulat*, mens own faults are their own harms. Wherefore, to countervail this and the like mischosen resemblances, with that which more truly and plainly agreeth; the Ordinance of God, concerning their Vocation that minister Baptism, wherein the Mystery of our Regeneration is wrought, hath thereunto the same Analogy, which Laws of Wedlock have to our first Nativity and Birth: So that if Nature do effect procreation, notwithstanding the wicked violation and breach even of Natures Law, made that the entrance of all mankinde into this present World might be without blemish; may we not justly presume, that Grace doth accomplish the other, although there be faultiness in them that transgress the Order which our Lord Jesus Christ hath established in his Church? Some Light may be borrowed from Circumcision, for Explication of what is true in this question of Baptism. Seeing then, that even they which condemn *Zipporah* the Wife of *Moses*, for taking upon her to Circumcise her son, a thing necessary at that time for her to do, and as I think very hard to reprove in her, considering how *Moses*, because himself had not done it sooner, was therefore stricken by the hand of God, neither could in that extremity perform the Office; whereupon, for the stay of Gods indignation, there was no choice, but the action must needs fall into her hands; whose fact therein, whether we interpret, as some have done, that being a Midianite, and as yet not so throughly acquainted with the Jewish Rites, it much discontented her, to see her self, through her Husbands oversight, in a Matter of his own Religion, brought unto these perplexities and straights; that either she must now endure him perishing before her eyes, or else wound the flesh of her own Childe; which she could not do, but with some indignation shewed, in that she fumingly, both threw down the fore-skin at his feet, and upbraided him with the cruelty of his Religion: Or, if we better like to follow their more judicious Exposition, which are not inclinable to think, that *Moses* was matched like *Socrates*, nor that Circumcision could now in *Eleazar*, be strange unto her, having had *Gersom* her elder son before circumcised; nor that any occasion of choler could rise from a spectacle of such misery, as doth [a] naturally move Compassion, and not Wrath; nor that *Zipporah* was so impious, as in the visible presence of Gods deserved Anger, to storm at the Ordinance and Law of God; nor that the words of the History it self, can inforce any such affection; but do onely declare how after the act performed, she touched the feet of *Moses*, saying, [b] *Sponsus tu mihi es sanguinum*, *Thou art unto me an Husband of Blood*; which might be very well, the one done, and the other spoken, even out of the flowing abundance of commiseration and love, to signifie, with hands laid under his feet, That her tender affection towards him, had caused her thus to forget Woman-hood, to lay all Motherly affecti-

Exod. 4. 24. *T. C.* lib. 1. pag. 144. I say, that the unlawfulness of that fact, doth appear sufficiently, in that she did it before her Husband *Moses*, which was a Prophet of the Lord, to whom that Office of Circumcision did appertain. Besides, that she did cut off the Fore-skin of the Infant, not of minde to obey the Commandment of God, or for the Salvation of the Childe; but in a choler only, to the end, that her Husband might be eased, and have release: Which minde

appeareth in her, both by her words, and by casting away in anger, the Fore-skin which she had cut off. And if it be said, That the event declared, that the act pleased God, because, that *Moses* forthwith waxed better, and was recovered of his sickness. I have shewed before, That if we measure things by the event, we shall oftentimes justifie the wicked, and take the Righteousness of the Righteous from them. [a] Mala passis non irascimur, sed compatimur, *Boet* de Consol. [b] Where the usual Translation hath, *Exod.* 4. 25. She cut away the Fore-skin of her son, and cast it at his feet, and said, Thou art indeed a bloody Husband unto me. So he departed from him. Then she said, O bloody Husband, because of the Circumcision. The words as they lie in the original, are rather thus to be interpreted: And she cut off the Fore-skin of her son. Which being done, she touched his Feet, (the Feet of *Moses*) and said, Thou art to me an Husband of Blood (in the plural number, thereby signifying Effusion of Blood.) And the Lord withdrew from him at the very time, when she said, A Husband of Blood, in regard of Circumcision.

on aſide, and to redeem her Husband out of the hands of Death, with effuſion of Blood: The ſequel thereof, take it which way you will, is a plain Argument, That God was ſatisfied with that ſhe did, as may appear by his own Teſtimony, declaring, How there followed in the perſon of *Moſes*, preſent releaſe of his grievous puniſhment upon her ſpeedy diſcharge of that duty, which by him neglected, had offended God; even, as after execution of Juſtice by the hands of *Phineas*, the Plague was immediately taken away, which former impunity of ſin had cauſed: In which ſo manifeſt and plain caſes, not to make that a reaſon of the event, which God himſelf hath ſet down as a reaſon, were falſly to accuſe whom he doth juſtifie, and without any cauſe to traduce what we ſhould allow; yet ſeeing, they which will have it a breach of the Law of God, for her to circumciſe in that neceſſity, are not able to deny, but Circumciſion being in that very manner performed, was to the innocent Childe which received it, true Circumciſion; why ſhould that defect, whereby Circumciſion was ſo little weakned, be to Baptiſm a deadly wound? Theſe Premiſes therefore remaining, as hitherto they have been laid, becauſe the Commandment of our Saviour Chriſt, which committeth joyntly to Publick Miniſters, both Doctrine and Baptiſm, doth no more, by linking them together, import, That the Nature of the Sacrament dependeth on the Miniſters Authority and Power to Preach the Word, then the force and vertue of the Word doth on Licence to give the Sacrament; and conſidering, that the Work of External Miniſtery in Baptiſm, is onely a pre-eminence of honor, which they that take to themſelves, and are not thereunto called as *Aaron* was, do but themſelves in their own perſons, by means of ſuch uſurpation, incur the juſt blame of diſobedience to the Law of God; farther alſo, in as much as it ſtandeth with no reaſon, That Errors grounded on a wrong interpretation of other Mens Deeds, ſhould make fruſtrate whatſoever is miſconceived; and that Baptiſm by Women, ſhould ceaſe to be Baptiſm, as oft as any Man will thereby gather, That Children which die unbaptized, are damned; which opinion, if the Act of Baptiſm adminiſtred in ſuch manner, did inforce, it might be ſufficient cauſe of diſliking the ſame, but none of defeating or making it altogether void: Laſt of all, whereas general and full conſent of the godly-learned in all ages, doth make for Validity of Baptiſm; yea, albeit adminiſtred in private, and even by Women; which kinde of Baptiſm, in caſe of neceſſity, divers Reformed Churches do both allow and defend; ſome others which do not defend, tolerate; few, in compariſon, and they without any juſt cauſe, do utterly diſannul and annihilate: Surely, howſoever through defect on either ſide, the Sacrament may be without Fruit, as well in ſome caſes to him which receiveth, as to him which giveth it; yet no diſability of either part can ſo far make it fruſtrate and without effect, as to deprive it of the very Nature of true Baptiſm, having all things elſe which the Ordinance of Chriſt requireth. Whereupon we may conſequently infer, That the Adminiſtration of this Sacrament by private perſons, be it lawful or unlawful, appeareth not as yet to be meerly void.

Pſal. 106. 30.

T. C. lib. 3. pag. 142. Seeing they onely are bidden in the Scripture to adminiſter the Sacraments, which are bidden to Preach the Word, and that the publick Miniſters have onely this charge of the Word; and ſeeing that the Adminiſtration of both theſe are ſo linked together, that the denial of licence to do one, is a denial to do the other; as of the contrary part, licence to one, is licence to the other; conſidering alſo, that to miniſter the Sacraments, is an honor in the Church, which none can take unto him, but he which is called unto it, as was *Aaron*: And further, for as much as the Baptiſing by private perſons, and by Women eſpecially, confirmeth the dangerous Error of the Condemnation of young Children, which die without Baptiſm: Laſt of all, ſeeing we have the conſent of the godly learned of all times againſt the Baptiſm by Women, and of the Reformed Churches now, againſt the Baptiſm by private men; we conclude, That the Adminiſtration of this Sacrament by private perſons, and eſpecially by Women; is meerly both unlawful and void.

Interrogatories in Baptiſm touching Faith, and the purpoſe of a Chriſtian life.

63. All that are of the Race of Chriſt, the Scripture nameth them, *Children of the Promiſe*, which God hath made. The Promiſe of Eternal Life, is the Seed of the Church of God. And becauſe there is no attainment of life, but through the onely begotten Son of God, nor by him otherwiſe then being ſuch as the Creed Apoſtolick deſcribeth; it followeth, That the Articles thereof, are Principles neceſſary for all men to ſubſcribe unto, whom by Baptiſm the Church receiveth into Chriſts School. All Points of Chriſtian Doctrine are either demonſtrable Concluſions, or demonſtrative Principles. Concluſions have ſtrong and invincible Proofs, as well in the School of Jeſus Chriſt, as elſwhere. And Principles be Grounds, which require no Proof in any kinde of Science, becauſe it ſufficeth, if either their certainty be evident in it ſelf, or evident by the light of ſome higher knowledge; and

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in it self, such, as no mans knowledge is ever able to overthrow. Now the principles whereupon we do build our souls, have their evidence where they had their original; and as received from thence, we adore them, we hold them in reverend admiration, we neither argue nor dispute about them, we give unto them that assent which the Oracles of God require. We are not therefore ashamed of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, because miscreants in scorn have upbraided us, That the highest point of our Wisdom, is Belief. That which is true, and neither can be discerned by Sense, nor concluded by meer Natural Principles, must have Principles of revealed Truth whereupon to build it self, and an habit of Faith in us, wherewith Principles of that kinde are apprehended. * The Mysteries of our Religion are above the reach of our Understanding, above discourse of Mans Reason, above all that any Creature can comprehend. Therefore the first thing required of him, which standeth for admission into Christs Family, is Belief. Which Belief consisteth not so much in knowledge, as in acknowledgment of all things that Heavenly Wisdom revealeth; the Affection of Faith is above her reach, her Love to God-ward above the comprehension which she hath of God. And because onely for Believers all things may be done, He which is Goodness it self, loveth them above all. Deserve we then the love of God, because we believe in the Son of God? What more opposite then Faith and Pride? When God had created all things, he looked upon them, and loved them, because they were all as himself had made them. So the true Reason wherefore Christ doth love Believers, is, Because their belief is the gift of God, a gift then which flesh and blood in this World cannot possibly receive a greater. And as to love them, of whom we receive good things, is Duty, because they satisfie our desires in that which else we should want; so to love them on whom we bestow, is Nature, because in them we behold the effects of our own vertue. Seeing therefore no Religion enjoyeth Sacraments, the signs of Gods love, unless it have also that Faith whereupon the Sacraments are built, could there be any thing more convenient then that our first admittance to the Actual Receit of his Grace in the Sacrament of Baptism, should be consecrated with Profession of Belief; which is to the Kingdom of God as a Key, the want whereof excludeth Infidels, both from that and from all other saving Grace: We finde by experience, that although Faith be an Intellectual Habit of the Minde, and have her Seat in the Understanding; yet an evil Moral Disposition, obstinately wedded to the love of darkness, dampeth the very Light of Heavenly Illumination, and permitteth not the Minde to see what doth shine before it. Men are lovers of pleasure, more then lovers of God. Their assent to his saving Truth, is many times with-held from it, not that the Truth is too weak to perswade, but because the stream of corrupt affection carrieth them a clean contrary way. That the Minde therefore may abide in the Light of Faith, there must abide in the Will as constant a resolution to have no fellowship at all with the vanities and works of darkness. Two Covenants there are which Christian men (saith *Isidor*) do make in Baptism, the one concerning relinquishment of Satan, the other touching Obedience to the Faith of Christ. In like sort St. *Ambrose, He which is baptized, forsaketh the Intellectual Pharaoh, the Prince of this World,* saying, *Abrenuncio; Thee, O Satan, and thy Angels, thy works and thy mandates, I forsake utterly.* *Tertullian* having speech of wicked spirits: *These* (saith he) *are the Angels which we in Baptism renounce.* The Declaration of [a] *Justin* the Martyr concerning Baptism, sheweth how such as the Church in those days did baptize, made profession of Christian Belief, and undertook to live accordingly. Neither do I think it a matter easie for any man to prove, that ever Baptism did use to be administred without Interrogatories of these two kindes. Whereunto [b] St. *Peter* (as it may be thought) alluding, hath said, *That the Baptism which saveth us*, is not (as Legal Purifications were) a cleansing of the flesh from outward impurity, but ἐπερώτημα, *as Interrogative tryal of a good conscience towards God.*

Apostatæ maledictum. Οὐδὲν οὕτω τὸ πίστευσον ἐν ὑμῖν ἐστι. σαφέστερον Naz. Orat. contr. Julia.

* Οὔτε γὰρ λόγον, οὔτε καταλήψιν κτίσις φύσεως τὸ ὑπερτερεῖ. Just. Mart. Expos. Fid.

Matth. 16. 17. John 1. 12.

Spiritus Sanctus habitator ejus Templi non efficitur, quod Antistitem non habet veram Fidem. Jerom. Adv. Lucifer. cap. 4.

Isid. de Offic. Eccles. lib. 2. cap. 24

Ambros. Hexam. lib. 1. cap. 4.

Tertul. de Spectac.

[a] Ὅσοι ἂν πείθωσι καὶ πιστεύωσιν ἀληθῆ ταῦτα τὰ ὑπ' ἡμῶν διδασκόμενα καὶ λεγόμενα εἶναι, καὶ βίον ὅπως δυνατὸν ὑπάρχειν, ἐυχέσθαι τε καὶ αἰτεῖν νηστεύοντες παρὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ τὰ προημαρτημένα ἄφεσιν διδόσκεσθαι, ἔπεται ἄρτος ὑφ' ἡμῶν, ἔνθα ὕδωρ ἐστὶ καὶ φέρειν ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν, ὅτι καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ἀντὶ ἀναγεννήθημεν ἀναγεννῶνται. *Justin.* Apol. [b] 1 Pet. 3. 21.

Interrogatories propoſed unto Infants in Baptiſm, and anſwered as in their names by Go l-fathers. They profane holy Baptiſm in toying fooliſhly; for that they ask Queſtions of an Infant which cannot anſwer, and ſpeak unto them, as was wont to be ſpoken unto men, and unto ſuch as being converted anſwered for themſelves, and were baptized. Which is but a mockery of God, and therefore againſt the holy Scriptures, *Gal.* 6. 7. Admonition to the Parliament. The ſame defended in *T. C.* lib. 1. pag 158. * *Aug.* ep. 23.

64. Now the fault which they finde with us concerning Interrogatories, is, our moving of theſe Queſtions unto Infants which cannot anſwer them, and the anſwering of them by others as in their names. The Anabaptiſt hath many pretences to ſcorn at the Baptiſm of Children: Firſt, Becauſe the Scriptures, he ſaith, do no where give Commandment to Baptize Infants: Secondly, For that, as there is no Commandment, ſo neither any manifeſt example, ſhewing it to have been done either by Chriſt, or his Apoſtles: Thirdly, In as much as the Word Preached, and the Sacraments, muſt go together; they which are not capable of the one, are no fit receivers of the other: Laſt of all, ſith the Order of Baptiſm continued from the firſt beginning, hath in it thoſe things which are unfit to be applied unto Sucking Children; it followeth in their conceit, That the Baptiſm of ſuch is no Baptiſm, but plain mockery. They with whom we contend, are no enemies to the Baptiſm of Infants; it is not their deſire, that the Church ſhould hazard ſo many Souls, by letting them run on till they come to ripeneſs of underſtanding, that ſo they may be converted, and then baptized, as Infidels heretofore have been; they bear not towards God ſo unthankful mindes, as not to acknowledge it even amongſt the greateſt of his endleſs mercies, That by making us his own poſſeſſion ſo ſoon, many advantages which Satan otherwiſe might take are prevented, and (which ſhould be eſteemed a part of no ſmall happineſs) the firſt thing whereof we have occaſion to take notice, is, How much hath been done already to our great good, though altogether without our knowledge: The Baptiſm of Infants, they eſteem as an Ordinance which Chriſt hath inſtituted, even in ſpecial love and favor to his own people: They deny not the practice thereof accordingly to have been kept, as derived from the hands, and continued from the days of the Apoſtles themſelves unto this preſent; onely it pleaſeth them not, That to Infants there ſhould be Interrogatories propoſed in Baptiſm. This they condemn as fooliſh, toyiſh, and profane mockery: But are they able to ſhew, that ever the Church of Chriſt had any Publick Form of Baptiſm without Interrogatories; or, that the Church did ever uſe at the Solemn Baptiſm of Infants, to omit thoſe Queſtions as needleſs in this caſe? * *Ioniface*, a Biſhop in St. *Auguſtines* time, knowing, That the Church did Univerſally uſe this Cuſtom of Baptiſing Infants with Interrogatories, was deſirous to learn from St. *Auguſtine*, the true cauſe and reaſon thereof. *If* (ſaith he) *I ſhould ſet before thee a young Infant, and ſhould ask of thee, whether that Infant when he cometh unto riper age, will be honeſt and juſt, or no; Thou wouldſt anſwer (I know) that to tell in theſe things what ſhall come to paſs, is not in the power of Mortal Man. If I ſhould ask, What good or evil ſuch an Infant thinketh? Thine anſwer hereunto muſt needs be again with the like uncertainty. If thou neither canſt promiſe for the time to come, nor for the preſent pronounce any thing in this caſe; How is it, that when ſuch are brought unto Baptiſm, their Parents there undertake what the Childe ſhall afterwards do? Yea, they are not doubtful to ſay, It doth that which is impoſſible to be done by Infants. At the leaſt there is no man preciſely able to affirm it done. Vouchſafe me hereunto ſome ſhort anſwer, ſuch as not onely may preſs me with the bare authority of Cuſtom, but alſo inſtruct me in the cauſe thereof.* Touching which difficulty, whether it may truly be ſaid for Infants, at the time of their Baptiſm, That they do believe; the effect of St. *Auguſtines* anſwer is, Yea; but with this diſtinction, a preſent *Actual habit of Faith there is not in them*; there is delivered unto them that Sacrament, a part of the due celebration whereof conſiſting in anſwering to the Articles of Faith, becauſe the habit of Faith, which afterwards doth come with years, is but a farther building up of the ſame edifice, *the firſt foundation whereof was laid by the Sacrament of Baptiſm.* For that which there we profeſſed without any underſtanding, when we afterwards come to acknowledge, do we any thing elſe, but onely bring unto ripeneſs, the very Seed that was ſown before? We are then Believers, becauſe then we begin to be that which proceſs of time doth make perfect. And till we come to Actual Belief, the very Sacrament of Faith is a ſhield as ſtrong as after this the Faith of the Sacrament againſt all contrary Infernal Powers. Which, whoſoever doth think impoſſible, is undoubtedly farther off from Chriſtian Belief, though he be Baptized, then are theſe Innocents, which at their Baptiſm, albeit they have no conceit or cogitation of Faith, are notwithſtanding pure, and free from all oppoſite cogitations;

Sicut cum dicere reſpondetur, ita etiam fidelis vocatur; non rem ipſam mente annuendo, ſed ipſius rei Sacramentum percipiendo. *Aug.*

tations, whereas the other is not free. If therefore without any fear or scruple, we may account them, and term them Believers onely for their outward professions sake, which inwardly are farther from Faith then Infants, Why not Infants much more at the time of their solemn Initiation by Baptism, the Sacrament of Faith, whereunto they not onely conceive nothing opposite, but have also that [a] Grace given them, which is the first and most effectual cause out of which our belief groweth? In sum, the whole Church is a multitude of Believers, all honored with that title, even Hypocrites for their Professions sake, as well as Saints, because of their inward sincere perswasion, and *Infants as being in the first degree of their ghostly motion towards the actual habit of Faith*; the first sort are faithful in the eye of the World; the second faithful in the sight of God; the last in the ready direct way to become both, if all things after be suitable to these their present beginnings. *This* (saith St. *Augustine*) *would not happily content such persons, as are uncapable or unquiet; but to them which having knowledge, are not troublesome, it may suffice. Wherein I have not for ease of my self objected against you that custom onely, then which, nothing is more firm; but of a custom most profitable, I have done that little which I could, to yield you a reasonable cause.* Were St. *Augustine* now living, there are which would tell him for his better instruction, that to say [b] of a childe, It is elect, and to say it, doth believe, are all one; for which cause, sith no man is able precisely to affirm the one of any Infant in particular, it followeth, that precisely and absolutely we ought not to say the other. Which precise and absolute terms, are needless in this case. We speak of Infants, as the rule of piety alloweth both to speak and think. They that can take to themselves, in ordinary talk, a charitable kinde of liberty to name men of their own sort, Gods dear children (notwithstanding the large reign of of Hypocrisie) should not methinks be so strict and rigorous against the Church for presuming as it doth, of a Christian Innocent. For when we know how Christ in general hath said, That of such is the Kingdom of Heaven, which Kingdom is the Inheritance of Gods Elect; and do withal behold, how his providence hath called them unto the first beginnings of Eternal Life, and presented them at the Well-spring of New-birth, wherein original sin is purged; besides which sin, there is no hinderance of their Salvation known to us, as themselves will grant; hard it were, that having so many fair inducements whereupon to ground, we should not be thought to utter, at the least, a truth as probable and allowable in terming any such particular Infant an elect Babe, as in presuming [c] the like of others, whose safety nevertheless we are not absolutely able to warrant. If any troubled with these scruples, be onely for Instructions sake, desirous to know yet some farther reason, why Interrogatories should be ministred to Infants in Baptism, and be answered unto by others, as in their names; they may consider, that Baptism implieth a Covenant or League between God and Man, wherein as God doth bestow presently remission of sins and the Holy Ghost, binding also himself to add in process of time, what Grace soever shall be farther necessary for the attainment of Everlasting Life; so every Baptized Soul receiving the same Grace at the hands of God, tieth likewise it self for ever to the observation of his Law, no less then the Jews [d] by Circumcision bound themselves to the Law of *Moses*. The Law of Christ requiring therefore Faith and newness of life in all men, by vertue of the Covenant which they make in Baptism, Is it toyish, that the Church in Baptism exacteth at every mans hands an express Profession of Faith, and an irrevocable promise of obedience by way of [e] solemn stipulation? That Infants may contract and covenant with God, [f] the Law is plain. Neither is the reason of the Law obscure: For sith it tendeth, we cannot sufficiently express how much, to their own good, and doth no way hurt or endanger them to begin the race of their lives herewith; they are, as equity requireth, admitted hereunto, and in favor of their tender years, such formal complements of stipulation, as being requisite, are impossible by themselves in their own persons to be performed, leave is given, that they may [g] sufficiently discharge by others.

[a] Multum mirabi is res est, quemadmodum quorundam nondum cognoscentium Deum sit inhabitator Deus; & quorundam cognoscentium, non sit. Nec illi enim ad Templum Dei pertinent, qui cognoscentes Deum, non sicut Deum glorificaverunt: & ad templum Dei pertinent parvuli sanctificati, Sacramento Christi regenerati Spiritu Sancto qui per ætatem nondum possunt cognoscere Deum. Unde quem potuerunt illi nosse nec habere, isti potuerunt habere antequem nosse. *Aug.* Epist 57.

[b] *T. C.* lib. 1. pag. 169. If Children could have Faith, yet they that present the childe cannot precisely tell whether that particular childe hath Faith, or no; we are to think charitably, and to hope it is one of the Church; but it can be no more precisely said, that it hath Faith, then it may be said precisely elected.

[c] 2 John 1.

[d] Gal. 5. 3.

[e] Stipulario est verborum conceptio, quibus is qui interrogatur daturum facturumve se quod interrogatus est responder, Lib. 5. Sect. 1. ff de Oblig. & Act. In hac re olim talia verba tradita fuerunt. Spondes? Spondeo. Promittis? Promitto. Fide promittis? Fide promitto. Fide jubes? Fide jubeo. Dabis? Dabo. Facies? Faciam. Instit. de verb. oblig. lib. 3. tit. 15.

[f] Gen. 17. 14.

[g] Accommodat illis mater Ecclesia aliorum pedes ut veniant, aliorum cor ut credant, aliorum linguam ut fateantur, ut quoniam quod ægri sunt alio peccante prægravantur, sic cum sani fiant alio pro eis confitente salventur. *Aug.* Serm. 10. de Verb. Apost.

Albeit

Albeit therefore, neither deaf, nor dumb men, neither furious persons, nor children, can receive any civil stipulation; yet this kinde of ghostly stipulation they may through his indulgence, who respecting the singular benefit thereof, accepteth Children brought unto him for that end, entreth into Articles of Covenant with them, and in tender commiseration, granteth that other Mens Professions and Promises in Baptism made for them, shall avail no less, then if they had been themselves able to have made their own. None more fit to undertake this office in their behalf, then such as present them unto Baptism. A wrong conceit, that none may receive the Sacrament of Baptism, but they whose Parents, at the least the one of them, are by the soundness of their Religion, and by their vertuous demeanor, known to be Men of God, hath caused some to repel Children whosoever bring them, if their Parents be mis-perswaded in Religion, or for other mis-deserts excommunicated; some likewise for that cause to withhold Baptism, unless the Father, albeit no such exception can justly be taken against him, do notwithstanding make Profession of his Faith, and avouch the childe to be his own. Thus whereas God hath appointed them Ministers of holy things, they make themselves Inquisitors of mens persons, a great deal farther then need is. They should consider, that God hath ordained Baptism in favor of mankinde. To restrain favors is an odious thing; to enlarge them, acceptable both to God and Man: Whereas therefore the Civil Law gave divers Immunities to them which were Fathers of three children, and had them living; those Immunities they held, although their children were all dead, if war had consumed them, because it seemed in that case not against reason, to repute them by a courteous construction of Law as live men, in that the honor of their Service done to the Commonwealth would remain always. Can it hurt us, in exhibiting the Graces which God doth bestow on men; or can it prejudice his glory, if the self-same equity guide and direct our hands? When God made his Covenant with such as had *Abraham* to their Father, was onely *Abrahams* immediate issue, or onely his lineal posterity according to the flesh, included in that Covenant? Were not Proselytes as well as Jews, always taken for the Sons of *Abraham*? Yea, because the very Heads of Families are Fathers in some sort, as touching providence and care for the meanest that belong unto them; the servants which *Abraham* had bought with money, were as capable of Circumcision, being newly born, as any natural childe that *Abraham* himself begat. Be it then, that Baptism belongeth to none, but such as either believe presently, or else being Infants, are the children of Believing Parents; in case the Church do bring children to the holy Font, whose Natural Parents are either unknown, or known to be such as the Church accurseth, but yet forgetteth not in that severity, to take compassion upon their Off-spring, (for it is the Church which doth offer them to Baptism by the Ministry of Presenters) were it not against both equity and duty to refuse the Mother of Believers her self, and not to take her in this case for a Faithful Parent? It is not the vertue of our Fathers, nor the Faith of any other that can give us the true holiness which we have by vertue of our New Birth. Yet even through the common Faith and Spirit of Gods Church (a thing which no quality of Parents can prejudice) I say, through the Faith of the Church of God, undertaking the motherly care of our souls, so far forth we may be, and are in our Infancy sanctified, as to be thereby made sufficiently capable of Baptism, and to be interessed in the Rites of our New Birth for their Pieties sake that offer us thereunto. *It cometh sometime to pass* (saith St. *Augustine*) *that the children of Bond-slaves are brought to Baptism by their Lord; sometime the Parents being dead, the Friends alive undertake that Office; sometime Strangers or Virgins consecrated unto God, which neither have, nor can have children of their own, take up Infants in the open-streets, and so offer them unto Baptism, whom the cruelty of unnatural Parents casteth out, and leaveth to the adventure of uncertain Pity.* As therefore he which did the part of a Neighbor, was a Neighbor to that wounded Man whom the Parable of the Gospel describeth; so they are Fathers, although Strangers, that bring Infants to him which maketh them the Sons of God. In the phrase of some kinde of men, they use to be termed Witnesses, as if they came but to see and testifie what is done. It savoreth more of Piety to give them their old accustomed name of Fathers and Mothers in God, whereby they are well put in minde what affection they ought to bear towards those Innocents, for whose religious

T. C. lib. 1. pag. 172.

Hi enim qui pro Rep. ceciderunt, in perpetuum per gloriam vivere intelliguntur. Instit. lib. 2. tit. 25. sect 1.

Offeruntur quippe parvuli ad percipiendam spiritualem gratiam non tam ab eis quorum gestantur manibus quamvis & ab ipsis si & ipsi boni & fideles sint, quã ab universa societate sanctorum atque fidelium. *Aug.* in Epist. 23.

Ἀξιοῦνται δὲ τῶν διὰ τοῦ Βαπτίσματος ἀγαθῶν τὰ βρέφη τῇ πίστει τῶν προσφερόντων αὐτὰ τῷ Βαπτίσματι. *Justin* Resp. ad Orthod.

religious education, the Church accepteth them as pledges. This therefore is their own duty: But because the answer which they make to the usual demands of stipulation proposed in Baptism, is not their own; the Church doth best to receive it of them, in that form which best sheweth whose the act is. That which a Guardian doth in the name of his Guard or Pupil, standeth by natural equity forcible for his benefit, though it be done without his knowledge. And shall we judge it a thing unreasonable, or in any respect unfit, That Infants by words which others utter, should, though unwittingly, yet truly and forcibly, binde themselves to that whereby their estate is so assuredly bettered? Herewith *Nestorius* [a] the Heretick was charged, as having faln from his first Profession, and broken the promise which he made to God in the Arms of others. Of such as profaned themselves, being Christians, with irreligious delight in the Ensigns of Idolatry, Heathenish Spectacles, Shows, and Stage-plays, [b] *Tertullian* to strike them the more deep, claimeth the Promise which they made in Baptism. Why were they dumb, being thus challenged? Wherefore stood they not up to answer in their own defence, that such Professions and Promises made in their names, were frivolous; that all which others undertook for them, was but mockery and profanation? That which no Heretick, no wicked liver, no impious despiser of God, no miscreant or malefactor, which had himself been Baptized, was ever so desperate as to disgorge in contempt of so fruitfully received Customs, is now their voice that restore, as they say, *The ancient Purity of Religion.*

a Si *Arrianæ* aut *Sabellianæ* hereseos adscriptor esses, & non tuo ipsius symbolo tecum uterer, convincerem te tamen testimoniorum sacrorum ascriptate. Quid tandem si sic apud te agerem, quid diceres? quid responderes? nonne obsecro *illud*, in eo te Baptisatum, in eo te renatum esse? Et verè, in negotio quamvis improbo non importuna defensio, & quæ non absurdè causam erroris diceres, si pertinaciam non sociares errori. Nunc autem cùm in Catholica urbe natus, Catholica Fide institutus, Catholico Baptismate regeneratus sis, nunquid agere tecum quasi cum *Arriano* aut *Sabelliano* possim? Quod utinam fuisses. Minus dolerem in malis editum quàm de bonis lapsum, minus Fidem non habitam quàm amissam. Non iniquum autem, Hæretice, non iniquum aut grave aliquid postulo. Hoc fac in Catholica Fide editus quod fueras pro perversitate facturus. *Cassiad.* de Incarn. lib. 6. cap. 5. b *Tertul.* lib. de Spectac.

65. In Baptism many things of very ancient continuance are now quite and clean abolished; for that the Vertue and Grace of this Sacrament had been therewith overshadowed, as fruit with too great abundance of leaves. Notwithstanding to them, which think that always imperfect Reformation, that doth but shear and not flea; our retaining certain of those former Rites, especially the dangerous Sign of the Cross, hath seemed almost an impardonable oversight. *The Cross* (they say) *sith it is but a meer invention of Man, should not therefore at all have been added to the Sacrament of Baptism. To Sign Childrens Foreheads with a Cross, in token that hereafter they shall not be ashamed to make Profession of the Faith of Christ, is to bring into the Church a new Word, whereas there ought to be no Doctor heard in the Church but our Saviour Christ. That reason which moved the Fathers to use, should move us not to use the Sign of the Cross. They lived with Heathens which had the Cross of Christ in contempt, we with such as adore the Cross; and therefore we ought to abandon it, even as, in like consideration,* Ezekias *did of old the Brazen Serpent.* These are the causes of displeasure conceived against the Cross; a Ceremony, the use whereof hath been profitable, although we observe it not as the Ordinance of God, but of Man. *For* (saith *Tertullian*) *if of this and the like Customs, thou shouldst require some Commandment to be shewed thee out of Scriptures, there is none found.* What reason there is to justifie Tradition, Use, or Custom in this behalf, *either thou maist of thy self perceive, or else learn of some other that doth.* Lest therefore the name of Tradition should be offensive to any, considering how far by some it hath been, and is abused, we mean by [c] Traditions, or Ordinances made in the prime of Christian Religion, established with that Authority which Christ hath left to his Church for matters indifferent; and in that consideration requisite to be observed, till like authority see just and reasonable cause to alter them. So that Traditions Ecclesiastical are not rudely and in gross to be shaken off, because the Inventors of them were men. Such as say, They allow no [d] invention of Men to be mingled with the Outward Administration of Sacraments; and under that pretence, con-

of the Cross in Baptism.

Tertul. de Cor. Milit.

c Traditiones non scriptas, si doctrinam respiciant, cum doctrina scripta convenire debere dicimus. Quod ad rituales & Ecclesiasticas attinet, ordinis & ædificationis Ecclesiarum in his semper habenda ratio est; inutiles autem & noxias, nempe ineptas & superstitiosas Patronis suis relinquamus. *Goular, Genevens.* Annot. in Epist. *Cypr.* 74. d *T. C.* l. 1. p. 171. They should not have been so bold as to have brought it into the holy Sacrament of Baptism; and so mingle the Ceremonies and Inventions of Men with the Sacraments and Institutions of God.

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demn our using the Sign of the Croſs, have belike ſome ſpecial Diſpenſation themſelves to violate their own Rules. For neither can they indeed decently, nor do they ever Baptize any without manifeſt breach of this their profound Axiom, *That Mens Inventions ſhould not be mingled with Sacraments and Inſtitutions of God.* They ſeem to like very well in Baptiſm, the Cuſtom of God-fathers, *becauſe ſo generally the Churches have received it.* Which Cuſtom, being of God no more inſtituted then the other (howſoever they pretend the other hurtful, and this profitable) it followeth, That even in their own opinion, if their words do ſhew their mindes, there is no neceſſity of ſtripping Sacraments out of all ſuch attire of Ceremonies, as Mans wiſdom hath at any time cloathed them withal; and conſequently, That either they muſt reform their ſpeech as over-general, or elſe condemn their own practice as unlawful. Ceremonies have more in weight then in ſight; they work by commonneſs of uſe much, although in the ſeveral acts of their uſage, we ſcarcely diſcern any good they do. And becauſe the uſe which they have for the moſt part, is not perfectly underſtood, Superſtition is apt to impute unto them greater vertue then indeed they have. For prevention whereof, when we uſe this Ceremony we always plainly expreſs the end whereunto it ſerveth, namely, For a Sign of Remembrance to put us in minde of our duty. But by this mean, they ſay, we make it a great deal worſe. For why? Seeing God hath no where commanded to draw two lines in token of the duty which we ow to Chriſt, our practice with this Expoſition publiſheth a new Goſpel, and cauſeth another Word to have place in the Church of Chriſt, where no voice ought to be heard but his. By which good reaſon the Authors of thoſe grave admonitions to the Parliament are well-holpen up, which held, *That ſitting at Communions, betokeneth reſt and full accompliſhment of Legal Ceremonies in our Saviour Chriſt.* For although it be the Word of God, That ſuch Ceremonies are expired; yet ſeeing it is not the Word of God, that men to ſignifie ſo much ſhould ſit at the Table of our Lord; theſe have their doom as well as others, *Guilty of a new deviſed Goſpel in the Church of Chriſt.* Which ſtrange imagination is begotten of a ſpecial diſlike they have to hear, that Ceremonies now in uſe, ſhould be thought ſignificant; whereas, in truth, ſuch as are not ſignificant muſt needs be vain. Ceremonies deſtitute of ſignification, are no better then the idle geſtures of men, whoſe broken wits are not Maſters of what they do. For if we look but into Secular and Civil Complements, what other cauſe can there poſſibly be given why to omit them, where of courſe they are looked for; for where they are not ſo due, to uſe them, bringeth mens ſecret intents oftentimes into great jealouſie: I would know, I ſay, What reaſon we are able to yield, why things ſo light in their own nature ſhould weigh in the opinions of men ſo much, ſaving onely in regard of that which they uſe to ſignifie or betoken? Doth not our Lord Jeſus Chriſt * himſelf impute the omiſſion of ſome courteous Ceremonies, even in domeſtical entertainment, to a colder degree of loving affection, and take the contrary in better part, not ſo much reſpecting what was leſs done, as what was ſignified leſs by the one, then by the other? For, to that very end, he referreth in part thoſe gracious Expoſtulations, *Simon, ſeeſt thou this Woman? ſince I entred into thine houſe, thou gaveſt me no water for my feet; but ſhe hath waſhed my feet with tears, and wiped them with the hairs of her head: Thou gaveſt me no kiſs, but this Woman ſince the time I came in, hath not ceaſed to kiſs my feet: Mine head with oyl, thou didſt not anoint, but this Woman hath anointed my feet with oynment.* Wherefore as the uſual dumb Ceremonies of common life are in requeſt or diſlike, according to that they import; even ſo Religion, having likewiſe her ſilent Rites, the chiefeſt rule whereby to judge of their quality, is that which they mean or betoken. For if they ſignifie good things (as ſomewhat they muſt of neceſſity ſignifie, becauſe it is of their very nature to be ſigns of intimation, preſenting both themſelves unto outward ſenſe, and beſides themſelves ſome other thing, to the underſtanding of beholders) unleſs they be either greatly miſchoſen to ſignifie the ſame, or elſe applied where that which they ſignifie, agreeth not, there is no cauſe of exception againſt them, as againſt evil and unlawful Ceremonies, much leſs of excepting againſt them onely, in that they are not without ſenſe. And if every Religious Ceremony which hath been invented of men, to ſignifie any thing that God himſelf alloweth, were the publication

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T. C. lib. 1. p. 170.

T. C. lib. 1. pag. 170. The profitable ſignification of the Croſs maketh the thing a great deal worſe, and bringeth in a new word into the Church; whereas there ought to be no Doctor heard in the Church, but onely our Saviour Chriſt. For although it be the Word of God, that we ſhould not be aſhamed of the Croſs of Chriſt, yet is it not the Word of God, that we ſhould be kept in remembrance of that, by two lines drawn acroſs one over another in the Childes Forehead.

* Luk. 7. 44

of another Gospel in the Church of Christ; seeing that no Christian Church in the World, is, or can be, without continual use of some Ceremonies which men have instituted, and that to signifie good things (unless they be vain and frivolous Ceremonies;) it would follow, That the World hath no Christian Church which doth not daily proclaim new Gospels; a sequel, the manifest absurdity whereof argueth the rawness of that Supposal, out of which it groweth. Now the [a] cause why Antiquity did the more, *in actions of common life,* honor the Ceremony of the Cross, might be, for that they lived with Infidels. But that which they did in the Sacrament of Baptism, was for the self-same good of Believers which is thereby intended still. The Cross is for us an admonition no less necessary then for them, to glory in the Service of Jesus Christ, and not to hang down our heads as men ashamed thereof, although it procure us reproach and obloquy at the hands of this wretched World. Shame, is a kinde of fear to incur disgrace and ignominy. Now whereas some things are worthy of reproach, some things ignominious onely through a false opinion which men have conceived of them; Nature that generally feareth opprobrious reprehension, must by Reason and Religion, be [b] taught what it should be ashamed of, and what not. But be we never so well instructed what our duty is in this behalf, without some present admonition at the very instant of practise, what we know is many times not called to minde, till that be done whereupon our just confusion ensueth. To supply the absence of such, as that way might do us good, when they see us in danger of sliding; there are [c] judicious and wise men which think, we may greatly relieve our selves by a bare imagined presence of some, whose Authority we fear, and would be loath to offend, if indeed they were present with us. Witnesses at hand, are a bridle unto many offences. Let the minde have always some whom it feareth, some whose Authority may keep even secret thoughts under aw. Take *Cato,* or, if he be too harsh and rugged, chuse some other of a softer mettal, whose gravity of life and speech thou lovest, his minde and countenance carry with thee, set him always before thine eyes, either as a watch, or as a pattern. That which is crooked, we cannot streighten but by some such level. If men of so good experience and insight in the maims of our weak flesh, have thought these fancied remembrances available to awaken shamefastness, that so the boldness of sin may be staid ere it look abroad; surely, the Wisdom of the Church of Christ, which hath to that use, converted the Ceremony of the Cross in Baptism, it is no Christian mans part to despise; especially seeing that by this mean, where Nature doth earnestly import aid, Religion yieldeth her that ready assistance, then which there can be no help more forcible, serving onely to relieve memory, and to bring to our cogitation, that which should most make ashamed of sin. The minde while we are in this present life [d], whether it contemplate, meditate, deliberate, or howsoever exercise it self, worketh nothing without continual recourse unto imagination, the onely Store-house of wit, and peculiar Chair of memory. On this Anvile it ceaseth not day and night to strike, by means whereof, as the Pulse declareth how the heart doth work, so the very [e] thoughts and cogitations of mans minde, be they good or bad, do no where sooner bewray themselves, then through the crevesses of that Wall wherewith Nature hath compassed the Cells and Closets of Fancy. In the Forehead nothing more plain to be seen, then the fear of contumely and disgrace. For which cause, the Scripture (as with great

a *T. C.* lib. 1. pag 170. It is known to all that have read the Ecclesiastical stories, That the Heathen did object to Christians in times past, in reproach, That the God which they believed on, was hanged upon a Cross. And they thought good to testifie, that they were not ashamed therefore of the Son of God, by the often using of the Sign of the Cross. Which carefulness and good minde, to keep amongst them an open Profession of Christ crucified, although it be to be commended, yet is not this means so. For they might otherwise have kept it, and with less danger then by this use of crossing. And as it was brought in upon no good ground, so the Lord left a mark of his curse of it, and whereby it might be perceived to come out of the Forge of Mens Brain, in that it began forthwith, while it was yet in the Swadling Clouts, to be superstitiously abused. The Christians had such a Superstition in it, that they would do nothing without Crossing: But if it were granted, that upon this consideration which I have before mentioned, the ancient Christians did well; yet it followeth not, that we should so do. For we live not amongst those Nations which do cast us in the teeth, or reproach us with the Cross of Christ. Now that we live amongst Papists that do not contemn the Cross of Christ, but which esteem more of the Wooden Cross, then of the true Cross, which is his sufferings; we ought now to do clean contrariwise to the old Christians, and abolish all use of these Crosses. For contrary diseases, must have contrary remedies. If therefore the old Christians to deliver the Cross of Christ from contempt, did often use the Cross; the Christians now to take away the superstitious estimation of it, ought to take away the use of it. *b* Ephes. 5. 12. Rom. 6. 21. c *Sen.* Epist. 11. lib. 1. *d* Τὸ νοεῖν ἢ φαντασία τις ἢ οὐκ ἄνευ φαντασίας. *Arist.* de Anim. lib. 1. cap. 1. Ἡ μὲν αἰσθητικὴ φαντασία καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀλόγοις ζώοις ὑπάρχει, ἡ δὲ βουλευτικὴ ἐν τοῖς λογιστικοῖς, Lib. 3. cap. 11. Τὰ μὲν οὖν εἴδη τὸ νοητικὸν ἐν τοῖς φαντάσμασι νοεῖ, καὶ ὡς ἐν ἐκείνοις ὤειται αὐτῷ τὸ διωκτὸν καὶ φευκτὸν, καὶ ἐκτὸς τῆς αἰσθήσεως ὄν, ὅτι ἐπὶ τῶν φαντασμάτων ἦν, κινεῖται. Lib. 3. cap. 8. *e* Frons hominis tristitiæ, Hilaritatis, Clementiæ, severitatis index est. *Plin.* lib. 11.

Ezek. 9. 4. Apoc. 7. 3. & 9. 4.

probability it may be thought) deſcribeth them marked of God in the Forehead, whom his mercy hath undertaken to keep from final confuſion and ſhame. Not that God doth ſet any corporal mark on his choſen, but to note, that he giveth his Elect ſecurity of preſervation from reproach, the fear whereof doth uſe ſhew it ſelf in that part. Shall I ſay, that the Sign of the Croſs (as we uſe it) is in ſome ſort a mean to work our [a] preſervation from reproach? Surely, the minde which as yet hath not hardned it ſelf in ſin, is ſeldom provoked thereunto in any groſs and grievous manner, but Natures ſecret ſuggeſtion objected againſt it ignominy as a bar. Which conceit being entred into that Palace of Mans fancy, the Gates whereof, have imprinted in them that holy Sign which bringeth forthwith to minde, whatſoever Chriſt hath wrought, and we vowed againſt ſin; it cometh hereby to paſs, that Chriſtian men never want a moſt effectual, though a ſilent Teacher, to avoid whatſoever may deſervedly procure ſhame. So that in things which we ſhould be aſhamed of, we are by the Croſs admoniſhed faithfully of our duty, at the very moment when admonition doth moſt need. Other things there are which deſerve honor, and yet do purchaſe many times our diſgrace in this preſent World, as of old, the very truth of Religion it ſelf, till God by his own out-ſtretched arm made the glory thereof to ſhine over all the Earth. Whereupon St. *Cyprian* exhorting to Martyrdom in times of Heatheniſh perſecution and cruelty, thought it not vain to alledge unto them, with other Arguments, the very Ceremony of that Croſs whereof we ſpeak. Never let that hand offer Sacrifice to Idols, which hath already received the Body of our Saviour Chriſt, and ſhall hereafter the Crown of his Glory; *Arm your Foreheads* unto all boldneſs, that the *Sign of God* may be kept ſafe. Again, when it pleaſed God, that the fury of their enemies being bridled, the Church had ſome little reſt and quietneſs, (if ſo ſmall a liberty, but onely to breathe between troubles, may be termed quietneſs and reſt) to ſuch as fell not away from Chriſt, through former perſecutions, he giveth due and deſerved praiſe in the ſelf-ſame manner. *You that were ready to endure impriſonment, and were reſolute to ſuffer death; you that have couragiouſly withſtood the World, ye have made your ſelves both a glorious ſpectacle for God to behold, and a worthy example for the reſt of your Brethren to follow. Thoſe mouths which had ſanctified themſelves with food, coming down from Heaven, loathed after Chriſts own Body and Blood, to taſte the poyſoned and contagious ſcraps of Idols; thoſe Foreheads which the Sign of God had purified, kept themſelves to be crowned by him, the touch of the Garlands of Satan, they abhorred.* Thus was the memory of that Sign which they had in Baptiſm, a kinde of bar or prevention to keep them even from apoſtaſie, whereunto the frailty of fleſh and blood, over-much fearing to endure ſhame, might peradventure the more eaſily otherwiſe have drawn them. We have not now, through the gracious goodneſs of Almighty God, thoſe extream conflicts which our Fathers had with blaſphemous contumelies, every where offered to the Name of Chriſt, by ſuch as profeſſed themſelves Infidels and Unbelievers. Howbeit, unleſs we be ſtrangers to the age wherein we live, or elſe in ſome partial reſpect, diſſemblers of that we hourly both hear and ſee; there is not the ſimpleſt of us, but knoweth with what diſdain and ſcorn Chriſt is diſhonored far and wide. Is there any burden in the World, more heavy to bear then contempt? Is there any contempt that grieveth as theirs doth, whoſe quality no way making them leſs worthy then others are, of reputation; onely the ſervice which they do to Chriſt in the daily exerciſe of Religion, treadeth them down? Doth any contumely, which we ſuſtain for Religion ſake, pierce ſo deeply as that which would ſeem of meer Conſcience religiouſly ſpightful? When they that honor God, are deſpiſed; when the chiefeſt ſervice of Honor that man can do unto him, is the cauſe why they are deſpiſed; when they which pretend to honor him, and that with greateſt ſincerity, do with more then Heatheniſh petulancy trample under foot almoſt whatſoever, either we, or the whole Church of God, by the ſpace of ſo many ages, have been accuſtomed unto, for the comlier and better exerciſe of our Religion, according to the ſoundeſt Rules that Wiſdom directed by the Word of God, and by long experience confirmed, hath been able with common advice, with much deliberation and exceeding great diligence, to comprehend; when no man fighting under Chriſts Banner, can be always exempted from ſeeing,

or

[a] Ἐρυθαίνουσι γὰρ οἱ διεγνωκότες. *Ariſt* Eth. 4. c. 9. *a* Caro ſignatur ut & anima muniatur. *Tertul.* de Reſur. Car.

Cypr. Epiſt. 56. ad *Thibaritanos.*

Cypr. de Lapſ.

Erant enim ſupplices coronarii. *Tert.* lib. de Coro. Mil.

In the ſervice of Idols, the Doors of their Temples, the Sacrifices, the Altars, the Prieſts, and the Suppliants that were preſent, wore Garlands.

or sustaining those indignities; the sting whereof not to feel, or feeling, not to be moved thereat, is a thing impossible to flesh and blood: If this be any object for Patience to work on, the strictest bond that thereunto tieth us, is our vowed obedience to Christ; the solemnest vow that we ever made to obey Christ, and to suffer willingly all reproaches for his sake, was made in Baptism: And amongst other memorials to keep us mindful of that vow, we cannot think, that the Sign which our new Baptized Fore-heads did there receive, is either unfit or unforcible; the reasons hitherto alledged, being weighed with indifferent ballance. It is not (you will say) the Cross in our Fore-heads, but in our Hearts the Faith of Christ, that armeth us with Patience, Constancy, and Courage. Which as we grant to be most true, so neither dare we despise, no not the meanest helps that serve, though it be but in the very lowest degree of furtherance, towards the highest services that God doth require at our hands. And if any man deny, that such Ceremonies are available, at the least, as memorials of duty; or do think that himself hath no need to be so put in minde, what our duties are; it is but reasonable, that in the one, the publick experience of the World over-weigh some few mens perswasion; and in the other, the rare perfection of a few condescend unto common imbecillity. Seeing therefore, that to fear shame, which doth worthily follow sin, and to bear undeserved reproach constantly, is the general duty of all men professing Christianity; seeing also, that our weakness, while we are in this present World, doth need towards Spiritual duties, the help even of corporal furtherance; and that by reason of natural intercourse between the highest and the lowest powers of mans minde in all actions, his fancy or imagination, carrying in it that special note of Remembrance, then which, there is nothing more forcible, where either too weak, or too strong a conceit of infamy and disgrace might do great harm, standeth always ready to put forth a kinde of necessary helping hand; we are in that respect to acknowledge the [a] good and profitable use of this Ceremony, and not to think it superfluous, that Christ hath his mark applied [b] unto that part where bashfulness appeareth, in token that they which are Christians should be at no time ashamed of his ignominy. But to prevent some inconveniencies which might ensue, if the over-ordinary use thereof (as it fareth with such Rites, when they are too common) should cause it to be of less observation or regard, where it most availeth; we neither omit it in that place, nor altogether make it so vulgar, as the Custom heretofore hath been: Although to condemn the whole Church of God, when it most flourished in zeal and piety, to mark that age with the brand of Error and Superstition, onely because they had this Ceremony more in use, then we now think needful; boldly to affirm, That this their practice grew so soon, through a fearful malediction of God, upon the Ceremony of the Cross, as if we knew, that his purpose was thereby to make it manifest in all mens eyes, how execrable those things are in his sight which have proceeded from humane invention, is, as we take it, a censure of greater zeal then knowledge. Men whose judgments in these cases are grown more moderate, although they retain not as we do the use of this Ceremony, perceive notwithstanding very well, such censures to be out of square; and do therefore not onely [c] acquit the Fathers from superstition therein, but also think it sufficient to answer in excuse of themselves, [d] *The Ceremony which was but a thing indifferent even of old, we judge not at this day, a matter necessary for all Christian men to observe.* As for their last upshot of all towards this Mark, they are of opinion, that if the ancient Christians, to deliver the Cross of Christ from contempt, did well, and with good consideration, use often the Sign of the Cross, in testimony of their Faith and Profession, before Infidels which upbraided them with Christs sufferings; now that we live with such as contrariwise adore the Sign of the Cross (because contrary diseases should always have contrary remedies) we ought to take away all use thereof. In which conceipt, they both ways greatly seduce themselves; first, for that they imagine the Fathers to have had no use of the Cross, but with reference unto Infidels, which mis-perswasion we have before discovered at large; and secondly, by reason that they think there is not any other way besides Universal Extirpation, to reform superstitious abuses of the Cross. Wherein, because there are that stand very much upon the example of *Ezechias*, as if his *breaking to pieces that Serpent* of Brass, whereunto the Children of *Israel* had *burnt* [1 King. 18. 3.]

[a] Ἐγὼ δὲ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ φυλακτικὸν τοιούτων καὶ ὠφελεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ τὰ κωλυτικὰ τῆς ἐναντίας καὶ τὰ σφαρτικά. *Aristot.* Rhet. l. 1. cap. 6.

[b] *Ozias* Rex lepræ varietate in fronte maculatus est, ea parte corporis notatus offenso Domino ubi signantur qui Dominum promerentur. *Cypr.* de unit. Eccles. cap. 16.

[c] *Goulart.* Annot. in *Cypr.* lib. ad *Demetr.* cap. 19. Quamvis veteres Christiani externo signo crucis usi sunt, id tamen fuit sine superstitione, & doctrina de Christi merito ab errore qui postea irrepsit pios servavit immunes.

[d] Idem Annot. in *Cypr.* Epist. 56. c. 7.

Incenſe, did enforce the utter abolition of this Ceremony; the fact of that vertuous Prince, is by ſo much the more attentively to be conſidered. Our lives in this World, are partly guided by Rules, and partly directed by Examples. To conclude, out of general Rules and Axioms, by diſcourſe of Wit, our duties in every particular action, is both troubleſome, and many times ſo full of difficulty, that it maketh diliberations hard and tedious to the wiſeſt men. Whereupon we naturally all incline to obſerve examples, to mark what others have done before us, and in favor of our own eaſe, rather to follow them, then to enter into new conſultation; if in regard of their Vertue and Wiſdom, we may but probably think they have waded without Error. So that the willingneſs of men to be led by example of others, both diſcovereth and helpeth the imbecillity of our judgment. Becauſe it doth the one, therefore inſolent and proud Wits would always ſeem to be their own Guides; and, becauſe it doth the other, we ſee how hardly the vulgar ſort is drawn unto any thing, for which there are not as well Examples as Reaſons alledged. Reaſons proving that which is more particular by things more general and farther from Senſe, are with the ſimpler ſort of men leſs truſted, for that they doubt of their own judgment in thoſe things; but of Examples which prove unto them, one doubtful particular by another, more familiarly and ſenſibly known, they eaſily perceive in themſelves ſome better ability to judge. The force of Examples therefore is great, when in matter of action, being doubtful what to do, we are informed what others have commendably done, whoſe deliberations were like. But whoſoever doth perſwade by example, muſt as well reſpect the fitneſs, as the goodneſs of that he alledgeth. To *Ezechias,* God himſelf in this fact, giveth teſtimony of well-doing. So that nothing is here queſtionable, but onely whether the example alledged, be pertinent, pregnant, and ſtrong. The Serpent ſpoken of, was firſt erected for the extraordinary and miraculous cure of the *Iſraelites* in the Deſart. This uſe having preſently an end, when the cauſe, for which God ordained it, was once removed; the thing it ſelf they notwithſtanding kept for a Monument of Gods Mercy, as in like conſideration they did the Pot of Manna, the Rod of *Aaron,* and the Sword which *David* took from *Goliah.* In proceſs of time, they made of a Monument of Divine Power a plain Idol, they burnt Incenſe before it contrary to the Law of God, and did it the ſervices of honor due unto God onely. Which groſs and grievous abuſe, continued till *Ezekias* reſtoring the purity of ſound Religion, deſtroyed utterly that which had been ſo long and ſo generally a ſnare unto them.

Diſt. 63. cap. Quia. It is not amiſs, which the Canon Law hereupon concludeth, namely, *That if our Predeceſſors have done ſome things which at that time might be without fault, and afterward be turned to Error and Superſtition; we are taught by* Ezechias *breaking the Brazen Serpent, that Poſterity may deſtroy them without any delay, and with great Authority.* But may it be ſimply and without exception hereby gathered, that Poſterity is bound to deſtroy whatſoever hath been, either at the firſt invented, or but afterwards turned to like Superſtition and Error? No, it cannot be. The Serpent therefore, and the Sign of the Croſs, although ſeeming equal in this point, That Superſtition hath abuſed both; yet being herein alſo unequal, that neither they have been both ſubject to the like degree of abuſe, nor were in hardneſs of redreſs alike, it may be, That even as the one for abuſe was religiouſly taken away; ſo now, when Religion hath taken away abuſe from the other; we ſhould by utter abolition thereof, deſerve hardly his commendation, whoſe example there is offered us no ſuch neceſſary cauſe to follow. For by the words of *Ezechias,* in terming the Serpent but *A lump of Braſs,* to ſhew, That the beſt thing in it now, was the Metal or Matter whereof it conſiſted; we may probably conjecture, That the people whoſe Error is therein controlled, had the ſelf-ſame opinion of it, which the Heathens had of Idols, They thought that the Power of Deity was with it; and when they ſaw it diſſolved, haply they might, to comfort themſelves, imagine as *Olympius* the Sophiſter did, beholding the diſſipation of Idols, *Shapes and counterfeits they were, faſhioned of matter ſubject unto corruption, therefore to grind them to duſt was eaſie; but thoſe Celeſtial Powers which dwelt and reſided in them, are aſcended into Heaven.* Some difference there is between theſe opinions of palpable Idolatry, and that which the Schools in Speculation have boulted out concerning the Croſs. Notwithſtanding, for as much as the Church of *Rome* hath hitherto practiſed, and doth profeſs

Sozom. lib. 7. cap. 15.

the

the same Adoration to the Sign of the Cross, and neither less nor other, then is due unto Christ himself; howsoever they varnish and qualifie their sentence, pretending, That the Cross, which to outward sense, presenteth visibly it self alone, is not by them apprehended alone, but hath, in their secret surmise or conceit, a reference to the Person of our Lord Jesus Christ; so that the honor which they joyntly do to both, respecteth principally his Person, and the Cross but onely for his Persons sake; the people not accustomed to trouble their wits with so nice and subtle differences in the exercise of Religion, are apparently no less ensnared by adoring the Cross, then the Jews by burning Incense to the Brazen Serpent. It is by *Thomas* ingenuously granted, That because unto reasonable Creatures, a kinde of reverence is due for the excellency which is in them, and whereby they resemble God; therefore, if reasonable Creatures, Angels, or Men, should receive at our hands, holy and divine honor, as the Sign of the Cross doth at theirs, to pretend, that we honor not them alone, but we honor God with them; would not serve the turn, neither would this be able to prevent the error of men, or cause them always to respect God in their adorations, and not to finish their intents in the object next before them. But unto this he addeth, That no such error can grow, by adoring in that sort a dead Image, which every man knoweth to be void of excellency in it self, and therefore will easily conceive, that the honor done unto it, hath an higher reference. Howbeit, seeing that we have by over-true experience, been taught how often, especially in these cases, the light even of common understanding faileth; surely, their usual adoration of the Cross is not hereby freed. For in actions of this kinde, we are more to respect, what the greatest part of men is commonly prone to conceive, then what some few mens wits may devise in construction of their own particular meanings. Plain it is, that a false opinion of some personal divine excellency to be in those things, which either Nature or Art hath framed, causeth always religious adoration. And as plain, that the like adoration applied unto things sensible, argueth to vulgar capacities, yea, leaveth imprinted in them the very same opinion of Deity, from whence all idolatrous worship groweth. Yea, the meaner and baser a thing worshipped, is in it self; the more they incline to think, that every man which doth adore it, knoweth there is in it, or with it, a presence of divine power. Be it therefore true, That Crosses purposely framed or used for receipt of divine honor, be even as scandalous as the Brazen Serpent it self, where they are in such sort adored; Should we hereupon think our selves in the sight of God, and in Conscience charged to abolish utterly the very Ceremony of the Cross, neither meant at the first, nor now converted unto any such offensive purpose? Did the Jews which could never be perswaded to admit in the City of *Jerusalem*, that [a] Image of *Cæsar* which the *Romans* were accustomed to [b] adore, make any scruple of [c] *Cæsars* Image in the Coyn, which they knew very well that men were not wont to worship? Between the Cross which Superstition honoreth as Christ, and that Ceremony of the Cross, which serveth onely for a Sign of Remembrance; there is as plain and as great a difference, as between those [d] Brazen Images which *Solomon* made to bear up the Cestern of the Temple, and (sith both were of like shape, but of unlike use) [e] that which the *Israelites* in the Wilderness did adore; or between the [f] Altars which *Josias* destroyed, because they were instruments of meer Idolatry, and [g] that which the Tribe of *Reuben*, with others erected near to the River *Jordan*; for which also they grew at the first into some dislike, and were by the rest of their Brethren suspected, yea, hardly charged with open breach of the Law of God, accused of backwardness in Religion, upbraided bitterly with the fact of *Peor*, and the odious example of *Achan*; as if the building of their Altar in that place had given manifest shew of no better, then intended Apostasie, till by a true Declaration made in their own defence, it appeared, that such as misliked, mis-understood their enterprize, in as much as they had no intent to build any Altar for Sacrifice, which God would have no where offered saving in *Jerusalem* onely, but to a far other end and purpose, which being opened, satisfied all parties, and so delivered them from causeless blame. In this particular, suppose the worst; Imagine that the immaterial Ceremony of the Cross, had been the subject of as gross pollution as any Heathenish

Tho. pag. 3. q. 25. art. 3. Resp. ad Tert.

[a] *Joseph.* Antiq lib. 17. cap. 8. & lib. 18. cap. 3. & de Bell. lib. 2. cap. 8.

[b] Their Eagles their Ensigns, and the Images of their Princes, they carried with them in all their Armies, and had always a kinde of Chappel wherein they placed and adored them as their gods. *ie.* l. 40. *Herodian.* lib. 4.

[c] Matth. 22. 20.

[d] 2 Chro. 4. 3.

[e] Exod. 32. 4.

[f] 2 Chro. 34 7.

[g] Josh. 22. 10.

or

or prophane Idol. If we think the example of *Ezechias* a proof, that things which Error and Superstition hath abused, may in no consideration be tolerated, although we presently finde them not subject to so vile abuse, the plain example of *Ezechias*
1 King. 11. 17. proveth the contrary. The Temples and Idols, which under *Solomon* had been of very purpose framed for the honor of foreign gods, *Ezechias* destroyed not; because they stood as forlorn things, and did now no harm, although formerly they
2 King. 23. 13. had done harm. *Josias*, for some inconvenience afterwards, razed them up. Yet to both, there is one commendation given, even from God himself, that touch-
2 King. 18 3, 6. & 22. 2. ing Matter of Religion, they walked in the steps of *David*, and did no way displease God. Perhaps it seemeth, that by force and vertue of this example, although it bare detestation and hatred of Idolatry, all things which have been at any time worshipped, are not necessarily to be taken out of the World; nevertheless, for remedy and prevention of so great offences, Wisdom should judge it the safest course to remove altogether from the eyes of men, that which may put them in minde of evil. Some kindes of evil, no doubt; there are very quick in working on those affections that most easily take fire, which evils should in that respect, no oftner then need requireth, be brought in presence of weak mindes. But neither is the Cross any such evil, nor yet the Brazen Serpent it self so strongly poysoned, that our eyes, ears, and thoughts, ought to shun them both, for fear of some deadly harm to ensue, the onely representation thereof, by gesture, shape, sound, or such like significant means. And for mine own part, I most assuredly perswade my self, that had *Ezechias* (till the days of whose most vertuous Reign, they ceased not continually to burn Incense to the Brazen Serpent) had he found the Serpent, though sometime adored, yet at that time recovered from the evil of so gross abuse, and reduced to the same that was before in the time of *David*, at which time they esteemed it onely as a Memorial, Sign, or Monument of Gods miraculous goodness towards them, even as we in no other sort esteem the Ceremony of the Cross; the due consideration of an use so harmless, common to both, might no less have wrought their equal preservation, then different occasions have procured, notwithstanding the ones extinguishment, the others lawful continuance. In all perswasions, which ground themselves upon example, we are not so much to respect what is done, as the causes and secret inducements leading thereunto. The question being therefore, whether this Ceremony supposed to have been sometimes scandalous and offensive, ought for that cause to be now removed; there is no reason we should forthwith yield our selves to be carried away with example, no not of them, whose acts, the highest judgment approveth for having reformed in that manner, any publick evil: But before we either attempt any thing, or resolve, the state and condition as well of our own affairs as theirs, whose example presseth us, is advisedly to be examined; because some things are of their own nature scandalous, and cannot
2 King. 23. 7. chuse but breed offence, as those Sinks of execrable filth which *Josias* did overwhelm; some things, albeit not by Nature, and of themselves, are notwithstanding so generally turned to evil, by reason of an evil corrupt habit grown, and through long continuance incurably setled in the mindes of the greatest part, that no redress can be well hoped for, without removal of that wherein they have ruined themselves, which plainly was the state of the Jewish people, and the cause why *Ezechias* did with such sudden indignation destroy what he saw worshipped; finally, some things are as the Sign of the Cross, though subject either almost or altogether to as great abuse, yet curable with more facility and ease. And to speak as the truth is, our very nature doth hardly yield to destroy that which may be fruitfully kept, and without any great difficulty, clean scoured from the rust of evil, which by some accident hath grown into it. Wherefore to that which they build in this question upon the example of *Ezechias*, let this suffice. When Heathens despised Christian Religion, because of the sufferings of Jesus Christ, the Fathers, to testifie how little such contumelies and contempts prevailed with them, chose rather the Sign of the Cross, then any other outward mark, whereby the World might most easily discern always what they were. On the contrary side now, whereas they which do all profess the Christian Religion, are divided amongst themselves; and the fault of the one part is, That the zeal to the sufferings of Christ, they admire too much, and

over-

over-superstitiously adore the Visible Sign of his Cross; if you ask, what we that mislike them should do, we are here advised to cure one contrary by another. Which Art or Method, is not yet so current as they imagine. For if, as their practice for the most part sheweth, it be their meaning, that the scope and drift of Reformation, when things are faulty, should be to settle the Church in the contrary; it standeth them upon, to beware of this rule, because seeing Vices have not onely Vertues, but other Vices also in Nature opposite unto them, it may be dangerous in these cases to seek, but that which we finde contrary to present evils. For in sores and sicknesses of the minde, we are not simply to measure good by distance from evil, because one Vice may in some respect be more opposite to another, then either of them to that Vertue which holdeth the mean between them both. Liberality and Covetousnes, the one a Vertue, and the other a Vice, are not so contrary as the Vices of Covetousnes and Prodigality: Religion and Superstition have more affiance, though the one be Light, and the other Darkness; then Superstition and Prophaneness, which both are vicious extremities. By means whereof it cometh also to pass, that the Mean, which is Vertue, seemeth in the eyes of each extream an extremity; the liberal hearted man is by the opinion of the Prodigal miserable, and by the judgment of the miserable lavish: Impiety for the most part upbraideth Religion as Superstitious, which Superstition often accuseth as impious; both so conceiving thereof, because it doth seem more to participate each extream, then one extream doth another, and is by consequent less contrary to either of them, then they mutually between themselves. Now, if he that seeketh to reform Covetousnes or Superstition, should but labor to induce the contrary, it were but to draw men out of Lime into Cole-dust: So that their course, which will remedy the Superstitious abuse of things profitable in the Church, is not still to abolish utterly the use thereof, because not using at all, is most opposite to ill using; but rather, if it may be, to bring them back to a right perfect and religious usage, which albeit less contrary to the present sore, is notwithstanding the better, and by many degrees the sounder way of recovery: And unto this effect, that very Precedent it self, which they propose, may be best followed. For as the Fathers, when the Cross of Christ was in utter contempt, did not superstitiously adore the same, but rather declare, that they so esteemed it as was meet: In like manner where we finde the Cross, to have that honor which is due to Christ, is it not as lawful for us to retain it, in that estimation which it ought to have, and in that use which it had of old without offence, as by taking it clean away, to seem Followers of their example; which cure wilfully by abscission that which they might both preserve and heal? Touching therefore the Sign and Ceremony of the Cross, we no way finde our selves bound to relinquish it; neither because the first Inventors thereof were but mortal men; nor lest the sense and signification we give unto it, should burthen us as Authors of a new Gospel in the House of God; nor in respect of some cause which the Fathers had more then we have to use the same; nor finally, for any such offence or scandal, as heretofore it hath been subject unto by Error, now reformed in the mindes of Men.

Of Confirmation after Baptism.

66. The ancient Custom of the Church was, after they had Baptized, to add thereunto Imposition of Hands, with effectual Prayer for the * illumination of Gods most holy Spirit, to confirm and perfect that which the Grace of the same Spirit had already begun in Baptism. For our means to obtain the Graces which God doth bestow, are our Prayers. Our Prayers to that intent, are available as well for others, as for our selves. To pray for others, is to bless them, for whom we pray; because Prayer procureth the blessing of God upon them, especially the Prayer of such as God either most respecteth for their Piety and Zeal that way, or else regardeth for that their place and calling bindeth them above others unto this duty, as it doth both Natural and Spiritual Fathers. With Prayers of Spiritual and Personal Benediction, the manner hath been in all ages to use *Imposition of Hands*, as a Ceremony betokening our restrained desires to the party, whom we present unto God by Prayer. Thus when *Israel* blessed *Ephraim* and *Manasses*, *Josephs* sons, he imposed upon them his hands, and prayed; *God, in whose sight my Fathers,* Abraham *and* Isaac, *did walk; God which hath fed me all my life long unto this day, and the Angel which*

* Caro manus Impositione adumbratur, ut & anima Spiritu illuminetur. *Tertul.* de Resur. Car.

Gen. 48. 14.

which hath delivered me from all evil, bleſs theſe Children. The Prophets which healed diſeaſes by Prayer, uſed therein the ſelf-ſame Ceremony. And therefore
2 King. 5. 11. when *Elizeus* willed *Naaman* to waſh himſelf ſeven times in *Jordan*, for cure of his foul diſeaſe, it much offended him; *I thought* (ſaith he) *with my ſelf, Surely the man will come forth, and ſtand, and call upon the Name of the Lord his God, and*
Num. 27. 18. *put his hand on the place, to the end he may ſo heal the Leproſie.* In Conſecrations and Ordinations of Men unto Rooms of Divine Calling, the like was uſually done from the time of *Moſes* to Chriſt. Their ſuits that came unto Chriſt for help were
Matth. 9. 18. Mark 5. 23. 8. 22. alſo tendred oftentimes, and are expreſſed in ſuch forms or phraſes of ſpeech, as ſhew, that he was himſelf an obſerver of the ſame cuſtom. He which with Impoſition of Hands and Prayer, did ſo great Works of Mercy for reſtauration of Bodily health, was worthily judged as able to effect the infuſion of Heavenly Grace into them, whoſe age was not yet depraved with that malice, which might be
Matth. 19. 13 Mark 10. 13. Luk. 18. 15. ſuppoſed a bar to the goodneſs of God towards them. They brought him therefore young children to put his hands upon them, and pray. After the Aſcenſion of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, that which he had begun, continued in the daily practice of his Apoſtles, whoſe Prayer and Impoſition of Hands, were a mean whereby thouſands became partakers of the wonderful Gifts of God: The
Mark 16. 17. Church had received from Chriſt a promiſe, that ſuch as believed in him, theſe ſigns and tokens ſhould follow them, *To caſt out Devils, to ſpeak with Tongues, to drive away Serpents, to be free from the harm which any deadly poyſon could work, and to cure diſeaſes by Impoſition of Hands.* Which power, common at the firſt, in a manner, unto all Believers, all Believers had not power to derive or communicate unto all other men; but whoſoever was the inſtrument of God to inſtruct, con-
Acts 19. 6. vert, and baptize them, the gift of miraculous operations by the power of the Holy Ghoſt they had not, but onely at the Apoſtles own hands. For which cauſe
Acts 8. 17, 18. *Simon Magus* perceiving that power to be in none but them, and preſuming, that they which had it, might ſell it, ſought to purchaſe it of them with money. And, as miraculous Graces of the Spirit continued after the Apoſtles times, *For*
Iren. lib. 2. cap. 57. (ſaith *Irenæus*) *they which are truly his Diſciples, do in his Name, and through Grace received from him, ſuch works for the benefit of other men, as every of them is by him enabled to work: Some caſt out Devils, in ſo much, as they which are delivered from wicked ſpirits, have been thereby won unto Chriſt, and do conſtantly perſevere in the Church, and Society of Faithful Men: Some excel in the knowledge of things to come, in the grace of Viſions from God, and the gift of Prophetical Prediction: Some by laying on their hands, reſtore them to health, which are grievouſly afflicted with ſickneſs; yea, there are that of dead, have been made alive, and have afterwards many years converſed with us. What ſhould I ſay? The gifts are innumerable wherewith God hath inriched his Church throughout the World, and by vertue whereof, in the Name of Chriſt crucified under* Pontius Pilate, *the Church every day doth many wonders for the good of Nations, neither fraudulently, nor in any reſpect of lucre and gain to her ſelf, but as freely beſtowing, as God on her hath beſtowed his Divine Graces:* So it no where appeareth, that ever any did by Prayer and Impoſition of Hands, ſithence the Apoſtles times, make others partakers of the like miraculous gifts and graces, as long as it pleaſed God to continue the ſame in his Church, but onely
Auguſt de Vera Relig. cap. 15. Biſhops, the Apoſtles Succeſſors, for a time, even in that power. St. *Auguſtine* acknowledgeth, That ſuch gifts were not permitted to laſt always, leſt men ſhould wax cold with the commonneſs of that, the ſtrangeneſs whereof at the firſt inflamed them. Which words of St. *Auguſtine*, declaring how the vulgar uſe of theſe Miracles was then expired, are no prejudice to the like extraordinary Graces, more rarely obſerved in ſome, either then or of latter days. Now whereas the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles had but onely for a time ſuch power, as, by Prayer and Impoſition of Hands, to beſtow the Holy Ghoſt; the reaſon wherefore Confirmation, nevertheleſs, by Prayer and Laying on of Hands hath hitherto always continued, is for other very ſpecial benefits which the Church thereby enjoyeth. The Fathers every where impute unto it that gift or Grace of the Holy Ghoſt, not which maketh us firſt Chriſtian men, but, when we are made ſuch, aſſiſteth us in all vertue, armeth us againſt temptation and ſin. For, after Baptiſm adminiſtred, *there followeth*

(ſaith

(ſaith *Tertullian*) *Impoſition of Hands, with Invocation and Invitation of the Holy Ghoſt, which willingly cometh down from the Father, to reſt upon the purified and bleſſed Bodies, as it were acknowledging the Waters of Baptiſm a fit Seat.* St. *Cyprian* in more particular manner, alluding to that effect of the Spirit, which here eſpecially was reſpected. *How great* (ſaith he) *is that power and force wherewith the minde is here* (he meaneth in Baptiſm) *enabled, being not onely withdrawn from that pernicious hold which the World before had of it, nor onely ſo purified and made clean, that no ſtain or blemiſh of the Enemies invaſion doth remain; but over and beſides* (namely, through Prayer and Impoſition of Hands) *becometh yet greater, yet mightier in ſtrength, ſo far as to raign with a kinde of Imperial Dominion, over the whole Band of that roming and ſpoiling Adverſary.* As much is ſignified by *Euſebius Emiſſenus*, ſaying, *The Holy Ghoſt which deſcendeth with ſaving influence upon the Waters of Baptiſm, doth there give that fulneſs which ſufficeth for innocency, and afterwards exhibiteth in Confirmation an Augmentation of further Grace.* The Fathers therefore being thus perſwaded, held Confirmation as an Ordinance Apoſtolick, always profitable in Gods Church, although not always accompanied with equal largeneſs of thoſe External Effects which gave it countenance at the firſt. The cauſe of ſevering Confirmation from Baptiſm (for moſt commonly they went together) was ſometimes in the Miniſter, which being of inferior degree, might Baptize, but not Confirm, as in their caſe it came to paſs, whom *Peter* and *John* did confirm, whereas *Philip* had before baptized them; and in theirs of whom St. *Jerome* hath ſaid, *I deny not but the Cuſtom of the Churches is, that the Biſhop ſhould go abroad, and impoſing his hands, pray for the Gift of the Holy Ghoſt on them, whom Presbyters and Deacons far off, in leſſer Cities, have already Baptized.* Which ancient Cuſtom of the Church, St. *Cyprian* groundeth upon the example of *Peter* and *John* in the Eighth of the *Acts*, before alledged. *The faithful in* Samaria (ſaith he) *had already obtained Baptiſm; onely that which was wanting,* Peter *and* John *ſupplied by Prayer and Impoſition of Hands, to the end, the Holy Ghoſt might be poured upon them. Which alſo is done amongſt our ſelves, when they which be already Baptized, are brought to the Prelates of the Church, to obtain by their Prayer and Impoſition of Hands the Holy Ghoſt.* By this it appeareth, that when the Miniſters of Baptiſm were perſons of inferior degree, the Biſhops did after Confirm whom ſuch had before Baptized. Sometimes they which by force of their Eccleſiaſtical Calling, might do as well the one as the other, were notwithſtanding Men whom Hereſie had diſ-joyned from the Fellowſhip of true Believers. Whereupon, when any Man, by them Baptized and Confirmed, came afterwards to ſee and renounce their Error, there grew in ſome Churches very hot contention about the manner of admitting ſuch into the Boſome of the true Church, as hath been declared already in the queſtion of Rebaptization. But the generally received Cuſtom was onely to admit them with Impoſition of Hands and Prayer. Of which Cuſtom, whileſome imagined the reaſon to be, for that Hereticks might give Remiſſion of Sins by Baptiſm, but not the Spirit by Impoſition of Hands, becauſe themſelves had not Gods Spirit, and that therefore their Baptiſm might ſtand; but Confirmation muſt be given again. The imbecillity of this ground, gave *Cyprian* occaſion to oppoſe himſelf againſt the practice of the Church herein, laboring many ways to prove, That Hereticks could do neither; and conſequently, that their Baptiſm in all reſpects, was as fruſtrate as their Chriſm; for the manner of thoſe times was in Confirming to uſe Anointing. On the other ſide, againſt Luciferians which ratified onely the Baptiſm of Hereticks, but diſannulled their Confirmations and Conſecrations, under pretence of the reaſon which hath been before ſpecified, *Hereticks cannot give the Holy Ghoſt.* St. *Jerome* proveth at large, That if Baptiſm by Hereticks be granted available to Remiſſion of Sins, which no man receiveth without the Spirit, it muſt needs follow, that the reaſon taken from diſability of beſtowing the Holy Ghoſt, was no reaſon wherefore the Church ſhould admit Converts with any new Impoſition of Hands. Notwithſtanding, becauſe it might be objected, That if the gift of the Holy Ghoſt do always joyn it ſelf with true Baptiſm, the Church, which thinketh the Biſhops Confirmation after others Mens Baptiſm needful for the obtaining of the Holy Ghoſt, ſhould hold an error: Saint *Jerome* hereunto maketh anſwer, That the cauſe of this obſervation is not any abſo-

Tertul. de Baptiſ.

Cypr. Epiſt. 2. ad Donat. c. 1.

Euſeb. Emiſ. Ser. de *Pente.*

Aug. de Trin. lib 15 cap. 26. Heb. 6. 2.

Acts 8. 12, 15.

Jer. Adverſ. *Lucif.* cap. 4.

Cypr. Epiſt. 73. ad *Jubajanum.*

lute impoſſibility of receiving the Holy Ghoſt by the Sacrament of Baptiſm, unleſs a Biſhop add after it the Impoſition of Hands, but rather a certain congruity and fitneſs to honor Prelacy with ſuch pre-eminences, becauſe the ſafety of the Church dependeth upon the dignity of her chief Superiors, to whom, if ſome eminent Offices of Power above others ſhould not be given, there would be in the Church as many Schiſms as Prieſts. By which anſwer, it appeareth his opinion was, That the Holy Ghoſt is received in Baptiſm; that Confirmation is onely a Sacramental Complement; that the reaſon why Biſhops alone did ordinarily confirm, was not becauſe the benefit, grace, and dignity thereof, is greater then of Baptiſm; but rather, for that, by the Sacrament of Baptiſm, Men being admitted into Gods Church, it was both reaſonable and convenient, that if he Baptize them not unto whom the chiefeſt authority and charge of their Souls belongeth; yet for honors ſake, and in token of his Spiritual Superiority over them, becauſe to bleſs, is an act of Authority, the performance of this annexed Ceremony ſhould be ſought for at his hands. Now what effect their Impoſition of Hands hath, either after Baptiſm adminiſtred by Hereticks or otherwiſe, St. *Jerome* in that place hath made no mention, becauſe all men underſtood that in Converts it tendeth to the fruits of Repentance, and craveth in behalf of the Penitent, ſuch grace as *David*, after his fall, deſired at the hands of God; in others, the fruit and benefit thereof is, that which hath been before ſhewed. Finally, Sometime the cauſe of ſevering Confirmation from Baptiſm, was in the parties that received Baptiſm being Infants, at which age they might be very well admitted to live in the Family; but becauſe to fight in the Army of God, to diſcharge the duties of a Chriſtian man, to bring forth the fruits, and to do the Works of the Holy Ghoſt, their time of ability was not yet come, (ſo that Baptiſm were not deferred) there could, by ſtay of their Confirmation, no harm enſue, but rather good. For by this means it came to paſs, that Children in expectation thereof, were ſeaſoned with the principles of true Religion, before malice and corrupt examples depraved their mindes, a good foundation was laid betimes for direction of the courſe of their whole lives, the Seed of the Church of God was preſerved ſincere and ſound, the Prelates and Fathers of Gods Family, to whom the cure of their Souls belonged, ſaw by tryal and examination of them, a part of their own heavy burthen diſcharged, reaped comfort by beholding the firſt beginnings of true godlineſs in tender years, glorified him whoſe praiſe they found in the mouths of Infants, and neglected not ſo fit opportunity of giving every one Fatherly encouragement and exhortation. Whereunto Impoſition of Hands, and Prayer being added, our Warrant for the great good effect thereof, is the ſame which Patriarks, Prophets, Prieſts, Apoſtles, Fathers, and Men of God, have had for ſuch their particular Invocations and Benedictions, as no Man, I ſuppoſe, profeſſing truth of Religion, will eaſily think to have been without Fruit. No, there is no cauſe we ſhould doubt of the benefit; but ſurely great cauſe to make complaint of the deep neglect of this Chriſtian duty, almoſt with all them, to whom by right of their place and calling, the ſame belongeth. Let them not take it in evil part, the thing is true, their ſmall regard hereunto hath done harm in the Church of God. That which * Error raſhly uttereth in diſgrace of good things, may peradventure be ſpunged out, when the print of thoſe evils, which are grown through neglect,

Heb. 6. 3.

Pſal. 51. 10, 11, 12.

* *T. C.* lib. 1. pag. 199. Tell me why there ſhould be any ſuch Confirmation in the Church, being brought in by the feigned Decretal Epiſtles of the Popes (this is retracted by the ſame *T. C.* lib. 3. pag. 232. That it is ancienter then the feigned Decretal Epiſtles, I yield unto) and no one tittle thereof, being once found in the Scripture, and ſeeing that it hath been ſo horribly abuſed, and not neceſſary; why ought it not to be utterly aboliſhed? And thirdly, this Confirmation hath many dangerous points in it. The firſt ſtep of Popery in this Confirmation, is the Laying on of Hands upon the Head of the Childe, whereby the opinion of it that it is a Sacrament, is confirmed, eſpecially when as the Prayer doth ſay, That it is done according to the example of the Apoſtles, which is a manifeſt untruth, and taken indeed from the Popiſh Confirmation. The ſecond is, for that the Biſhop, as he is called, muſt be the onely Miniſter of it, whereby the Popiſh opinion, which eſteemeth it above Baptiſm, is confirmed. For whileſt Baptiſm may be miniſtred of the Miniſter, and not Confirmation, but onely of the Biſhop; there is great cauſe of ſuſpition given to think that Baptiſm is not ſo precious a thing as Confirmation, ſeeing this was one of the principal reaſons whereby that wicked opinion was eſtabliſhed in Popery. I do not here ſpeak of the inconvenience, that men are conſtrained with charges to bring their children oftentimes half a ſcore miles for that, which, if it were needful, might be as well done at home in their own Pariſhes. The third is, for that the Book ſaith, a cauſe of uſing Confirmation is, That by Impoſition of Hands and Prayer, the Children may receive ſtrength and defence againſt all temptations, whereas there is no promiſe, that by the Laying on of Hands upon Children any ſuch gift ſhall be given; and it maintaineth the Popiſh diſtinction, That the Spirit of God is given at Baptiſm, unto Remiſſion of Sins; and in Confirmation, unto Strength.

will

will remain behinde. Thus much therefore generally spoken, may serve for answer unto their demands, that require us to tell them, *Why there should be any such confirmation in the Church*, seeing we are not ignorant how earnestly they have protested against it; and how directly (although untruly, for so they are content to acknowledge) it hath by some of them been said, *To be first brought in by the feigned Decretal Epistles of the Popes*; or, why it should not be *utterly abolished; seeing that no one title thereof, can be once found in the whole Scripture*, except the Epistle to the *Hebrews* be Scripture: And again, seeing that how free soever it be now from abuse, if we look back to the times past, which wise men do always more respect then the present, it hath been abused, and is found at the length no such profitable Ceremony; as the whole silly Church of Christ, for the space of these Sixteen hundred years, hath through want of experience imagined. Last of all, Seeing also, besides the cruelty which is shewed towards poor Country people, who are fain sometimes to let their Ploughs stand still, and with increble wearisome toyl of their feeble bodies, to wander over Mountains and through Woods; it may be, now and then little less then a whole half score of miles for a Bishops blessing, *which if it were needful, might as well be done at home in their own Parishes, rather then they to purchase it with so great loss and so intolerable pain.* There are, they say, in Confirmation, besides this, Three terrible points. The first is, *Laying on of hands, with pretence, that the same is done to the example of the Apostles*, which is not onely, as they suppose, *a manifest untruth*; (for all the World doth know, that the Apostles did never after Baptism lay hands on any, and therefore Saint *Luke* which saith they did, was much deceived:) But farther also, we thereby teach men to think *Imposition of Hands a Sacrament*, belike, because it is a principle ingrafted by common Light of Nature in the Mindes of Men, that all things done by Apostolick example, must needs be Sacraments. The second high point of danger is, *That by tying Confirmation to the Bishop alone, there is great cause of suspition given, to think that Baptism is not so precious a thing as Confirmation:* For will any man think, that a Velvet Coat is of more price, then a Linnen Coyf, knowing the one to be an ordinary Garment, the other an Ornament which onely Sergeants at Law do wear? Finally, To draw to an end of perils, the last and the weightiest hazard is, where the Book it self doth say, That Children by Imposition of Hands and Prayer, may receive strength against all temptation: Which speech, as a two-edged sword, doth both ways dangerously wound; partly because it ascribeth Grace to Imposition of Hands, whereby we are able no more to assure our selves in the warrant of any promise from God, that his Heavenly Grace shall be given, then the Apostle was, that himself should obtain Grace by the bowing of his knees to God; and partly, because by using the very word *strength* in this matter, a word so apt to spred infection, we *maintain* with Popish Evangelists, an old forlorn *distinction* of the Holy Ghost, bestowed upon Christs Apostles before his Ascension into Heaven, and augmented upon them afterwards; a distinction of Grace infused into Christian men by degrees; planted in them at the first by Baptism, after cherished, watred, and (be it spoken without offence) strengthned as by other vertuous Offices, which Piety and true Religion teacheth, even so by this very special Benediction whereof we speak, the Rite or Ceremony of Confirmation.

Heb. 6. 3.

Acts 8. 15, 17.

Ephes. 3. 14.

John 20. 22. Acts 1. 8.

Of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ.

67. The Grace which we have by the holy Eucharist, doth not begin, but continue life. No man therefore receiveth this Sacrament before Baptism, because no dead thing is capable of nourishment. That which groweth, must of necessity first live. If our Bodies did not daily waste, Food to restore them, were a thing superfluous. And it may be, that the Grace of Baptism would serve to Eternal Life, were it not that the state of our Spiritual Being, is daily so much hindered and impaired after Baptism. In that life therefore, where neither Body nor Soul can decay, our Souls shall as little require this Sacrament, as our Bodies corporal nourishment. But as long as the days of our warfare last, during the time that we are both subject to diminution and capable of augmentation in Grace, the Words of our Lord and Saviour Christ will remain forceable, *Except ye eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, ye have no life in you.* Life being therefore proposed unto all men

John 6. 12.

as their end, they which by Baptiſm have laid the Foundation and attained the firſt beginning of a new life, have here their nouriſhment and food preſcribed for continuance of life in them. Such as will live the Life of God, muſt eat the Fleſh and drink the Blood of the Son of Man; becauſe this is a part of that diet, which if we want, we cannot live. Whereas therefore in our Infancy we are incorporated into Chriſt, and by Baptiſm receive the Grace of his Spirit, without any ſenſe or feeling of the gift which God beſtoweth; in the Euchariſt, we ſo receive the gift of God, that we know by Grace, what the Grace is which God giveth us; the degrees of our own Increaſe, in holineſs and vertue, we ſee and can judge of them; we underſtand that the ſtrength of our life begun in Chriſt, is Chriſt; that his Fleſh is Meat, and his Blood drink, not by ſurmiſed imagination, but truly, even ſo truly, that through Faith, we perceive in the Body and Blood ſacramentally preſented, the very taſte of Eternal Life; the Grace of the Sacrament, is here as the food which we eat and drink. This was it that ſome did exceedingly fear, leſt *Zwinglius* and *Oecolampadius* would bring to paſs, that men ſhould account of this Sacrament, but onely as of a ſhadow, deſtitute, empty, and void of Chriſt. But ſeeing, that by opening the ſeveral opinions which have been held, they are grown, for ought I can ſee, on all ſides at the length to a general agreement, concerning that which alone is material, namely, The Real Participation of Chriſt, and of Life in his Body and Blood, by means of this Sacrament; Wherefore ſhould the World continue ſtill diſtracted, and rent with ſo manifold Contentions, when there remaineth now no Controverſie, ſaving onely about the ſubject where Chriſt is? Yea, even in this point no ſide denieth, but that the Soul of Man is the receptacle of Chriſts preſence. Whereby the queſtion is yet driven to a narrower iſſue, nor doth any thing reſt doubtful but this, Whether when the Sacrament is adminiſtred, Chriſt be whole within Man onely, or elſe his Body and Blood be alſo externally ſeated in the very Conſecrated Elements themſelves. Which opinion they that defend, are driven either to Conſubſtantiate and Incorporate Chriſt with Elements Sacramental, or to Tranſubſtantiate and change their ſubſtance into his; and ſo the one to hold him really, but inviſibly, moulded up with the ſubſtance of thoſe Elements; the other to hide him under the onely viſible ſhew of Bread and Wine, the ſubſtance whereof, as they imagine, is aboliſhed, and his ſucceeded in the ſame room. All things conſidered, and compared with that ſucceſs, which Truth hath hitherto had by ſo bitter Conflicts with Errors in this point, Shall I wiſh that men would more give themſelves to meditate with ſilence, what we have by the Sacrament, and leſs to diſpute of the manner how? If any man ſuppoſe that this were too great ſtupidity and dulneſs, let us ſee whether the Apoſtles of our Lord themſelves have not done the like. It appeareth by many examples, that they of their own diſpoſition were very ſcrupulous and inquiſitive, yea, in other caſes of leſs importance, and leſs difficulty, always apt to move queſtions. How cometh it to paſs, that ſo few words of ſo high a Myſtery being uttered, they receive with gladneſs the gift of Chriſt, and make no ſhew of doubt or ſcruple? The reaſon hereof, is not dark to them which have any thing at all obſerved how the powers of the minde are wont to ſtir, when that which we infinitely long for, preſenteth it ſelf above and beſides expectation. Curious and intricate ſpeculations do hinder, they abate, they quench ſuch inflamed motions of delight and joy, as Divine Graces uſe to raiſe when extraordinarily they are preſent. The minde therefore feeling preſent joy, is always marvellous unwilling to admit any other cogitation, and in that caſe, caſteth off thoſe diſputes whereunto the intellectual part at other times eaſily draweth. A manifeſt effect whereof may be noted, if we compare with our Lords Diſciples in the Twentieth of *John*, the people that are ſaid in the Sixth of *John*, to have gone after him to *Capernaum*. Theſe leaving him on the one ſide the Sea of *Tiberias*, and finding him again as ſoon as themſelves by ſhip were arrived on the contrary ſide, whither they knew that by ſhip he came not, and by Land the journey was longer then according to the time he could have to travel, as they wondered; ſo they asked alſo, *Rabbi, when cameſt thou hither?* The Diſciples, when Chriſt appeared to them in far more ſtrange and miraculous manner, moved no queſtion, but rejoyced greatly in that they ſaw. For why? The one ſort beheld onely, that in Chriſt, which they knew was more then natural, but yet their affection was

John 6. 25.

not

not rapt therewith through any great extraordinary gladness; the other, when they looked on Christ, were not ignorant that they saw the Well-spring of their own Everlasting felicity; the one, because they enjoyed not, disputed; the other disputed not, because they enjoyed. If then the presence of Christ with them, did so much move, Judge what their thoughts and affections were at the time of this new presentation of Christ; not before their Eyes, but within their Souls. They had learned before, That his Flesh and Blood are the true cause of Eternal Life; that this they are not by the bare force of their own substance, but through the dignity and worth of His Person, which offered them up by way of Sacrifice, for the Life of the whole World, and doth make them still effectual thereunto: Finally, that to us they are Life in particular, by being particularly received. Thus much they knew, although as yet they understood not perfectly, to what effect or issue the same would come, till at the length, being assembled for no other cause which they could imagine, but to have eaten the Passover onely that *Moses* appointed; when they saw their Lord and Master, with hands and eyes lifted up to Heaven, first bless and consecrate, for the endless good of all Generations till the Worlds end, the chosen Elements of Bread and Wine, which Elements, made for ever the Instruments of Life by vertue of his Divine Benediction, they being the first that were commanded to receive from him, the first which were warranted by his promise, that not onely unto them at the present time, but to whomsoever, they and their Successors after them, did duly administer the same, those Mysteries should serve as Conducts of Life, and Conveyances of his Body and Blood unto them: Was it possible they should hear that voice, *Take, eat, This is my Body; Drink ye all of this, This is my Blood?* Possible, that doing what was required, and believing what was promised, the same should have present effect in them, and not fill them with a kinde of fearful admiration at the Heaven which they saw in themselves? They had at that time a Sea of Comfort and Joy to wade in, and we, by that which they did, are taught, that this Heavenly Food is given for the satisfying of our empty Souls, and not for the exercising of our curious and subtile wits. If we doubt what those admirable words may import, let him be our Teacher for the meaning of Christ, to whom Christ was himself a School-master, let our Lords Apostle be his Interpreter, content we our selves with his Explication; My Body, *The Communion of my Body*: My Blood, *The Communion of my Blood*. Is there any thing more expedite, clear, and easie, then that as Christ is termed our Life, because through him we obtain life; so the parts of this Sacrament are his Body and Blood, for that they are so to us; who receiving them, receive that by them which they are termed? The Bread and Cup are his Body and Blood, because they are causes instrumental, upon the receit whereof, the Participation of his Body and Blood ensueth. For that which produceth any certain effect, is not vainly nor improperly said to be, that very effect whereunto it tendeth. Every cause is in the effect which groweth from it. Our Souls and Bodies quickned to Eternal Life, are effects; the cause whereof, is the Person of Christ: His Body and Blood are the true Well-spring, out of which, this Life floweth. So that his Body and Blood are in that very subject whereunto they minister life: Not onely by effect or operation, even as the influence of the Heavens is in Plants, Beasts, Men, and in every thing which they quicken; but also by a far more Divine and Mystical kinde of Union, which maketh us one with him, even as He and the Father are one. The Real Presence of Christs most Blessed Body and Blood, is not therefore to be sought for in the Sacrament, but in the worthy Receiver of the Sacrament. And with this the very order of our Saviours words agreeth, first, *Take and eat*; then, *This is my Body which was broken for you*: First, *Drink ye all of this*; then followeth, *This is my Blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.* I see not which way it should be gathered by the Words of Christ, when and where the Bread, is his Body, or the Cup, his Blood; but onely in the very Heart and Soul of him which receiveth them. As for the Sacraments, they really exhibite; but, for ought we can gather out of that which is written of them, they are not really, nor do really contain in themselves, that Grace, which with them, or by them, it pleaseth God to bestow. If on all sides it be confest, That the Grace of Baptism is poured into the Soul of Man; that by Water we receive it, although it be neither seated

Mark 14. 22.

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in the Water, nor the Water changed into it; what ſhould induce men to think, that the Grace of the Euchariſt muſt needs be in the Euchariſt, before it can be in us that receive it? The fruit of the Euchariſt is the Participation of the Body and Blood of Chriſt. There is no ſentence of holy Scripture which ſaith, That we cannot by this Sacrament be made partakers of his Body and Blood, except they be firſt contained in the Sacrament, or the Sacrament converted into them. *This is my Body*, and *This is my Blood*, being words of promiſe, ſith we all agree, That by the Sacrament, Chriſt doth really and truly in us perform his promiſe; why do we vainly trouble our ſelves with ſo fierce Contentions, whether by Conſubſtantiation, or elſe by Tranſubſtantiation the Sacrament it ſelf be firſt poſſeſſed with Chriſt, or no? A thing which no way can either further or hinder us, howſoever it ſtand, becauſe our Participation of Chriſt in this Sacrament, dependeth on the co-operation of his Omnipotent Power, which maketh it his Body and Blood to us; whether with change or without alteration of the Element, ſuch as they imagine, we need not greatly to care or inquire. Take therefore that wherein all agree, and then conſider by it ſelf, what cauſe, why the reſt in queſtion ſhould not rather be left as ſuperfluous, then urged as neceſſary. It is on all ſides plainly confeſt, firſt, That this Sacrament is a true and a real Participation of Chriſt, who thereby imparteth himſelf, even his whole intire Perſon, *as a Myſtical Head*, unto every Soul that receiveth him, and that every ſuch Receiver doth thereby incorporate or unite himſelf unto Chriſt *as a Myſtical Member* of him, yea, of them alſo whom he acknowledgeth to be his own. Secondly, That to whom *the Perſon of Chriſt* is thus communicated, to them he giveth by the ſame Sacrament his holy Spirit to ſanctifie them, as it ſanctifieth him which is their Head. Thirdly, That what *merit, force, or vertue ſoever there is in his Sacrificed Body and Blood*, we freely, fully, and wholly have it by this Sacrament. Fourthly, That *the effect thereof in us, is a real tranſmutation of our Souls and Bodies*, from ſin to righteouſneſs, from death and corruption to immortality and life. Fifthly, That becauſe the Sacrament being of it ſelf, but a corruptible and earthly Creature, muſt needs be thought an unlikely Inſtrument to work ſo admirable effects in Man; we are therefore, to reſt our ſelves altogether upon *the ſtrength of his glorious power*, who is able, and will bring to paſs, That the Bread and Cup which he giveth us, ſhall be truly the thing he promiſeth. It ſeemeth therefore much amiſs, that againſt them whom they term Sacramentaries, ſo many invective Diſcourſes are made, all running upon two points, That the Euchariſt is not bare a Sign or Figure onely, and that the efficacy of his Body and Blood is not all we receive in this Sacrament. For no man, having read their Books and Writings which are thus traduced, can be ignorant that both theſe Aſſertions they plainly confeſs to be moſt true. They do not ſo interpret the words of Chriſt, as if the name of his Body did import but the figure of his Body; and to be, were onely to ſignifie his Blood. They grant, that theſe holy Myſteries received in due manner, do inſtrumentally both make us partakers of the Grace of that Body and Blood which were given for the Life of the World; and beſides, alſo impart unto us, even in true and real, though myſtical manner, the very Perſon of our Lord himſelf, whole, perfect, and intire, as hath been ſhewed. Now whereas all three opinions do thus far accord in one, that ſtrong conceit which two of the three have imbraced, as touching a Literal, Corporal, and Oral Manducation of the very Subſtance of his Fleſh and Blood, is ſurely an opinion no where delivered in holy Scripture, whereby they ſhould think themſelves bound to believe it, and (to ſpeak with the ſofteſt terms we can uſe) greatly prejudiced in that, when ſome others did ſo conceive of eating his Fleſh, our Saviour to abate that error in them, gave them directly to underſtand, how his Fleſh ſo eaten could profit them nothing, becauſe the words which he ſpake were Spirit; that is to ſay, they had a reference to a Myſtical Participation; which Myſtical Participation giveth life. Wherein there is ſmall appearance of likelihood, that his meaning ſhould be onely to make them Marcionites by inverſion, and to teach them that, as *Marcion* did think, Chriſt ſeemed to be Man, but was not; ſo they contrariwiſe ſhould believe, That Chriſt in Truth would ſo give them, as they thought, his Fleſh to eat; but yet leſt the horror thereof ſhould offend them, he would not ſeem to do that he did. When they which have this opinion of Chriſt, in that Bleſſed Sacrament, go about to explain

plain themſelves, and to open after what manner things are brought to paſs, the one ſort lay the Union of Chriſts Deity with his Manhood, as their firſt foundation and ground: From thence they infer a power which the Body of Chriſt hath, thereby to preſent it ſelf in all places; out of which Ubiquity of his Body, they gather the preſence thereof with that ſanctified Bread and Wine of our Lords Table: The Conjunction of his Body and Blood with thoſe Elements they uſe as an Argument, to ſhew how the Bread may as well in that reſpect be termed his Body, becauſe his Body is therewith joyned, as the Son of God may be named Man, by reaſon, that God and Man in the Perſon of Chriſt are united: To this they add, how the Words of Chriſt commanding us to eat, muſt needs import, That as he hath coupled the Subſtance of his Fleſh, and the Subſtance of Bread together, ſo we together ſhould receive both: Which Labyrinth, as the other ſort doth juſtly ſhun, ſo the way which they take to the ſame Inn is ſomewhat more ſhort, but no whit more certain. For through Gods Omnipotent Power, they imagine that Tranſubſtantiation followeth upon the words of Conſecration; and, upon Tranſubſtantiation, the Participation of Chriſts both Body and Blood, in the onely ſhape of Sacramental Elements. So that they all three do plead Gods Omnipotency: Sacramentaries, to that Alteration, which the reſt confeſs he accompliſheth; the Patrons of Tranſubſtantiation, over and beſides that, to the change of one ſubſtance into another; the Followers of Conſubſtantiation, to the kneading of both Subſtances, as it were, into one lump: Touching the ſentence of Antiquity in this cauſe; firſt, For as much as they knew, that the force of this Sacrament doth neceſſarily preſuppoſe the Verity of Chriſts both Body and Blood, they uſed oftentimes the ſame as an Argument to prove, That Chriſt hath as truly the ſubſtance of Man as of God, becauſe here we receive Chriſt, and thoſe Graces which flow from him, in that he is Man. So that if he have no ſuch Being, neither can the Sacrament have any ſuch meaning, as we all confeſs it hath. Thus [a] *Tertullian*, thus [b] *Irenæus*, thus [c] *Theodoret* diſputeth. Again, as evident it is how they teach, that Chriſt is perſonally there preſent, yea preſent whole, albeit a part of Chriſt be corporally abſent from thence, that [d] Chriſt aſſiſting this Heavenly Banquet with his Perſonal and true Preſence, [e] doth by his own Divine Power, add to the Natural Subſtance thereof, Supernatural Efficacy, which [f] addition to the Nature of thoſe conſecrated Elements, changeth them, and maketh them that unto us, which otherwiſe they could not be, that to us they are thereby made ſuch Inſtruments, as [g] myſtically, yet truly; inviſibly, yet really; work our Communion or Fellowſhip with the Perſon of Jeſus Chriſt, as well in that he is Man as God; our Participation alſo in the Fruit, Grace, and Efficacy of his Body and Blood; whereupon there enſueth a kinde of Tranſubſtantiation in us, a true [h] change, both of Soul

[a] Acceptum panem & diſtributum diſcipulis Corpus ſuum illum fecit, hoc eſt, Corpus meum dicendo, id eſt, figura corporis mei. Figura autem non fuiſſet niſi veritatis eſſet Corpus, cum vacua res quod eſt phantaſma Figuram capere non poſſet. *Tertul.* contra *Marc.* lib. 4. cap. 40.

[b] Secundum hæc (that is to ſay, If it ſhould be true which Hereticks have taught, denying that Chriſt took upon him the very nature of Man) nec Dominus ſanguine ſuo redemit nos, neque Calix Euchariſtiæ communicatio ſanguinis ejus erit, nec panis quem frangimus communicatio corporis ejus eſt.

Sanguis enim non eſt, niſi à venis & carnibus & à reliqua quæ eſt ſecundum hominem ſubſtantia. *Iren.* lib. 5. cap. 1. [c] Ἐπὶ τούτων τὸ ὁρατὸν σῶμα ἀντίτυπα δέξῃ τὰ θεῖα μυστήρια, σῶμα ἄρα ὄντα μετὰ τῆς θεότητος τὸ σῶμα, οὐκ εἰς θεότητος φύσιν μεταβληθὲν ἀλλὰ θείας δόξης ἀναπλησθέν. *Theod.* Dialog. Ἀσυγχύτ. [d] Sacramenta quidem quantum in ſe eſt ſine propria virtute eſſe non poſſunt, nec ullo modo ſe abſentat majeſtas myſteriis. *Cypr.* de *Cœn.* cap. 7. [e] Sacramento viſibili ineffabiliter divina ſe infundit eſſentia ut eſſet Religioni circa Sacramenta devotio. Idem, cap. 6. Inviſibilis Sacerdos viſibiles creaturas in ſubſtantiam corporis & ſanguinis ſui verbo ſuo ſecreta poteſtate convertit. In ſpiritualibus Sacramentis, verbi præcipit virtus & ſervit effectus. [f] *Euſeb. Emiſſen.* Hom. 5. de *Paſch.* [f] Τὰ σύμβολα τῆς θεοπτικῆς σώματος τε καὶ αἵματος ἄλλα μὲν ἐστὶ πρὸ τῆς ἱερατικῆς ἐπικλήσεως, μετὰ δὲ γε τὴν ἐπίκλησιν μεταβάλλεται καὶ ἕτερα γίνεται. Ἀλλ' οὐκ οἰκείας ἐξίσταται φύσεως. Μένει γὰρ ὅπερ τὸ πρότερον ὑπάρχει καὶ τῷ σχήματος καὶ τῷ εἴδους, καὶ ὁρατὰ δέξῃ καὶ ἁπτὰ διὰ καὶ πρότερον ἦν, νοεῖται δὲ ἅπερ ἐγένετο καὶ πιστεύεται καὶ πρασκυνεῖται ὡς ἐκεῖνα ὄντα ἅπερ πιστεύεται. *Theodor.* Ex quo à Domino dictum eſt, Hoc facite in meam commemorationem, Hæc eſt caro mea, & hic eſt ſanguis meus, quotieſcunque his verbis & hac fide actum eſt, panis iſte ſuperſubſtantialis, & calix benedictione ſolenni ſacratus, ad totius hominis vitam ſalutemque proficit. *Cypr.* de *Cœn.* cap. 3. Immortalitatis alimonia datur, à communibus cibis differens, corporalis ſubſtantiæ retinens ſpeciem, ſed virtutis divinæ inviſibili efficientia probans adeſſe præſentiam. Ibid. cap. 2. [g] Senſibilibus Sacramentis ineſt vitæ æternæ effectus, & non tam corporali quam ſpirituali tranſitione Chriſto unimur. Ipſe enim & panis & caro; & ſanguis, idem cibus, & ſubſtantia & vita factus eſt Eccleſiæ ſuæ quam corpus ſuum appellat, dans ei participationem ſpiritus. Ibid. cap. 5. Noſtra & ipſius conjunctio nec miſcet perſonas, nec unit ſubſtantias, ſed effectus conſociat & conſœderat voluntates. Ibid. cap. 6. Manſio noſtra in ipſo eſt manducatio, & potus quaſi quædam incorporatio, Ibid. cap. 9. Ille eſt in Patre per Naturam divinitatis, nos in eo per corporalem ejus Nativitatem, ille rurſus in nobis per Sacramentorum myſterium. *Hilar.* de *Trin.* lib. 8. [h] Panis hic azymus cibus verus & ſincerus per ſpeciem & Sacramentum nos tactu ſanctificat, fide illuminat, veritate Chriſto conformat. *Cypr.* de *Cœn.* cap. 6. Non aliud agit participatio corporis & ſanguinis Chriſti, quàm ut in id quod ſumimus tranſeamus, & in quo mortui & ſepulti & correſuſcitati ſumus, ipſum per omnia & ſpiritu & carne geſtemus. *Leo* de *Paſch.* Serm. 14. Quemadmodum qui eſt à terra panis percipiens Dei vocationem (id eſt facta invocatione divini numinis) jam non communis panis eſt, ſed Euchariſtia ex duabus rebus conſtans, terrena & cœleſti: Sic & corpora noſtra percipientia Euchariſtiam, jam non ſunt corruptibilia ſpem reſurrectionis habentia. *Iren.* lib. 4. cap. 34. Quoniam ſalutaris caro verbo Dei quod naturaliter vita eſt conjuncta, vivifica effecta eſt: Quando eam comedimus, tunc vitam habemus in nobis; illi carni conjuncti, quæ vita effecta eſt. *Cyril.* in *Johan.* lib. 4. cap. 14.

and

and Body, an alteration from death to life. In a word, it appeareth not, that of all the ancient Fathers of the Church, any one did ever conceive or imagine other then onely a Myſtical Participation of Chriſts both Body and Blood in the Sacrament, neither are their ſpeeches concerning the change of the Elements themſelves, into the Body and Blood of Chriſt ſuch, that a man can thereby, in Conſcience, aſſure himſelf it was their meaning, to perſwade the World, either of a Corporal Conſubſtantiation of Chriſt, with thoſe Sanctified and Bleſſed Elements, before we receive them; or of the like Tranſubſtantiation of them into the Body and Blood of Chriſt. Which both to our Myſtical Communion with Chriſt, are ſo unneceſſary, that the Fathers, who plainly hold but this Myſtical Communion, cannot eaſily be thought to have meant any other change of Sacramental Elements, then that which the ſame Spiritual Communion did require them to hold. Theſe things conſidered, how ſhould that Minde, which, loving Truth, and ſeeking Comfort out of Holy Myſteries, hath not perhaps the leiſure, perhaps not the wit nor capacity to tread out ſo endleſs Mazes, as the intricate Diſputes of this cauſe have led men into, how ſhould a vertuouſly diſpoſed minde better reſolve with it ſelf then thus? *Variety of Judgments and Opinions argueth obſcurity in thoſe things whereabout they differ. But that which all parts receive for Truth, that which every one having ſifted, is by no one denied or doubted of, muſt needs be matter of infallible certainty. Whereas therefore there are but three Expoſitions made of,* This is my Body; *The firſt, This is in it ſelf before participation* really and truly the Natural Subſtance of my Body, by reaſon of the coexiſtence which my Omnipotent Body hath with the ſanctified Element of Bread, which is the *Lutherans* Interpretation. *The ſecond, This is in it ſelf and before participation* the very true and Natural Subſtance of my Body, by force of that Deity, which with the words of Conſecration, aboliſheth the Subſtance of Bread, and ſubſtituteth in the place thereof my Body, which is the Popiſh conſtruction. *The laſt,* This Hallowed Food, through concurrence of Divine Power, is in verity and truth, unto faithful Receivers, inſtrumentally a cauſe of that Myſtical Participation, whereby as I make my ſelf wholly theirs; ſo I give them in hand an actual poſſeſſion of all ſuch ſaving Grace, as my Sacrificed Body can yield, and as their Souls do preſently need: This is to them, and in them, my Body. *Of theſe three rehearſed Interpretations, the laſt hath in it nothing but what the reſt do all approve and acknowledge to be moſt true; nothing but that which the words of Chriſt are on all ſides confeſt to inforce; nothing but that which the Church of God hath always thought neceſſary; nothing but that which alone is ſufficient for every Chriſtian man to believe, concerning the uſe and force of this Sacrament: Finally, Nothing but that wherewith the Writings of all Antiquity are conſonant, and all Chriſtian Confeſſions agreeable. And as Truth, in what kinde ſoever, is by no kinde of Truth gain-ſaid; ſo the minde which reſteth it ſelf on this, is never troubled with thoſe perplexities which the other do both finde, by means of ſo great contradiction between their opinions, and true principles of Reaſon grounded upon Experience, Nature, and Senſe. Which albeit, with boyſterous courage and breath, they ſeem oftentimes to blow away; yet whoſo obſerveth, how again they labor and ſweat by ſubtilty of wit, to make ſome ſhew of agreement between their peculiar conceits, and the general Edicts of Nature, muſt needs perceive they ſtruggle with that which they cannot fully maſter. Beſides, ſith of that which is proper to themſelves, their Diſcourſes are hungry and unpleaſant, full of tedious and irkſome labor, heartleſs, and hitherto without Fruit; on the other ſide, read we them, or hear we others, be they of our own or of ancienter times, to what part ſoever they be thought to incline, touching that whereof there is controverſie; yet in this, where they all ſpeak but one thing, their Diſcourſes are Heavenly, their Words ſweet as the Honey-Comb, their Tongues melodiouſly tuned Inſtruments, their Sentences meer Conſolation and Joy: Are we not hereby almoſt, even with voice from Heaven admoniſhed, which we may ſafelieſt cleave unto? He which hath ſaid of the one Sacrament,* Waſh and be clean, *hath ſaid concerning the other likewiſe,* Eat and live. *If therefore without any ſuch particular and ſolemn warrant as this is, that poor diſtreſſed Woman coming unto Chriſt for health, could ſo conſtantly reſolve her ſelf,* May I but touch the skirt of his Garment, I ſhall be whole, *what moveth us to argue of the manner how Life ſhould come by Bread? our duty being here, but*

to

to take what is offered, and most assuredly to rest perswaded of this, that, can we but eat, we are safe? When I behold with mine eyes, some small and scarce discernable Grain or Seed, whereof Nature maketh a promise, that a Tree shall come; and when afterwards of that Tree, any skilful Artificer undertaketh to frame some exquisite and curious work, I look for the event, I move no question about performance, either of the one, or of the other. Shall I simply credit Nature in things natural? Shall I in things artificial, relie my self on Art, never offering to make doubt? And in that which is above, both Art and Nature refuse to believe the Author of both, except he acquaint me with his ways, and lay the secret of his skill before me? Where God himself doth speak those things, which, either for height and sublimity of Matter, or else for secresie of Performance, we are not able to reach unto, as we may be ignorant without danger, so it can be no disgrace to confess we are ignorant. Such as love Piety will, as much as in them lieth, know all things that God commandeth, but especially the duties of Service which they ow to God. As for his dark and hidden works, they prefer, as becometh them in such cases, simplicity of Faith before that Knowledge, which curiously sifting what it should adore, and disputing too boldly of that which the wit of man cannot search, chilleth for the most part all warmth of zeal, and bringeth soundness of belief many times into great hazard. Let it therefore be sufficient for me, presenting my self at the Lords Table, to know what there I receive from him; without searching or enquiring of the manner, how Christ performeth his promise: Let Disputes and Questions, Enemies to Piety, abatements of true Devotion, and hitherto, in this cause, but over-patiently heard, let them take their rest: Let curious and sharp-witted Men, beat their Heads about what Questions themselves will; the very Letter of the Word of Christ, giveth plain security, that these Mysteries do, as Nails, fasten us to his very Cross, that by them we draw out, as touching Efficacy, Force, and Vertue, even the Blood of his goared side: In the Wounds of our Redeemer, we there dip our Tongues, we are died red, both within and without; our hunger is satisfied, and our thirst for ever quenched; they are things wonderful which he feeleth, great which he seeth, and unheard of which he uttereth, whose Soul is possest of this Paschal Lamb, and made joyful in the strength of this new Wine: This Bread hath in it more then the substance which our eyes behold; this Cup hallowed with solemn Benediction, availeth to the endless life and welfare both of Soul and Body, in that it serveth as well for a Medicine to heal our infirmities and purge our sins; as for a Sacrifice of Thanksgiving: With touching it sanctifieth, it enlightneth with belief, it truly conformeth us unto the Image of Jesus Christ. What these Elements are in themselves, it skilleth not, it is enough, that to me which take them, they are the Body and Blood of Christ; his Promise, in witness hereof sufficeth; his Word, he knoweth which way to accomplish; why should any cogitation possess the minde of a Faithful Communicant, but this. O my God, thou art true; O my Soul, thou art happy! Thus therefore we see, that howsoever Mens opinions do otherwise vary; nevertheless, touching Baptism and the Supper of the Lord, we may with consent of the whole Christian World conclude they are necessary; the one to initiate or begin, the other to consummate or make perfect our life in Christ.

Of Faults noted in the Form of Administring the holy Communion.

68. In Administring the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ; the supposed faults of the Church of *England* are not greatly material, and therefore it shall suffice to touch them in few words. *The first is, That we do not use in a generality once for all to say to Communicants,* Take, eat, and drink; *but unto every particular person,* Eat thou, drink thou, *which is according to the Popish manner, and not the Form that our Saviour did use. Our second oversight is, by Gesture. For in Kneeling there hath been Superstition; Sitting agreeth better to the action of a Supper; and our Saviour using that which was most fit, did himself not kneel. A third accusation is, for not examining all Communicants, whose knowledge in the Mystery of the Gospel, should that way be made manifest; a thing every where, they say, used in the Apostles times, because all things necessary were used; and this in their opinion is necessary, yea, it is commanded, in as much as the Levites are commanded to prepare the people for the Passover; and Examination is a part of their Preparation, our Lords Supper in place of the Passover. The fourth thing misliked is, That, against the Apostles prohibition, to have any familiarity at all with notorious Offenders, Papists being not of the*

2 Chro. 35, 6.

1 Cor. 5. 11.

Church are admitted to our very Communion, before they have by their Religious and Gospel-like behavior, purged themselves of that suspition of Popery, which their former life hath caused. They are Dogs, Swine, unclean Beasts, Foreigners and Strangers from the Church of God; and therefore ought not to be admitted, though they offer themselves. We are, fiftly, condemned, in as much as when there have been store of people to hear Sermons and Service in the Church, we suffer the Communion to be ministred to a few. It is not enough, that our Book of Common Prayer hath godly Exhortations to move all thereunto which are present. For it should not suffer a few to Communicate, it should by Ecclesiastical Discipline, and Civil punishment provide, that such as would withdraw themselves, might be brought to Communicate, according both to the [a] *Law of God, and the ancient Church Canons. In the sixth and last place, cometh the enormity of imparting this Sacrament privately unto the sick.* Thus far accused, we answer briefly to the first [b], That seeing God by Sacraments, doth apply in particular unto every mans person, the Grace which himself hath provided for the benefit of all mankinde; there is no cause, why, Administring the Sacraments, we should forbear to express that in our forms of Speech, which he by his Word and Gospel teacheth all to believe. In the one Sacrament, *I Baptize thee,* displeaseth them not. If *Eat thou,* in the other, offend them, their fancies are no rules for Churches to follow. Whether Christ at his last Supper did speak generally once to all, or to every one in particular, is a thing uncertain. His words are recorded in that Form which serveth best for the setting down with Historical brevity, what was spoken; they are no manifest proof, that he spake but once unto all, which did then Communicate, much-less, that we in speaking unto every Communicant severally do amiss; although it were clear, that we herein do otherwise then Christ did. Our imitation of him, consisteth not in tying scrupulously our selves unto his syllables, but rather in speaking by the Heavenly Direction of that inspired Divine Wisdom, which teacheth divers ways to one end; and doth therein controul their boldness, by whom any profitable way is censured, as reprovable, onely under colour of some small difference from great examples going before; to do throughout every the like circumstance, the same which Christ did in this action, were by following his footsteps in that sort, to err more from the purpose he aimed at, then we now do by not following them with so nice and severe strictness. They little weigh with themselves, how dull, how heavy, and almost, how without sense, the greatest part of the common multitude every where is, who think it either unmeet or unnecessary to put them, even man by man, especially at that time, in minde whereabout they are. It is true, That in Sermons we do not use to repeat our sentences severally to every particular hearer; a strange madness it were, if we should. The softness of Wax may induce a wise man to set his stamp or image therein; it perswadeth no man, that because Wooll hath the like quality, it may therefore receive the like impression. So the reason taken from the use of Sacraments, in that they are Instruments of Grace, unto every particular man, may with good congruity, lead the Church to frame accordingly her words in Administration of Sacraments, because they easily admit this Form; which being in Sermons, a thing impossible, without apparent ridiculous absurdity, agreement of Sacraments with Sermons, in that which is alledged as a reasonable proof of conveniency for the one, proveth not the same Allegation impertinent, because it doth not inforce the other to be administred in like sort. For equal principles do then avail unto equal conclusions, when the matter whereunto we apply them, is equal, and not else. Our Kneeling at Communions, is the gesture of Piety. If we did there present our selves, but to make some shew or dumb resemblance of a Spiritual Feast, it may be that Sitting were the fitter Ceremony; but coming as Receivers of inestimable Grace at the Hands of God, what doth better beseem our bodies at that hour, then to be sensible Witnesses of mindes unfeignedly humbled? Our Lord himself did that which custom and long usage had made fit; We, that which fitness and great decency hath made usual. The tryal of our selves, before we Eat of this Bread, and Drink of this Cup, is by express Commandment, every mans precise Duty. As for necessity of calling others unto account besides our selves, albeit we be not thereunto drawn by any great strength which is in their Arguments, who first press us with it, as a thing necessary, by affirming, That the Apostles

[a] Numb 9.13. Can.9. Apost. Concil. 2. *Brac.* cap. 83.

[b] *T. C.* lib.3. pag. 166. Besides that, it is good to leave the Popish Form in those things, which we may so conveniently do, it is best to come as near the manner of celebration of the Supper which our Saviour Christ used, as may be. And if it be a good Argument to prove that therefore we must rather say, *Take thou,* than *Take ye,* because the Sacrament is an Application of the benefits of Christs, it behoveth, that the Preacher should direct his Admonitions particularly one after another, unto all those which hear his Sermon, which is a thing absurd.

T. C. lib.1. p. 165. Kneeling carrieth a shew of worship, Sitting agreeth better with the Action of the Supper, Christ and his Apostles kneeled not.

Apostles did use it, and then prove [a] the Apostles to have used it, by affirming it to be necessary: Again, albeit we greatly muse how they can avouch, That God did command the Levites to prepare their Brethren against the Feast of the Passover, and that the Examination of them was a part of their Preparation, when the place alledged to this purpose, doth but charge the Levite, saying, *Make ready Laahhechem for your Brethren*; to the end, they may do according to the Word of the Lord by *Moses*. Wherefore in the self-same place it followeth, how Lambs, and Kids, and Sheep, and Bullocks, were delivered unto the Levites, and that thus the Service was made ready: It followeth likewise, how the Levites having in such sort provided for the people, they made provision for themselves, *and for the Priests, the Sons of Aaron*: So that confidently from hence to conclude the necessity of Examination, argueth their wonderful great forwardness in framing all things to serve their turn; nevertheless, the Examination of Communicants when need requireth, for the profitable use it may have in such cases, we reject not. Our fault in admitting Popish Communicants, Is it in that we are [b] forbidden to eat, and therefore much more to communicate with notorious Malefactors? The name of a Papist is not given unto any man for being a notorious Malefactor. And the crime wherewith we are charged, is suffering of Papists to communicate; so that, be their life and conversation whatsoever in the sight of man, their Popish opinions are in this case laid as Bars and Exceptions against them, yea, those opinions which they have held in former times, [c] although they now both profess by word, and offer to shew by fact the contrary. All this doth not justifie us, which ought not (they say) to admit them in any wise, till their Gospel-like behavior have removed all suspition of Popery from them, because Papists are *Dogs, Swine, Beasts, Forreigners, and Strangers from the House of God*; in a word, *they are not of the Church*. What the terms of Gospel-like behavior may include, is obscure and doubtful. But of the Visible Church of Christ in this present World, from which they separate all Papists, we are thus perswaded. *Church* is a word which Art hath devised, thereby to sever and distinguish that Society of Men, which professeth the true Religion from the rest which profess it not. There have been in the World, from the very first foundation thereof, but three Religions, *Paganism*, which lived in the blindness of corrupt and depraved Nature; *Judaism*, embracing the Law which Reformed Heathenish Impiety, and taught Salvation to be looked for through One, whom God in the last days would send and exalt to be Lord of all. Finally, *Christian Belief*, which yieldeth obedience to the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and acknowledgeth him the Saviour whom God did promise. Seeing then that the *Church* is a name, which Art hath given to *Professors of true Religion*, As they which will define a Man, are to pass by those qualities wherein one man doth excel another, and to take onely those Essential Properties, whereby a Man doth differ from Creatures of other kindes: So he that will teach what the Church is, shall never rightly perform the work whereabout he goeth, till in Matter of Religion he touch that difference which severeth the Churches Religion from theirs who are not the Church. Religion being therefore a matter partly of contemplation, partly of action; we must define the Church, which is a Religious Society, by such differences as do properly explain the Essence of such things, that is to say, by the Object or Matter whereabout the Contemplations and Actions of the Church are properly conversant. For so all Knowledges and all Vertues are defined. Whereupon, because the onely Object which separateth ours from other Religions, is Jesus Christ; in whom, none but the Church doth believe; and whom, none but the Church doth worship; we finde that accordingly the Apostles do every where distinguish hereby the Church from Infidels and from Jews, accounting *them which call upon the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ to be his Church*. If we go lower, we shall but add unto this certain casual and variable accidents, which are not properly of the Being, but make onely for the happier and better Being of the Church of God, either indeed, or in mens opinions and conceits. This is the Error of all Popish definitions that hitherto have been bronght. They define not the Church by that which the Church essentially is, but by that wherein they imagine their own more perfect then the rest are. Touching parts of eminency and perfection, parts likewise

[a] *T. C.* lib. 1. pag. 164. All things necessary were used in the Churches of God in the Apostles times; but Examination was a necessary thing, therefore used. In the Book of *Chronicles*, 2 Chro 35 6. the Levites were commanded to prepare the people to the receiving of the Passover, in place whereof we have the Lords Supper Now Examination being a part of Preparation, it followeth that here is Commandment of the Examination.

[b] 1 Cor 5. 11. *T. C.* lib. 1. pag 167.

[c] Although they would receive the Communion, yet they ought to be kept back, until such time, as by their Religious and Gospel-like behavior, they have purged themselves of that suspition of Popery, which their former life and conversation hath caused to be conceived. *T. C.* lib. 1. pag. 167.

of imperfection and defect in the Church of God, they are infinite, their degrees and differences no way possible to be drawn unto any certain account. There is not the least contention and variance, but it blemisheth somewhat the Unity that
Rom. 15. 5. 1 Cor. 1. 10. ought to be in the Church of Christ, which notwithstanding may have not onely without offence or breach of concord, her manifold varieties in Rites and Ceremonies of Religion, but also her Strifes and Contentions many times, and that about matters of no small importance; yea, her Schisms, Factions, and such other evils whereunto the Body of the Church is subject, sound and sick, remaining both of the same Body; as long as both parts retain by outward profession, that vital substance of truth, which maketh Christian Religion to differ from theirs, which acknowledge not our Lord Jesus Christ, the Blessed Saviour of Mankinde, give no credit to his glorious Gospel, and have his Sacraments, the Seals of Eternal Life, in derision. Now the priviledge of the visible Church of God (for of that we speak) is to be herein like the Ark of *Noah*, that, for any thing we know to the contrary, all without it are lost sheep; yet in this, was the Ark of *Noah* priviledged above the Church, that whereas none of them which were in the one could perish, numbers in the other are cast away, because to Eternal Life our Profession is not enough. Many things exclude from the Kingdom of God, although from the Church they separate not. In the Church there arise sundry grievous storms, by means whereof, whole Kingdoms and Nations professing Christ, both have been heretofore, and are at this present day, divided about Christ. During which Divisions and Contentions amongst men, albeit each part do justifie it self, yet the one of necessity must needs err, if there be any contradiction between them, be it great or little; and what side soever it be that hath the truth, the same we must also acknow-
1 John 2. 19. ledge alone, to hold *with the true Church in that point*, and consequently, reject the other as an enemy, *in that case faln away from the true Church.* Wherefore of Hypocrites and Dissemblers, whose profession at the first, was but onely from the teeth outward, when they afterwards took occasion to oppugne certain principal Articles of Faith, the Apostles which defended the truth against them, pronounce them gone out from the Fellowship of sound and sincere Believers, when as yet the Christian Religion they had not utterly cast off. In like sense and meaning throughout all ages, Hereticks have justly been hated, as Branches cut off from the Body of the true Vine; yet onely so far forth cut off, as their Heresies have extended. Both Heresie, and many other crimes, which wholly sever from God, do sever from God the Church of God in part onely. The Mystery of Piety,
1 Tim. 3 14. saith the Apostle, is without peradventure great; *God hath been manifested in the Flesh, hath been justified in the Spirit, hath been seen of Angels, hath been preached to Nations, hath been believed on in the World, hath been taken up into Glory.* The Church a Pillar and Foundation of this Truth, which no where is known or professt, but onely within the Church, and they all of the Church that profess it. In the mean while, it cannot be denied, that many profess this, who are not therefore cleared simply from all either faults or errors, which make separation between us and the Well-spring of our happiness. Idolatry severed of old, the Israelites; Iniquity, those Scribes and Pharisees from God, who notwithstanding were a part of the Seed of *Abraham*, a part of that very Seed which God did himself acknowledge to be his Church. The Church of God may therefore contain both them which indeed are not his, yet must be reputed his, by us that know not their inward thoughts; and them, whose apparent wickedness testifieth even in the sight of the whole World, that God abhorreth them. For to this and no other pur-
Matth. 13. 24, 47. pose, are meant those Parables, which our Saviour in the Gospel hath concerning mixture of Vice with Vertue, Light with Darkness, Truth with Error, as well and openly known and seen, as a cunningly cloaked mixture. That which separateth therefore utterly, that which cutteth off clean from the visible Church of Christ, is plain Apostasie, direct denial, utter rejection of the whole Christian Faith, as far as the same is professedly different from Infidelity. Hereticks, as touching those points of doctrine wherein they fail: Schismaticks, as touching the quarrels for which, or the duties wherein they divide themselves from their Brethren: Loose, licentious, and wicked persons, as touching their several offen-

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ces or crimes, have all forsaken the true Church of God; the Church which is sound and sincere in the Doctrine that they corrupt; the Church that keepeth the Bond of Unity, which they violate; the Church that walketh in the Laws of Righteousnes, which they transgres: This very true Church of Christ they have left, howbeit, not altogether left, nor forsaken simply the Church; upon the main Foundations whereof they continue built; notwithstanding these breaches whereby they are rent at the top asunder. Now because for redres of professed Errors, and open Schisms, it is, and must be the Churches care, that all may in outward Conformity be one, as the laudable Polity of former Ages; even so our own, to that end and purpose, hath established divers Laws, the moderate severity whereof is a mean both to stay the rest, and to reclaim such as heretofore have been led awry. But seeing that the Offices which Laws require, are always definite, and when that they require is done, they go no farther, whereupon sundry ill-affected persons to save themselves from danger of Laws, pretend obedience, albeit inwardly they carry still the same hearts which they did before; by means whereof, it falleth out, that receiving unworthily the Blessed Sacrament at our hands, they eat and drink their own damnation: It is for remedy of this mischief * here determined, that whom the Law of the Realm doth punish unless they communicate, such if they offer to obey Law, the Church notwithstanding should not admit without probation before had of their Gospel-like behavior. Wherein they first set no time, how long this supposed probation must continue; again, they nominate no certain judgment, the verdict whereof shall approve mens behavior to be Gospel-like; and, that which is most material, whereas they seek to make it more hard for dissemblers to be received into the Church, then Law and Polity as yet hath done; they make it in truth more easie for such kinde of persons, to winde themselves out of the Law, and to continue the same they were. The Law requireth at their hands, that duty which in conscience doth touch them neerest, because the greatest difference between us and them, is the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, whose Name in the Service of our Communion, we celebrate with due honor, which they in the Error of their Mass prophane. As therefore on our part to hear Mass, were an open departure from that sincere Profession wherein we stand; so if they on the other side, receive our Communion, they give us the strongest pledge of fidelity that man can demand. What their hearts are, God doth know. But if they which minde treachery to God and Man, shall once apprehend this advantage given them, whereby they may satisfie Law, in pretending themselves conformable, (for what can Law with Reason or Justice require more?) and yet be sure the Church will accept no such offer, till their Gospel-like behavior be allowed, after that our own simplicity hath once thus fairly eased them from the sting of Law; it is to be thought they will learn the Mystery of Gospel-like behavior, when leisure serveth them. And so while without any cause, we fear to profane Sacraments, we shall not onely defeat the purpose of most wholesome Laws, but lose or wilfully hazard those Souls; from whom, the likeliest means of full and perfect recovery, are by our indiscretion with-held. For neither doth God thus binde us to dive into mens consciences, nor can their fraud and deceit hurt any man but themselves. To him they seem such as they are, but of us they must be taken for such as they seem. In the Eye of God they are against Christ, that are not truly

* *T. C.* lib. 1. pag. 167. If the place of the Fifth to the *Corinthians*, do forbid that we should have any familiarity with notorious offenders, it doth more forbid, that they should be received to the Communion: And therefore Papists being such, as which are notoriously known to hold Heretical opinions, ought not to be admitted, much less compelled to the Supper. For seeing that our Saviour Christ did institute his Supper amongst his Disciples, and those onely which were, as St. *Paul* speaketh, within; it is evident, That the Papists, being without,

and Foreigners and Strangers from the Church of God, ought not to be received, if they would offer themselves: And that Minister that shall give the Supper of the Lord to him, which is known to be a Papist, and which hath never made any clear renouncing of Popery, with which he hath been defiled; doth profane the Table of the Lord, and doth give the Meat that is prepared for the Children, unto Dogs; and he bringeth into the Pasture which is provided for the Sheep, Swine and unclean Beasts, contrary to the Faith and Trust that ought to be in a Steward of the Lords House, as he is. For albeit, that I doubt not, but many of those which are now Papists, pertain to the Election of God, which God also in his good time will call to the knowledge of his Truth: Yet notwithstanding, they ought to be unto the Minister, and unto the Church, touching the Ministring of Sacraments, as Strangers, and as unclean Beasts. The Ministring of the holy Sacraments unto them, is a Declaration and Seal of Gods favor and reconciliation with them, and a plain Preaching, partly, that they be washed already from their sin, partly, that they are of the Houshold of God; and such as the Lord will feed to Eternal Life; which is not lawful to be done unto those which are not of the Houshold of Faith. And therefore I conclude, That the compelling of Papists unto the Communion, and the dismissing and letting of them go, when as they be to be punished for their stubbornnes in Popery (with this condition, if they will receive the Communion) is very unlawful; when as, although they would receive it, yet they ought to be kept back, till such time as by their Religious and Gospel-like behavior, &c.

truly and ſincerely with him; in our eyes, they muſt be received as with Chriſt, that are not to outward ſhew againſt him. The caſe of impenitent and notorious ſinners, is not like unto theirs, whoſe onely imperfection is Error, ſevered from Pertinacy; Error in appearance content to ſubmit it ſelf to better inſtruction; Error ſo far already cured, as to crave at our hands that Sacrament, the hatred and utter refuſal whereof, was the weightieſt point wherein heretofore they ſwerved and went aſtray. In this caſe therefore, they cannot reaſonably charge us with remiſs dealing, or with careleſneſs to whom we impart the Myſteries of Chriſt; but they have given us manifeſt occaſion to think it requiſit, that we earneſtly adviſe rather, and exhort them to conſider as they ought, their ſundry over-ſights; Firſt, In equalling undiſtinctly Crimes with Errors, as touching force to make uncapable of this Sacrament: Secondly, In ſuffering indignation at the faults of the Church of *Rome*, to blinde and with-hold their judgments from ſeeing that which withal they ſhould acknowledge, concerning ſo much, nevertheleſs, ſtill due to the ſame Church, as to be held and reputed a part of the Houſe of God, a Limb of the Viſible Church of Chriſt: Thirdly, In impoſing upon the Church a burthen, to enter farther into mens hearts, and to make a deeper ſearch of their Conſciences, then any Law of God, or Reaſon of Man inforceth: Fourthly and laſtly, In repelling under colour of longer tryal, ſuch from the Myſteries of Heavenly Grace, as are both capable thereof by the Laws of God, for any thing we hear to the contrary; and ſhould, in divers conſiderations, be cheriſhed according to the merciful Examples and Precepts, whereby the Goſpel of Chriſt hath taught us towards ſuch, to ſhew compaſſion, to receive them with lenity and all meekneſs; if any thing be ſhaken in them, to ſtrengthen it, not to quench with delays and jealouſies, that feeble ſmoke of Conformity which ſeemeth to breathe from them; but to build whereſoever there is any Foundation, to add Perfection unto ſlender beginnings, and that as by other offices of Piety, even ſo by this very Food of Life, which Chriſt hath left in his Church, not onely for preſervation of ſtrength, but alſo for relief of weakneſs: But to return to our own ſelves, in whom the next thing ſeverely reproved, is the Paucity of Communicants. If they require at Communions frequency, we wiſh the ſame, knowing how acceptable unto God ſuch ſervice is, when multitudes cheerfully concur unto it; if they encourage men thereunto, we alſo (themſelves acknowledge it) are not utterly forgetful to do the like; if they require ſome publick coaction for remedy of that, wherein by milder and ſofter means, little good is done, they know our Laws and Statutes provided in that behalf, whereunto whatſoever convenient help may be added more by the wiſdom of man, what cauſe have we given the World to think, that we are not ready to hearken to it, and to uſe any good means of ſweet compulſion, to have this high and heavenly Banquet largely furniſhed? Onely we cannot ſo far yield, as to judge it convenient, that the holy deſire of a competent number ſhould be unſatisfied, becauſe the greater part is careleſs and undiſpoſed to joyn with them. Men ſhould not (they ſay) be permitted a few by themſelves to communicate, when ſo many are gone away, becauſe this Sacrament is a token of our conjunction with our Brethren; and therefore by communicating apart from them, we make an apparent ſhew of diſtraction: I ask then, on which ſide Unity is broken, whether on theirs that depart, or on theirs, who being left behinde, do communicate? Firſt, In the one it is not denied, but that they may have reaſonable cauſes of departure, and that then even they are delivered from juſt blame. Of ſuch kinde of cauſes, two are allowed, namely, danger of impairing health, and neceſſary buſineſs requiring our preſence otherwhere. And may not a third cauſe, which is unfitneſs at the preſent time, detain us as lawfully back, as either of theſe two? True it is, that we cannot hereby altogether excuſe our ſelves, for that we ought to prevent this, and do not: But if we have committed a fault in not preparing our mindes before, ſhall we therefore aggravate the ſame with a worſe, the crime of unworthy participation? He that abſtaineth, doth want for the time that Grace and Comfort which Religious Communicants have, but he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, receiveth death; that which is life to others, turneth in him to poyſon. Notwithſtanding, whatſoever be the cauſe, for which men abſtain,

T. C. lib. 1. pag. 147.

2 Chro. 30. 13.

Pſal 122. 1.

Luk. 14. 23.

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were it reason that the fault of one part, should any way abridge their benefit that are not faulty? There is in all the Scripture of God, no one syllable which doth condemn communicating amongst a few, when the rest are departed from them. As for the last thing, which is our imparting this Sacrament privately unto the sick, whereas there have been of old (they grant) two kindes of necessity, wherein this Sacrament might be privately administred; of which two, the one being erroniously imagined, and the other (they say) continuing no longer in use, there remaineth unto us no necessity at all, for which, that custom should be retained. The falsly surmised necessity, is that, whereby some have thought all such excluded from possibility of salvation, as did depart this life, and never were made partakers of the holy Eucharist. The other case of necessity was, When men which had fain in time of persecution, and had afterwards repented them, but were not as yet received again unto the Fellowship of this Communion, did at the hour of their death request it, that so they might rest with greater quietness and comfort of minde, being thereby assured of departure, in unity of Christs Church; which vertuous desire, the Fathers did t ink it great impiety, not to satisfie. This was *Serapions* case of necessity. *Serapion* a faithful aged person, and always of very upright life, till fear of persecution in the end, caused him to shrink back; after long sorrow for his scandalous offence, and sute oftentimes made to be pardoned of the Church, fell at length into grievous sickness; and being ready to yield up the ghost, was then more instant then ever before to receive the Sacrament. Which Sacrament was necessary in this case, not that *Serapion* had been deprived of Everlasting Life without it, but that his end was thereby to him made the more comfortable. And do we think, that all cases of such necessity are clean vanished? Suppose that some have by mis-perswasion lived in Schism, withdrawn themselves from holy and publick Assemblies, hated the Prayers, and loathed the Sacraments of the Church, falsly presuming them to be fraught with impious and Antichristian corruptions: Which Error, the God of Mercy and Truth, opening at the length their eyes to see, they do not onely repent them of the evil which they have done, but also in token thereof, desire to receive comfort by that whereunto they have offered disgrace (which may be the case of many poor seduced souls, even at this day.) God forbid, we should think that the Church doth sin, in permitting the wounds of such to be suppled with that Oyl, which this gracious Sacrament doth yield, and their bruised mindes not onely need but beg. There is nothing which the Soul of Man doth desire in that last hour so much, as comfort against the natural terrors of Death, and other scruples of Conscience, which commonly do then most trouble and perplex the weak; towards whom, the very Law of God doth exact at our hands, all the helps that Christian lenity and indulgence can afford. Our general consolation departing this life, is, the hope of that [a] glorious and blessed Resurrection, which the Apostle Saint *Paul* [b] nameth [c] Ἐξαναστασιν, to note, That, as all Men shall have their [d] Ἀνάστασιν, and be raised again from the dead; so the just shall be taken up and exalted above the rest, whom the power of God doth but raise, and not exalt. This Life, and this Resurrection our Lord Jesus Christ is, for all men, as touching the sufficiency of that he hath done; but that which maketh us partakers thereof, is our particular Communion with Christ; and this Sacrament a principal Mean, as well to strengthen the Bond, as to multiply in us the Fruits of the same Communion: For which cause Saint *Cyprian* [d] termeth it a joyful solemnity of expedite and speedy Resurrection; *Ignatius* [e], a Medicine which procureth Immortality, and preventeth Death; *Irenæus* [f], the nourishment of our Bodies to Eternal Life, and their preservative from corruption. Now because that Sacrament, which at all times we may receive unto this effect, is then most acceptable and most fruitful, when any special extraordinary occasion, nearly, and presently urging, kindleth our desires towards it, their severity, who cleave unto that alone, which is generally fit to be done, and so make all mens conditions alike, may adde much affliction to divers troubled and grieved mindes, of whose particular estate particular respect being had, according to the

T. C. lib. 1. pag. 146.

a 1 Cor. 15. 21.
b Phil. 3. 11.
c Διὰ τ ἐκ τ γῆς ἐπαρσιν, *Theophyl.* Πάντες οἱ ἀνθρωποι ἀναστησονται, μόνοι δὲ πιστοὶ ἐξαναστησονται. *Ammon.* Vide 1 Thes. 4. 17.
d Maturatæ Resurrectionis lætabunda solemnia, *Cypr.* de Cœn. Dom. cap. 10.
e Φάρμακον ἀθανασίας, ἀντίδοτον μὴ ἀποθανεῖν. *Ignat.* Epist. ad Ephes. *Iren.* lib. 4. cap. 34.
f Etsi nihil facile mutandum est ex solemnibus, tamen ubi æquitas evidens poscit subveniendum est, Lib. 183. ff. de Reg. Jur.

charitable

charitable order of the Church wherein we live, there enſueth unto God that glory which his righteous Saints comforted in their greateſt diſtreſſes do yield; and unto them which have their reaſonable Petitions ſatisfied, the ſame contentment, tranquillity and joy, that others before them, by means of like ſatisfaction, have reaped, and wherein we all are, or ſhould be deſirous, finally, to take our leave of the World, whenſoever our own uncertain time of moſt aſſured departure ſhall come. Concerning therefore both Prayers and Sacraments, together with our uſual and received Form of adminiſtring the ſame in the Church of *England*, let thus much ſuffice.

Of Feſtival Days, and the Natural cauſes of their convenient Inſtitution.

69. As the Subſtance of God alone is infinite, and hath no kinde of limitation; ſo likewiſe his Continuance is from everlaſting to everlaſting, and knoweth neither Beginning nor End. Which demonſtrable concluſion being preſuppoſed, it followeth neceſſarily, that, beſides him, all things are finite, both in ſubſtance and in continuance. If in Subſtance all things be finite, it cannot be, but that there are bounds without the compaſs whereof, their ſubſtance doth not extend; if in continuance alſo limited, they all have, it cannot be denied, their ſet and their certain terms, before which they had no Being at all. This is the reaſon, why firſt we do moſt admire thoſe things which are Greateſt; and ſecondly, thoſe things which are Ancienteſt, becauſe the one are leaſt diſtant from the infinite Subſtance; the other from the infinite Continuance of God. Out of this we gather, that onely God hath true Immortality or Eternity, that is to ſay, Continuance wherein there groweth no difference by addition of Hereafter unto Now, whereas the nobleſt and perfecteſt of all things beſides, have continually through continuance, the time of former continuance lengthned; ſo that they could not heretofore be ſaid to have continued ſo long as now, neither now ſo long as hereafter. Gods own Eternity, is the Hand which leadeth Angels in the courſe of their Perpetuity; their Perpetuity the Hand that draweth out Celeſtial Motion; the Line of which Motion, and the Thred of Time, are ſpun together. Now as Nature bringeth forth Time with Motion, ſo we by Motion have learned how to divide Time, and by the ſmaller parts of Time, both to meaſure the greater, and to know how long all things elſe endure. For, Time, conſidered in it ſelf, is but the Flux of that very inſtant, wherein the Motion of the Heaven began; being coupled with other things, it is the quantity of their continuance meaſured by the diſtance of two inſtants: As the time of a man, is a mans continuance from the inſtant of his firſt breath, till the inſtant of his laſt gaſp. Hereupon, ſome have defined Time to be the Meaſure of the Motion of Heaven; becauſe the firſt thing which Time doth meaſure, is that Motion wherewith it began, and by the help whereof it meaſureth other things; as when the Prophet *David* ſaith, That a mans continuance doth not commonly exceed Threeſcore and ten years, he uſeth the help, both of Motion and Number, to meaſure Time. They which make Time an effect of Motion, and Motion to be in Nature before Time, ought to have conſidered with themſelves, that albeit we ſhould deny, as *Meliſſus* did, all Motion, we might notwithſtanding acknowledge Time, becauſe Time doth but ſignifie the quantity of Continuance, which Continuance may be in things that reſt, and are never moved. Beſides, we may alſo conſider in Reſt, both that which is paſt, and that which is preſent, and that which is future; yea, farther, even length and ſhortneſs in every of theſe, although we never had conceit of Motion. But to define, without Motion, how long, or how ſhort ſuch Continuance is, were impoſſible. So that herein we muſt of neceſſity uſe the benefit of Years, Days, Hours, Minutes, which all grow from Celeſtial Motion. Again, for as much as that Motion is Circular, whereby we make our Diviſions of Time, and the Compaſs of that Circuit ſuch, that the Heavens which are therein continually moved, and keep in their Motions uniform Celerity, muſt needs touch often the ſame points, they cannot chuſe but bring unto us by equal diſtances, frequent returns of the ſame times. Furthermore, whereas Time is nothing but the meer quantity of that Continuance which all things have, that are not as God is, without beginning, that which is proper unto all quantities agreeth alſo to this kinde; ſo that Time doth but meaſure other things, and neither worketh in them any real effect, nor is it ſelf ever capable of any.

any. And therefore when commonly we use to say, That Time doth eat or fret out all things; that Time is the wisest thing in the World, because it bringeth forth all Knowledge; and that nothing is more foolish then Time, which never holdeth any thing long, but whatsoever one day learneth, the same another day forgetteth again; that some men see prosperous and happy days, and that some mens days are miserable: In all these, and the like speeches, that which is uttered of the Time, is not verified of Time it self; but agreeth unto those things which are in Time, and do by means of so near conjunction, either lay their burden upon the back, or set their Crown upon the Head of Time. Yea, the very opportunities which we ascribe to Time, do in truth cleave to the things themselves, wherewith Time is joyned: As for Time, it neither causeth things, nor opportunities of things, although it comprize and contain both. All things whatsoever having their time, the Works of God have always that time which is seasonablest and fittest for them. His Works are, some ordinary, some more rare; all worthy of observation, but not all of like necessity to be often remembred; they all have their times, but they all do not adde the same estimation and glory to the times wherein they are. For as God by being every where, yet doth not give unto all places, one and the same degree of holiness; so neither one and the same dignity to all times by working in all. For if all, either places or times were in respect of God alike; wherefore was it said unto *Moses*, by particular designation, *That very place wherein thou standest, is holy ground?* Why doth the Prophet *David* chuse out of all the days of the year, but one, whereof he speaketh by way of principal admiration, *This is the day the Lord hath made?* No doubt, as Gods extraordinary presence, hath hallowed and sanctified certain places, so they are his extraordinary works, that have truly and worthily advanced certain times; for which cause, they ought to be with all men that honor God, more holy then other days. The Wise man therefore compareth herein, not unfitly the times of God, with the persons of men. If any should ask how it cometh to pass, that one day doth excel another, seeing the light of all the days in the year proceedeth from one Sun, to this he answereth, *That the knowledge of the Lord hath parted them asunder, he hath by them disposed the times and solemn Feasts; some he hath chosen out and sanctified, some he hath put among the days, to number:* Even as *Adam* and all other men are of one substance, all created of the Earth: *But the Lord hath divided them by great knowledge, and made their ways divers; some he hath blessed and exalted, some he hath sanctified and appropriated unto himself, some he hath cursed, humbled, and put them out of their dignity.* So that the cause being natural and necessary, for which there should be a difference in days, the solemn observation whereof, declareth Religious thankfulness towards him, whose works of principal reckoning, we thereby admire and honor, it cometh next to be considered, what kindes of duties and services they are, wherewith such times should be kept holy.

Χρόνος ἐστὶν ἐν ᾧ καιρὸς, καὶ καιρὸς ἐν ᾧ χρόνος οὐ πολύς. *Hippoc.* l. qui Præceptiones inscribitur.

Exod. 3. 5.

Psal. 118. 24.

Ecclus 33. 7.

70. The Sanctification of Days and Times, is a token of that Thankfulness, and a part of that publick honor which we ow to God for admirable benefits, whereof it doth not suffice, that we keep a secret Kalender, taking thereby our private occasions as we list our selves, to think how much God hath done for all men; but the days which are chosen out to serve as publick Memorials of such his Mercies, ought to cloathed with those outward Robes of Holiness, whereby their difference from other days, may be made sensible. But because Time in it self, as hath been already proved, can receive no alteration; the hallowing of Festival days, must consist in the shape or countenance, which we put upon the affairs that are incident into those days. *This is the day which the Lord hath made,* saith the Prophet *David, Let us rejoyce and be glad in it.* So that generally Offices and Duties of [a] Religious Joy, are that wherein the hallowing of Festival times consisteth. The most Natural Testimonies of our rejoycing in God, are first,

The manner of celebrating Festival Days.

[a] Grande videlicet officium, focos & choros in publicum educere vicatim epulari, civitatem tabernæ halitu obole facere vino lutum cogere, catervatim cursitare ad injurias, ad injurias, ad impudicitias, ad libidinis illecebras. Siccine exprimitur publicum gaudium per publicum dedecus? *Tert.* Apol. cap. 35. Dies festos Majestati altissimæ dedicatos nullis volumus voluptatibus occupari. *Cl.* 12. tit. 12. lib. 1. Ἀντὶ τῆς παλαιᾶς πομπείας καὶ αἰσχρουργίας καὶ αἰσχροῤῥημοσύνης σώφρονες ἑορτάζονται πανηγύρεις, οὐ μέθην ἔχουσαι καὶ κώμον καὶ γέλωτα, ἀλλ' ὕμνους θείους καὶ ἱερῶν λογίων ἀκρόασιν, καὶ προσευχὴν ἀξιεπάνοις κοσμουμένην δακρύοις, *Theod.* ad Græc. Infidel. Ser. 9.

his Praiſes ſet forth with cheerful alacrity of minde: Secondly, Our comfort and delight expreſſed by a charitable largeneſs of ſomewhat more then common bounty: Thirdly, Sequeſtration from ordinary labors, the toyls and cares whereof are not meet to be companions of ſuch gladneſs. Feſtival ſolemnity therefore, is nothing but the due mixture, as it were, of theſe three Elements, Praiſe, Bounty, and Reſt. Touching Praiſe, for as much as the Jews, who alone knew the way how to magnifie God aright, did commonly (as appeared by their wicked lives) more of cuſtom, and for faſhion ſake execute the ſervices of their Religion, then with hearty and true devotion (which God eſpecially requireth) he therefore proteſteth againſt their Sabbaths and Solemn Days, as being therewith much offended. Plentiful and liberal expence is required in them that abound, partly as a ſign of their own joy, in the goodneſs of God towards them, and partly as a mean, whereby to refreſh thoſe poor and needy, who being, eſpecially at theſe times, made partakers of relaxation and joy with others, do the more religiouſly bleſs God, whoſe great Mercies were a cauſe thereof, and the more contentedly endure the burthen of that hard eſtate wherein they continue. Reſt is the end of all Motion, and the laſt perfection of all things that labor. Labors in us are journeys, and even in them which feel no wearineſs by any work; yet they are but ways whereby to come unto that which bringeth not happineſs, till it do bring Reſt. For as long as any thing which we deſire is unattained, we reſt not. Let us not here take Reſt for Idleneſs. They are Idle, whom the painfulneſs of action cauſeth to avoid thoſe Labors, whereunto both God and Nature bindeth them; they Reſt, which either ceaſe from their work, when they have brought it unto perfection, or elſe give over a meaner labor, becauſe a worthier and better is to be undertaken. God hath created nothing to be idle or ill employed. As therefore, Man doth conſiſt of different and diſtinct parts, every part endued with manifold abilities, which all have their ſeveral ends and actions thereunto referred; ſo there is in this great variety of duties which belong to men, that dependency and order; by means whereof, the lower ſuſtaining always the more excellent, and the higher perfecting the more baſe; they are in their times and ſeaſons continued with moſt exquiſite correſpondence: Labors of bodily and daily toyl, purchaſe freedom for actions of Religious Joy, which benefit theſe actions requite with the gift of deſired Reſt: A thing moſt natural and fit to accompany the ſolemn Feſtival duties of honor, which are done to God. For if thoſe principal works of God, the memory whereof we uſe to celebrate at ſuch times, be but certain taſtes and ſays, as it were, of that final benefit, wherein our perfect felicity and bliſs lieth folded up, ſeeing that the preſence of the one, doth direct our cogitations, thoughts and deſires towards the other, it giveth ſurely a kinde of life, and addeth inwardly no ſmall delight to thoſe ſo comfortable expectations, when the very outward countenance of that we preſently do, repreſenteth after a ſort that alſo whereunto we tend; as Feſtival Reſt doth that Celeſtial eſtate whereof the very Heathens themſelves which had not the means whereby to apprehend much, did notwithſtanding imagine, that it needs muſt conſiſt in Reſt, and have therefore taught, that above the higheſt moveable ſphere, there is nothing which feeleth alteration, motion or change, but all things immutable, unſubject to paſſion, bleſt with eternal continuance in a life of the higheſt perfection, and of that compleat abundant ſufficiency within it ſelf, which no poſſibility of want, maim, or defect can touch. Beſides, whereas ordinary labors are both in themſelves painful, and baſe in compariſon of Feſtival Services done to God, doth not the natural difference between them, ſhew, that the one, as it were, by way of ſubmiſſion and homage, ſhould ſurrender themſelves to the other, wherewith they can neither eaſily concur, becauſe painfulneſs and joy are oppoſite, nor decently, becauſe while the minde hath juſt occaſion to make her abode in the Houſe of Gladneſs, the Weed of ordinary toyl and travel, becometh her not? Wherefore, even Nature hath taught the Heathens, and God the Jews, and Chriſt us, firſt, that Feſtival Solemnities are a part of the publick exerciſe of Religion; ſecondly, that Praiſe, Liberality, and Reſt, are as Natural Elements whereof Solemnities conſiſt. But theſe things the Heathens converted to the honor of their falſe gods: And, as

Τῆς γὰρ αὐτῆς φύσεως ἐστὶν εὐσεβῆτε εἶναι καὶ φιλάνθρωπον. *Philo.* lib. de *Abraha.*

Deut. 16. 14. Nehe. 8. 9.

Οὐδ' ἔστιν οὐδενὸς οὐδεμία μεταβολὴ τῶν ὑπὲρ ἐξωτάτων φερομένην φορὰν, ἀλλ' ἀναλλοίωτα καὶ ἀπαθῆ τὰ ἀρίστην ἔχοντα ζώην καὶ τὰ αὐταρκιστάτην διατελεῖ τὰ ἅπαντα ἀιῶνα. *Ariſt.*

as they failed in the end it self; so neither could they discern rightly what form and measure Religion therein should observe. Whereupon, when the *Israelites* impiously followed so corrupt example, they are in every degree noted to have done amiss; their Hymns or Songs of Praise, were Idolatry; their Bounty, Excess; and their Rest, wantonness. Therefore the Law of God which appointed them days of Solemnity, taught them likewise in what manner the same should be celebrated: According to the pattern of which Institution, *David* establishing the state of Religion, ordained Praise to be given unto God in the Sabbaths, Moneths, and appointed Times, as their custom had been always before the Lord. Now, besides the times which God himself in the Law of *Moses* particularly specified, there were, through the Wisdom of the Church, certain other devised by occasion of like occurents to those whereupon the former had risen; as namely, that which *Mordecai* and *Esther* did first celebrate, in memory of the Lords most wonderful protection, when *Haman* had laid his inevitable Plot, to mans thinking, for the utter extirpation of the Jews even in one day. This they call the Feast of *Lots*, because *Haman* had cast their life, and their death, as it were, upon the hazard of a Lot. To this may be added, that other also of *Dedication*, mentioned in the Tenth of St. *Johns* Gospel, the institution whereof is declared in the History of the *Maccabees*. But for as much as their Law by the coming of Christ is changed, and we thereunto no way bound, St. *Paul*, although it were not his purpose to favor invectives against the special Sanctification of days and times to the Service of God, and to the honor of Jesus Christ, doth notwithstanding bend his forces against that opinion, which imposed on the Gentiles the Yoke of Jewish Legal observations, as if the whole World ought for ever, and that upon pain of condemnation, to keep and observe the same. Such as in this perswasion hallowed those Jewish Sabbaths, the Apostle sharply reproveth, saying, *Ye observe days, and moneths, and times, and years; I am in fear of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labor in vain.* Howbeit, so far off was *Tertullian* from imagining how any man could possibly hereupon call in question such days as the Church of Christ doth observe, that the observation of these days, he useth for an Argument whereby to prove, it could not be the Apostles intent and meaning to condemn simply, all observing of such times. Generally therefore touching Feasts in the Church of Christ, they have that profitable use whereof Saint *Augustine* speaketh, *By Festival Solemnities and Set-days, we dedicate and sanctifie to God, the memory of his benefits, lest unthankful forgetfulness thereof, should creep upon us in course of time.* And concerning particulars, their Sabbath the Church hath changed into our Lords day, that is, as the one did continually bring to minde the former World finished by Creation; so the other might keep us in perpetual remembrance of a far better World, begun by him which came to restore all things, to make both Heaven and Earth new. For which cause they honored the last day, we the first, in every seven, throughout the year. The rest of the days and times which we celebrate, have relation all unto one head. We begin therefore our Ecclesiastical year, with the glorious Annuntiation of his Birth, by Angelical Embassage. There being hereunto added, his Blessed Nativity it self; the Mystery of his Legal Circumcision; the Testification of his true Incarnation, by the Purification of her, which brought him in the World, his Resurrection, his Ascension into Heaven, the admirable sending down of his Spirit upon his chosen, and (which consequently ensued) the notice of that incomprehensible Trinity thereby given to the Church of God. Again, for as much as we know, that Christ hath not onely been manifested great in himself, but great in other his Saints also, the days of whose departure out of the World, are to the Church of Christ, as the Birth and Coronation days of Kings or Emperors; therefore especial choice being made of the very flower of all occasions in this kinde, there are annual selected times to meditate of Christ glorified in them, which had the honor to suffer for his sake, before they had age and ability to know him; glorified in them, which knowing him as *Stephen*, had the sight of that before death, whereinto so acceptable death did lead; glorified in those Sages of the East, that came from far to adore him,

1 Chro. 23. 30.

Esth 9. 27.

Joh. 10. 22.

1 Mac. 4. 53.

Gal. 4. 10.

Si omnem in totum devotionem temporum & dierum & mensium & annorum erasit Apostolus, cur Pascha celebramus annuo circulo in mense primo? Cur quinquaginta exinde diebus in omni exultatione decurrimus? Lib. adverf. *Psych. Aug.* de Civit. Dei, lib. 10. cap. 4.

Luk. 1. 26.

Luk. 2. 21.

and were conducted by ſtrange light; glorified in the ſecond *Elias* of the World, ſent before him to prepare his way; glorified in every of thoſe Apoſtles, whom it pleaſed him to uſe as Founders of his Kingdom here; glorified in the Angels, as in *Michael*; glorified in all thoſe happy Souls, that are already poſſeſſed of Heaven. Over and beſides which number not great, the reſt be but four other days heretofore annexed to the Feaſt of *Eaſter* and *Pentecoſt*, by reaſon of general Baptiſm, uſual at thoſe two Feaſts; which alſo is the cauſe why they had not, as other days, any proper name given them. Their firſt Inſtitution was therefore through neceſſity, and their preſent continuance is now for the greater honor of the Principals, whereupon they ſtill attend. If it be then demanded, Whether we obſerve theſe times as being thereunto bound by force of Divine Law, or elſe by the onely Poſitive Ordinances of the Church; I anſwer to this, That the very Law of Nature it ſelf, which all men confeſs to be Gods Law, requireth in general no leſs the Sanctification of Times, then of Places, Perſons and Things, unto Gods honor. For which cauſe it hath pleaſed him heretofore, as of the reſt; ſo of times likewiſe, to exact ſome parts by way of perpetual homage, never to be diſpenſed withal, nor remitted: Again, To require ſome other parts of time with as ſtrict exaction, but for leſs continuance; and of the reſt which were left arbitrary, to accept what the Church ſhall in due conſideration conſecrate voluntarily unto like Religious uſes. Of the firſt kinde, amongſt the Jews, was the Sabbath-day; of the ſecond, Thoſe Feaſts which are appointed by the Law of *Moſes*; the Feaſt of Dedication, invented by the Church, ſtandeth in the number of the laſt kinde. The Moral Law requiring therefore a ſeventh part throughout the age of the whole World, to be that way employed, although with us the day be changed, in regard of a new Revolution begun by our Saviour Chriſt; yet the ſame proportion of time continueth which was before, becauſe in reference to the benefit of Creation, and now much more of Renovation thereunto added by him which was Prince of the World to come; we are bound to accompt the Sanctification of one day in ſeven, a duty which Gods Immutable Law doth exact for ever. The reſt, they ſay, we ought to aboliſh, becauſe the continuance of them doth nouriſh wicked Superſtition in the mindes of men; beſides, they are all abuſed by Papiſts, the enemies of God; yea, certain of them, as *Eaſter* and *Pentecoſt*, even by the Jews.

Exceptions againſt our keeping of other Feſtival days, beſides the Sabbath.

71. Touching Jews, their *Eaſter* and *Pentecoſt* have with ours as much affinity, as *Philip* the Apoſtle, with *Philip* the *Macedonian* King. As for imitation of Papiſts, and the breeding of Superſtition, they are now become ſuch common gueſts, that no man can think it diſcourteous to let them go as they came. The next is a rare Obſervation and Strange; you ſhall finde, if you mark it (as it doth deſerve to be noted well) that many thouſands there are, who if they have vertuouſly during thoſe times behaved themſelves, if their devotion and zeal in Prayer have been fervent, their attention to the Word of God, ſuch as all Chriſtian men ſhould yield, imagine, that herein they have performed a good duty; which notwithſtanding to think, is a very dangerous Error, in as much as the Apoſtle Saint *Paul* hath taught, That we ought not to keep our *Eaſter* as the Jews did for certain days; but, in the Unleavened Bread of Sincerity and of Truth, to feaſt continually: Whereas the reſtraint of *Eaſter* to a certain number of days, cauſeth us to reſt for a ſhort ſpace in that near conſideration of our duties, which ſhould be extended throughout the courſe of our whole lives, and ſo pulleth out

T. C. lib. 6. pag. 151. If they had been never abuſed, neither by the Papiſts, nor by the Jews, as they have been, and are daily; yet ſuch making of Holidays, is never without ſome great danger of bringing in ſome evil and corrupt opinions into the mindes of men. I will uſe an example in one, and that the chief of Holidays, and moſt generally, and of longeſt time obſerved in the Church, which is the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, which was kept of ſome more days, of ſome fewer. How many thouſands are there, I will not ſay of the ignorant Papiſts, but of thoſe alſo which profeſs the Goſpel, which when they have celebrated thoſe days with diligent heed taken unto their life; and with ſome earneſt devotion in praying, and hearing the Word of God, do not by and by, think that they have well celebrated the Feaſt of *Eaſter*; and yet have they thus notably deceived themſelves. For Saint *Paul* teacheth, 1 *Cor.* 5. 8. That the celebrating of the Feaſt of the Chriſtians *Eaſter*, is not, as the Jews was, for certain days, but ſheweth, That we muſt keep this Feaſt all the days of our life in the Unleavened Bread of Sincerity and of Truth. By which we ſee, that the obſerving of the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, for certain days in the year, doth pull out of our mindes, ere ever we be aware, the Doctrine of the Goſpel, and cauſeth us to reſt in that near conſideration of our duties, for the ſpace of a few days, which ſhould be extended to all our life.

of

of our mindes, the Doctrine of Chriſts Goſpel ere we be aware. The Doctrine of the Goſpel, which here they mean, or ſhould mean, is, That Chriſt having finiſhed the Law, there is no Jewiſh Paſchal Solemnity, nor abſtinence from ſour Bread, now required at our hands; there is no Leaven which we are bound to caſt out, but malice, ſin, and wickedneſs; no Bread but the food of ſincere Truth, wherewith we are tied to celebrate our Paſſover. And ſeeing no time of ſin is granted us, neither any intermiſſion of ſound belief, it followeth, That this kinde of feaſting ought to endure always. But how are ſtanding Feſtival Solemnities againſt this? That which the Goſpel of Chriſt requireth, is the perpetuity of vertuous duties; not perpetuity of exerciſe or action; but diſpoſition perpetual, and practice as oft as times and opportunities require. Juſt, valiant, liberal, temperate, and holy men are they, which can whenſoever they will, and will whenſoever they ought, execute what their ſeveral perfections import. If Vertues did always ceaſe to be, when they ceaſe to work, there ſhould be nothing more pernicious to Vertue then Sleep: Neither were it poſſible that men, as *Zachary* and *Elizabeth*, ſhould in all the Commandments of God, walk unreprovable; or that the Chain of our Converſation ſhould contain ſo many Links of Divine Vertues, as the Apoſtles in divers places have reckoned up; if in the exerciſe of each vertue, perpetual continuance were exacted at our hands. Seeing therefore all things are done in time, and many offices are not poſſible at one and the ſame time to be diſcharged; duties of all ſorts muſt have neceſſarily their ſeveral ſucceſſions and ſeaſons: In which reſpect the School-men have well and ſoundly determined, That Gods Affirmative Laws and Precepts, the Laws that enjoyn any actual duty, as Prayer, Alms, and the like, do binde us *ad ſemper velle*, but not *ad ſemper agere*; we are tyed to iterate and reſume them when need is, howbeit not to continue them without any intermiſſion. Feaſts, whether God himſelf hath ordained them, or the Church by that Authority which God hath given, they are of Religion ſuch publick ſervices, as neither can, nor ought to be continued otherwiſe then onely by iteration. Which iteration is a moſt effectual mean to bring unto full maturity and growth thoſe Seeds of Godlineſs, that theſe very men themſelves do grant to be ſown in the hearts of many Thouſands, during the while that ſuch Feaſts are preſent. The conſtant habit of well-doing, is not gotten, without the cuſtom of doing well, neither can Vertue be made perfect, but by the manifold works of Vertue often practiſed. Before the powers of our mindes be brought unto ſome perfection, our firſt aſſays and offers towards Vertue, muſt needs be raw; yet commendable, becauſe they tend unto ripeneſs. For which cauſe, the Wiſdom of God hath commanded, eſpecially this circumſtance amongſt others in ſolemn Feaſts, That to Children and Novices in Religion, they miniſter the firſt occaſion to ask and enquire of God. Whereupon, if there follow but ſo much Piety as hath been mentioned, let the Church learn to further imbecillity with Prayer. *Preſerve, Lord, theſe good and gracious beginnings, that they ſuddenly dry not up like the morning dew, but may proſper and grow as the Trees, which Rivers of Waters keep always flouriſhing.* Let all mens acclamations be, *Grace, Grace unto it*, as to that firſt laid Corner Stone in *Zerubbabels* Buildings. For who hath deſpiſed the day of thoſe things which are ſmall? Or, how dare we take upon us to condemn that very thing which voluntarily we grant, maketh us of nothing, ſomewhat; ſeeing all we pretend againſt it, is onely, that as yet this ſomewhat, is not much? The days of ſolemnity which are but few, cannot chuſe but ſoon finiſh that outward exerciſe of Godlineſs, which properly appertaineth to ſuch times; howbeit, mens inward diſpoſition to Vertue, they both augment for the preſent, and by their often returns, bring alſo the ſame at the length unto that perfection which we moſt deſire. So that although by their neceſſary ſhort continuance, they abridge the preſent exerciſe of Piety in ſome kinde; yet becauſe by repetition they enlarge, ſtrengthen, and confirm the habits of all Vertue; it remaineth, that we honor, obſerve and keep them as Ordinances, many ways ſingularly profitable in Gods Church. This Exception being taken againſt Holidays, for that they reſtrain the Praiſes of God unto certain times, another followeth condemning reſtraint of men, from their ordinary Trades and Labors at thoſe times.

* T. C. lib. 1. Pag. 152. I confeſs, that it is in the power of the Church to appoint ſo many days in the Week, or in the Year (in the which, the Congregation ſhall aſſemble to hear the Word of God, and receive the Sacraments, and offer up Prayers unto God) as it ſhall think good, according to thoſe Rules which are before alledged. But that it hath power to make ſo many Holidays as we have, wherein men are commanded to ceaſe from their daily Vocations of Ploughing, and exerciſing their Handicrafts, that I deny to be in the power of the Church. For proof whereof, I will take the Fourth Commandment, and no other interpretation of it, then Mr. Doctor alloweth of, which is, That God licenceth and leaveth it at the liberty of every man, to work ſix days in the Week, ſo that he reſt the Seventh day. Seeing therefore, that the Lord hath left it to all Men at Liberty, that they might Labor, if they think good, Six days: I ſay, the Church, nor no Man can take this Liberty away from them, and drive them to a neceſſary Reſt of the Body. And if it be lawful to abridge the Liberty of the Church in this point; and inſtead, that the Lord ſaith, Six days thou maiſt labor, if thou wilt, to ſay, Thou ſhalt not labor Six days: I do not ſee, why the Church may not as well, whereas the Lord ſaith, *Thou ſhalt reſt the Seventh day*, command, That thou ſhalt not reſt the Seventh day. For, if the Church may reſtrain the Liberty which God hath given them, it may take away the yoke alſo, which God hath put upon them. And whereas you ſay, That notwithſtanding this Fourth Commandment, the Jews had certain other Feaſts which they obſerved; indeed, the Lord which gave this General Law, might make as many Exceptions as he thought good, and ſo long as he thought good. But it followeth not, becauſe the Lord did it, that therefore the Church may do it, unleſs it hath Commandment and Authority from God ſo to do. As when there is any General Plague or Judgment of God, either upon the Church, or coming towards it, the Lord commandeth in ſuch a caſe, *Joel* 2.15. That they ſhould ſanctifie a General Faſt, and proclaim *Ghnatſarah*, which ſignifieth a Prohibition, or forbidding of ordinary works; and is the ſame *Hebrew* word wherewith thoſe Feaſts days are noted in the Law, wherein they ſhould reſt. The reaſon of which Commandment of the Lord was, that they abſtained that day as much as might be conveniently from Meats; ſo they might abſtain from their daily works, to the end, they might beſtow the whole day in hearing the Word of God, and humbling themſelves in the Congregation, confeſſing their faults, and deſiring the Lord to turn away from his fierce wrath. In this caſe the Church having Commandment to make a Holiday, may, and ought to do it, as the Church which was in *Babylon*, did during the time of their Captivity; but where it is deſtitute of a Commandment, it may not preſume by any Decree to reſtrain that liberty which the Lord hath given.

* It is not (they ſay) in the Power of the Church to command Reſt, becauſe God hath left it to all men at liberty, that if they think good to beſtow Six whole days in labor, they may; neither is it more lawful for the Church to abridge any man of that liberty which God hath granted, then to take away the yoke which God hath laid upon them, and to countermand what he doth expreſly enjoyn. They deny not, but in times of publick calamity, that men may the better aſſemble themſelves to faſt and pray, the Church, becauſe it hath received Commandment from God, to proclaim a Prohibition from ordinary works, ſtandeth bound to do it, as the Jews afflicted did in *Babylon*. But without ſome expreſs Commandment from God, there is no power, they ſay, under Heaven, which may preſume by any Decree to reſtrain the liberty that God hath given. Which opinion, albeit applied here no farther then to this preſent cauſe, ſhaketh univerſally the Fabrick of Government, tendeth to Anarchy, and meer confuſion, diſſolveth Families, diſſipateth Colledges, Corporations, Armies; overthroweth Kingdoms, Churches, and whatſoever is now, through the providence of God, by Authority and Power upheld. For whereas God hath foreprized things of the greateſt weight, and hath therein preciſely defined, as well that which every man muſt perform, as that which no man may attempt, leaving all ſorts of men in the Reſt, either to be guided by their own good diſcretion, if they be free from ſubjection to others, or elſe to be ordered by ſuch Commandments and Laws, as proceed from thoſe Superiors under whom they live; the Patrons of Liberty have here made Solemn Proclamation, that all ſuch Laws and Commandments are void, in as much as every man is left to the freedom of his own minde, in ſuch things as are not either exacted or prohibited by the Law of God. And becauſe, onely in theſe things, the Poſitive Precepts of men have place; which Precepts cannot poſſibly be given without ſome Abridgment of their Liberty, to whom they are given: Therefore if the Father command the Son, or the Husband the Wife, or the Lord the Servant, or the Leader the Soldier, or the Prince the Subject; to go or ſtand, ſleep or wake, at ſuch times as God himſelf in particular commandeth neither; they are to ſtand in defence of the Freedom which God hath granted, and to do as themſelves liſt, knowing, that men may as lawfully command them things utterly forbidden by the Law of God, as tye them to any thing which the Law of God leaveth free. The plain contradictory whereunto is unfallibly certain. Thoſe things which the Law of God leaveth Arbitrary and at Liberty, are all ſubject to the Poſitive Laws of Men; which Laws for the common benefit, abridge particular Mens Liberty in ſuch things, as far as the Rules of Equity will ſuffer. This we muſt either maintain, or elſe over-turn the World, and make every man his own Commander. Seeing then that Labor and Reſt upon any one day of the Six, throughout the year, are granted free by the Law of God, how exempt we them from the force and power of Eccleſiaſtical Law, except we deprive the World of Power, to make any Ordinance or Law at all? Beſides, Is it probable that God ſhould not onely allow, but command concurrency of Reſt, with extraordinary occaſions of doleful events, befalling (peradventure) ſome one certain Church, or not extending unto many, and not as much as permit or licence the like; when Piety, triumphant with Joy and

Gladneſs, maketh ſolemn commemoration of Gods moſt rare and unwonted Mercies, *ſuch eſpecially as the whole race of mankinde* doth or might participate? Of vacation from labor in times of ſorrow, the onely cauſe is, for that the general publick Prayers of the whole Church, and our own private buſineſs, cannot both be followed at once; whereas of Reſt in the famous ſolemnities of publick Joy, there is both this conſideration the ſame; and alſo farther a kinde of natural repugnancy, which maketh labors (as hath been proved) much more unfit to accompany Feſtival Praiſes of God, then Offices of Humiliation and Grief. Again, If we ſift what they bring for proof and approbation of Reſt with Faſting, doth it not in all reſpects as fully warrant, and as ſtrictly command Reſt, whenſoever the Church hath equal reaſon by Feaſts, and gladſome ſolemnities to teſtifie publick thankfulneſs towards God? I would know ſome cauſe, why thoſe words of the Prophet *Joel*, *Sanctifie a Faſt, call a ſolemn Aſſembly*; which words were uttered to the Jews, in miſery and great diſtreſs, ſhould more binde the Church to do at all times after the like, in their like perplexities, then the words of *Moſes*, to the ſame people, in a time of joyful deliverance from miſery. *Remember this day*, may warrant any annual celebration of benefits, no leſs importing the good of men; and alſo juſtifie, as touching the manner and form thereof, what circumſtance ſoever we imitate onely in reſpect of natural fitneſs or decency, without any Jewiſh regard to Ceremonies, ſuch as were properly theirs, and are not by us expedient to be continued. According to the Rule of which general directions, taken from the Law of God, no leſs in the one, then the other, the practice of the Church, commended unto us in holy Scripture, doth not onely make for the juſtification of black and diſmal days (as one of the Fathers termeth them) but plainly offereth it ſelf to be followed by ſuch Ordinances (if occaſion require) as that which *Mordecai* did ſometimes deviſe, *Eſther* what lay in her power help forward, and the reſt of the Jews eſtabliſh for perpetuity, namely, That the Fourteenth and fifteenth days of the Moneth *Adar*, ſhould be every year kept throughout all Generations; as days of Feaſting and Joy, wherein they would reſt from bodily labor, and what by gifts of Charity beſtowed upon the poor, what by other liberal ſigns of Amity and Love; all teſtifie their thankful mindes towards God, which almoſt beyond poſſibility, had delivered them all, when they all were as men dead. But this Decree, they ſay, was Divine, not Eccleſiaſtical, as may appear in that there is another Decree in another Book of Scripture; which Decree is plain, not to have proceeded from the Churches Authority, but from the mouth of the Prophet onely; and, as a poor ſimple man ſometime was fully perſwaded, That if *Pontius Pilate* had not been a Saint, the Apoſtles would never have ſuffered his name to ſtand in the Creed; ſo theſe men have a ſtrong opinion, that becauſe the Book of *Eſther* is Canonical, the Decree of *Eſther* cannot be poſſibly Eccleſiaſtical: If it were, they ask how the Jews could binde themſelves always to keep it, ſeeing Eccleſiaſtical Laws are mutable? As though the purpoſes of men might never intend conſtancy in that, the nature whereof is ſubject to alteration. Doth the Scripture it ſelf make mention of any Divine Commandment? Is the Scripture witneſs of more, then onely that *Mordecai* was the Author of this Cuſtom, that by Letters written to his brethren the Jews, throughout all Provinces under *Darius*, the King of *Perſia*; he gave them charge to celebrate yearly thoſe two days, for perpetual remembrance of Gods miraculous deliverance and mercy; that the Jews hereupon undertook to do it, and made it

Jo. 12. 15.

Exod. 13 3.

Eſth. 9.

T. C. lib. 3. pag 193. The example out of *Eſther* is no ſufficient warrant for theſe Feaſts in queſtion. For firſt, as in other caſes, ſo in this caſe of days, the eſtate of Chriſtians, under the Goſpel, ought not to be ſo ceremonious, as was theirs under the Law. Secondly, That which was doue there, was done by a ſpe-

cial direction of the Spirit of God, either through the miniſtry of the Prophets, which they had, or by ſome other extraordinary means, which is not to be followed by us. This may appear by another place, *Zach.* 8. where the Jews changed their Faſts into Feaſts, onely by the mouth of the Lord, through the miniſtry of the Prophet. For further proof whereof, firſt, I take the 28. Verſe, where it appeareth, that this was an order to endure always, even as long as the other Feaſt days, which were inſtituted by the Lord himſelf. So that what abuſes ſoever were of that Feaſt, yet as a perpetual Decree of God, it ought to have remained; whereas our Churches can make no ſuch Decree, which may not upon change of times, and other circumſtances, be altered. For the other proof hereof, I take the laſt Verſe: For the Prophet contenteth not himſelf with that, that he had rehearſed the Decree, as he doth ſometimes the Decree of propane Kings, but addeth preciſely, That as ſoon as ever the Decree was made, it was Regiſtred in this Book of *Eſther*, which is one of the Books of Canonical Scripture, declaring thereby in what eſteem they had it. If it had been of no further Authority, then our Decrees, or then a Canon of one of the Councils, it had been preſumption to have brought it into the Library of the Holy Ghoſt. The ſum of my Anſwer is, That this Decree was Divine, and not Eccleſiaſtical onely.

with

with general consent, an order for perpetuity; that *Esther*, secondly, by her Letters confirmed the same which *Mordecai* had before decreed; and that finally, the Ordinance was written to remain for ever upon Record? Did not the Jews, in Provinces abroad, observe at the first the Fourteenth day, the Jews in *Susis* the Fifteenth? Were they not all reduced to an uniform order, by means of those two Decrees, and so every where three days kept; the first with fasting, in memory of danger; the rest, in token of deliverance, as festival and joyful days? Was not the first of these three afterwards, the day of sorrow and heavinesse, abrogated, when the same Church saw it meet, that a better day, a day in memory of like
2 Mac. 15. 36. deliverance, out of the bloody hands of *Nicanor*, should succeed in the room thereof? But for as much as there is no end of answering fruitless oppositions, let it suffice men of sober mindes, to know, that the Law both of God and Nature alloweth generally, days of rest and festival solemnity, to be observed by way of thankful and joyful remembrance, if such miraculous favors be shewed towards mankinde, as require the same; that such Graces, God hath bestowed upon his Church, as well in latter, as in former times; that in some particulars,
1 Mac. 4. 55. when they have faln out, himself hath demanded his own honor, and in the rest, hath left it to the Wisdom of the Church, directed by those precedents, and enlightned by other means, always to judge when the like is requisite. About questions therefore, concerning Days and Times, our manner is not to stand at bay with the Church of God, demanding, Wherefore the memory of [a] *Paul* should be rather kept, then the memory of [b] *Daniel:* We are content to imagine, it may be perhaps true, that the least in the Kingdom of Christ, is greater then the greatest of all the Prophets of God that have gone before: We never yet saw cause to despair, but that the [c] simplest of the people might be taught the right construction of as great Mysteries, as the [d] Name of a Saints day doth comprehend, although the times of the year go on in their wonted course: We had rather glorifie and bless God, for the Fruit we daily behold, reaped by such Ordinances, as his gracious Spirit maketh the ripe Wisdom of this National Church to bring forth, then vainly boast of our own peculiar and private inventions, as if the skill of [e] profitable Regiment had left her publick habitation, to dwell in retired manner with some few men of one Livery: We make not our childish [f] appeals, sometimes from our own to Forein Churches, sometime from both unto Churches ancienter then both are, in effect always from all others to our own selves; but, as becometh them that follow with all humility the ways of Peace, we honor, reverence, and obey, in the very next degree unto God, the voice of the Church of God wherein we live. They, whose wits are too glorious to fall to so low an ebb; they which have risen and swoln so high, that the Walls of ordinary Rivers are unable to keep them in; they whose wanton contentions in the cause whereof we have spoken, do make all where they go, a Sea, even they, at their highest float, are constrained both to see and [g] grant, that what their fancy will not yield to like, their judgment cannot with reason condemn. Such is evermore the final victory of all Truth, that they which have not the hearts to love her, acknowledge, that to hate her, they have no cause. Touching those Festival days therefore which we now observe, their number being no way felt [h] discommodious to the Commonwealth, and their grounds such as hitherto hath been shewed; what remaineth, but to keep them throughout all generations holy, severed by manifest notes of difference from other times, adorned with that which most may betoken true, vertuous, and celestial joy? To which intent, because surcease from labor is necessary, yet not so necessary, no not on the Sabbath or

[a] Commemoratio Apostolica passionis, totius Christianitatis magistra à cunctis jure celebrarur. *Cod.* l. 3. tit. 12. l. 7.

[b] *T. C.* lib. 1. pag. 153. For so much as the old people did never keep any Feast or Holiday for remembrance, either of *Moses*, &c.

[c] *T. C.* lib. 1. pag. 153. The people, when it is called St. *Pauls* day, or the Blessed Virgin *Maries* day, can understand nothing thereby, but that they are instituted to the honor of St. *Paul*, or the Virgin *Mary*, unless they be otherwise taught. And if you say Let them so be taught, I have answered, That the teaching in this Land, cannor by any order which is yet taken, come to the most part of those which have drunk this poyson, &c.

[d] Scilicer ignorant nos nec Christum unquam relinquere, qui pro totius servandorum mundi salute passus est, nec alium quempiam colere posse. Nam hunc quidem tanquam Filium Dei adoramus, Martyres verò tanquam Discipulos & Imitatores Domini digne propter insuperabilem in Regem ipsorum ac Præceptorem benevolentiam diligimus, quorum & nos consortes & discipulos fieri optamus. *Euseb.* Hist. Eccles. lib. 4. cap. 15. [e] *T. C.* lib. 1. pag. 153. As for all the Commodities, &c. [f] *T. C.* lib 1. pag. 154. [g] *T. C.* lib. 1. pag. 154. We condemn not the Church of *England*, neither in this, nor in other things, which are meet to be Reformed. For it is one thing to mislike, another thing to condemn; and it is one thing to condemn something in the Church, and another thing to condemn the Church for it. [h] Πολλὰς μὲν θυσίας, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἱερουλίας ἔπαυσε· τὸ δὲ πλεῖστον τῶν ἐτῶν εἰς αὐτὰς ἀνηλίσκετο καὶ τῷ δημοσίῳ ζημία οὐκ ἐλάγη ἐγίγνετο. De Claudio dictum apud *Dionys.* lib. 60.

Seventh

Seventh day it self, but that rarer occasions in mens particular affairs, subject to manifest detriment unless they be presently followed, may with very good conscience draw them sometimes aside from the ordinary rule, considering the favorable dispensation which our Lord and Saviour groundeth on this Axiom, *Man was not made for the Sabbath, but the Sabbath ordained for Man*; so far forth as concerneth Ceremonies annexed to the principal Sanctification thereof, howsoever the rigor of the Law of *Moses* may be thought to import the contrary; if we regard with what severity the violation of Sabbaths hath been sometime punished, a thing perhaps the more requisite at that instant, both because the Jews by reason of their long abode in a place of continual servile toil, could not suddenly be wained and drawn unto contrary offices, without some strong impression of terror; and also for that there is nothing more needful, then to punish with extremity the first transgressions of those Laws, that require a more exact observation for many ages to come; therefore as the Jews, superstitiously addicted to their Sabbaths rest for a long time, not without danger to themselves, and [a] obloquy to their very Law, did afterwards perceive and amend wisely their former Error, not doubting, that bodily labors are made by [b] necessity venial, though otherwise especially on that day, rest be more convenient: So at all times, the voluntary scandalous contempt of that rest from labor, wherewith publickly God is served, we cannot too [c] severely correct and bridle. The Emperor *Constantine* [d] having with over-great facility licenced Sundays labor in Country Villages, under that pretence, whereof there may justly no doubt sometime consideration be had, namely, lest any thing which God by his providence hath bestowed, should miscarry, not being taken in due time; *Leo*, which afterwards saw that this ground would not bear so general and large indulgence as had been granted, doth by a contrary Edict, both reverse and severely censure his Predecessors remissness, saying, [e] *We ordain, according to the true meaning of the Holy Ghost, and of the Apostles thereby directed, That on the Sacred day, wherein our own integrity was restored, all do rest and surcease labor; That neither Husband-man, nor other, on that day, put their hands to forbbidden works. For if the Jews did so much reverence their Sabbath, which was but a shaddow of ours, are not we which inhabit the Light and Truth of Grace, bound to honor that day which the Lord himself hath honored, and hath therein delivered us both from dishonor and from death? Are we not bound to keep it singular and inviolable, well contenting our selves with so liberal a grant of the rest, and not incroaching upon that one day, which God hath chosen to his own honor? Were it not wretchless neglect of Religion, to make that very day common, and to think we may do with it as with the rest?* Imperial Laws which had such care of hallowing, especially our Lords day, did not omit to provide, that [f] other Festival times might be kept with vacation from labor, whether they were days appointed on the sudden, as extraordinary occasions fell out, or days which were celebrated yearly, for Politick and Civil considerations; or finally, such days as Christian Religion hath ordained in Gods Church. The joy that setteth aside labor, dispelleth those things which labor gathereth. For gladness doth always rise from a kinde of fruition and happiness, which happiness banisheth the cogitation of all want, it needeth nothing but onely the bestowing of that it hath, in as much as the greatest felicity that felicity hath, is to spred and enlarge it self; it cometh hereby to pass, that the first effect of joyfulness, is to rest, because it seeketh no more; the next, because it aboundeth, to give. The Root of both, is the glorious presence of that joy of minde, which riseth from the manifold considerations of Gods unspeakable Mercy, into which considerations we are led by occasion of Sacred times. For, how could the Jewish Congregations of old, be put in minde by their weekly Sabbaths, what the World reaped through his goodness, which did of nothing create the World; by their yearly Passover, what farewel they took of the Land of *Egypt*; by their Pentecost, what Ordinances, Laws, and Statutes, their Fathers received at the hands of God; by their Feast of Tabernacles, with what protection they journeyed from place to place, through so many fears and hazards, during the tedious time of forty years travel in the Wilderness; by their Annual solemnity of Lots, how near the whole Seed of *Israel* was unto utter

Mark 2. 27. Numb. 15. 32.

[a] Hi vacare consueti sunt septima die, & neque arma portare in prædictis diebus, neque terræ culturam contingere, neque alterius cujuspiam curam habere patiuntur, sed in templis extendentes manus adorare usque ad vesperam soliti sunt. Ingrediente verò in civitatem *Ptolemæo Lago* cum exercitu & multis hominibus, cum custodire debuerint civitatem, ipsis stultitiam observantibus, provincia quidem dominum susceperit amarissimum, Lex verò manifesta est, malam habere solennitatem. *Agatharchid.* apud *Josepb.* lib. 1. contr. *Appion.* Vide & *Dionys.* lib. 37.

[b] 1 Mac. 2. 40.

[c] Nehe. 13. 15.

[d] *Cod.* l. 3. tit. 12. l. 3.

[e] *Leo* Constit. 54.

[f] *T. C.* lib. 3. tit. 12. Dies festos.

extirpation, when it pleased that Great God which guideth all things in Heaven and Earth, so to change the counsels and purposes of men, that the same Hand which had signed a Decree in the opinion, both of them that granted, and of them that procured it, irrevocable, for the general massacre of Man, Woman, and Childe, became the Buckler of their preservation, that no one hair of their heads might be touched: The same days which had been set for the pouring out of so much innocent blood, were made the days of their execution, whose malice had contrived the plot thereof; and the self-same persons that should have endured whatsoever violence and rage could offer, were employed in the just revenge of cruelty, to give unto blood-thirsty men the taste of their own Cup; or how can the Church of Christ now endure to be so much called on, and preached unto, by that which every [a] Dominical day throughout the year, that which year by year so many Festival times, [b] if not commanded by the Apostles themselves, whose care at that time was of greater things, yet instituted, either by such [c] Universal Authority, as no Man, or at the least such as we, with no reason, may despise, do as sometime the holy Angels did from Heaven, sing, [d] *Glory be unto God on High, Peace on Earth, towards Men good Will*; (for this in effect, is the very Song that all Christian Feasts do apply as their several occasions require) how should the days and times continually thus inculcate what God hath done, and we refuse to agnize the benefit of such remembrances; that very benefit which caused *Moses* to acknowledge those Guides of Day and Night, the Sun and Moon which enlighten the World, not more profitable to nature, by giving all things life, then they are to the Church of God, by occasion of the use they have, in regard of the appointed Festival times? That which the head of all Philosophers hath said of Women, If they be good, the half of the Commonwealth is happy, wherein they are; the same we may fitly apply to times: Well to celebrate these Religious and Sacred days, is, to spend the flower of our time happily. They are the splendor and outward dignity of our Religion, forcible Witnesses of Ancient Truth, provocations to the Exercises of all Piety, shaddows of our endless Felicity in Heaven, on Earth Everlasting Records and Memorials, wherein they which cannot be drawn to hearken unto that we teach, may onely by looking upon that we do, in a manner read whatsoever we believe.

a Matth. 28. 1. Mark 16. 1. Luke 24. 1. John 20. 1. 1 Cor. 16. 2. Apoc. 1. 10.

b Apostolis propositum fuit, non ut leges de festis diebus celebrandis sanciren[t]; sed ut recte vivendi rationis & pietatis nobis authores essent. *Socra.* Hist. lib. cap. 23.

c Quæ toto terrarum orbe servantur, vel ab ipsis Apostolis vel Conciliis generalibus quorum est saluberrima in Ecclesia authoritas, statuta esse intelligere licet: Sicuti, quod Domini Passio & Resurrectio, & in Cœlum Ascensus, & Adventus Spiritus Sancti, anniversaria solennitate celebrarentur. *August.* Epist. 118.

d Luk. 2. 14.

Of Days appointed as well for ordinary, as for extraordinary Fasts in the Church of God.

72. The matching of contrary things together, is a kinde of illustration to both. Having therefore spoken thus much of Festival Days, the next that offer themselves to hand, are days of Pensive Humiliation and Sorrow. Fastings are either of mens own free and voluntary accord; as their particular devotion doth move them thereunto; or else they are publickly enjoyned in the Church, and required at the hands of all men. There are, which altogether disallow not the former kinde; and the latter they greatly commend; so that it be upon extraordinary occasions onely, and after one certain manner exercised. But Yearly or Weekly Fasts, such as ours in the Church of *England*, they allow no farther, then as the Temporal State of the Land doth require the same, for the maintenance of Sea-faring-men, and preservation of Cattle; because the decay of the one, and the waste of the other, could not well be prevented but by a Politick Order, appointing some such usual change of Diet as ours is. We are therefore the rather to make it manifest in all mens eyes, That Set-times of Fasting, appointed in Spiritual

T. C. lib. 1. pag. 30. I will not enter now to discuss, whether it were well done to Fast in all places according to the custom of the place. You oppose *Ambrose* and *Augustine*, I could oppose *Ignatius* and *Tertullian*; whereof the one saith, It is *nefas*, a detestable thing to Fast upon the Lords Day; the other, That it is to kill the Lord. *Tertul.* de *Coron.* Mil. *Ignatius*, Epist. de *Philippen.* And although *Ambrose* and *Augustine*, being private men at *Rome*, would have so done; yet it followeth not, That if they had been Citizens and Ministers there, that they would have done it. And if they had done so, yet it followeth not, but they would have spoken against that appointment of days, and νομοθεσίαν of Fasting, whereof *Eusebius* saith, that *Montanus* was the first Author. I speak of that which they ought to have done. For otherwise I know, they both thought corruptly of Fasting; when as the one saith, It was a remedy or reward to Fast other days, but in *Lent* not to Fast, was sin; and the other asketh, What Salvation we can obtain, if we blot not our sins by Fasting, seeing that the Scripture saith, That Fasting and Alms, doth deliver from sin; and therefore calleth them new Teachers, that shut out the merit of Fasting. *August.* de Temp. 62. Serm. *Ambr.* lib. 10. Epist.

ritual Considerations to be kept by all sorts of men; took not their beginning, either from *Montanus*, or any other, whose Heresies may prejudice the credit and due estimation thereof, but have their ground in the Law of Nature, are allowable in Gods sight, were in all ages heretofore, and may till the Worlds end be observed, not without singular use and benefit. Much hurt hath grown to the Church of God, through a false imagination, that Fasting standeth men in no stead for any spiritual respect, but onely to take down the frankness of Nature, and to tame the wildeness of flesh. Whereupon the World being bold to surfeit, doth now blush to fast, supposing, that men when they fast, do rather bewray a Disease, then exercise a Vertue. I much wonder what they, who are thus perswaded, do think, what conceit they have concerning the Fasts of the Patriarks, the Prophets, the Apostles, our Lord Jesus Christ himself. The affections of Joy and Grief are so knit unto all the actions of mans life, that whatsoever we can do, or may be done unto us, the sequel thereof is continually, the one or the other affection. Wherefore considering, that they which grieve and joy as they ought, cannot possibly otherwise live then as they should, the Church of Christ, the most absolute and perfect School of all Vertue, hath by the speciall direction of Gods good Spirit, hitherto always inured men from their infancy; partly with days of Festival Exercise, for the framing of the one affection; and partly with times of a contrary sort, for the perfecting of the other. Howbeit, over and besides this, we must note, that as Resting, so Fasting likewise attendeth sometimes no less upon the Actions of the higher, then upon the Affections of the lower part of the minde. Fasting, saith *Tertullian*, is a work of reverence towards God. The end thereof, sometimes elevation of minde; sometime the purpose thereof clean contrary. The cause why *Moses* in the Mount did so long fast, was meer divine Speculation; the cause why *David*, [a] Humiliation. Our life is [b] a mixture of good with evil. When we are partakers of good things, we joy, neither can we but grieve at the contrary. If that befal us which maketh glad, our Festival Solemnities declare our rejoycing to be in him, whose meer undeserved Mercy is the Author of all happiness; if any thing be either imminent or present, which we shun, our Watchings, Fastings, Cryes, and Tears, are unfeigned Testimonies, that our selves we condemn as the onely causes of our own misery, and do all acknowledge him no less inclinable, then able to save. And because as the memory of the one, though past, reneweth gladness; so the other, called again to minde, doth make the wound of our just remorse to bleed anew; which wound needeth often touching the more, for that we are generally more apt to Kalender Saints, then sinners days; therefore there is in the Church a care, not to iterate the one alone, but to have frequent repetition of the other. Never to seek after God, saving onely when either the Crib or the Whip doth constrain, were brutish servility; and a great derogation to the worth of that which is most predominant in man, if sometime it had not a kinde of voluntary access to God, and of conference, as it were, with God; all these inferior considerations laid aside. In which sequestration, for as much as [c] higher cogitations do naturally drown and bury all inferior cares, the minde may as well forget natural, both food and sleep, by being carried above it self with serious and heavenly Meditation, as by being cast down with heaviness, drowned and swallowed up of sorrow. Albeit therefore, concerning Jewish Abstinence from certain kindes of meats, as being unclean, the Apostle doth teach, That the [d] Kingdom of Heaven is not meat nor drink, that food commendeth us not unto God, whether we take it, or abstain from it; that if we eat, we are not thereby the more acceptable in his sight, nor the less, if we eat not: His purpose notwithstanding was far from any intent to derogate from that Fasting, which is no such scrupulous Abstinence, as onely refuseth some kindes of meats and drinks, lest they make them unclean that taste them; but an Abstinence whereby we either interrupt, or otherwise abridge the care of our bodily sustenance, to shew by this kinde of outward exercise, the serious intention of our mindes, fixed on Heavenlier and better desires; the earnest hunger and thirst whereof, depriveth the body of those usual contentments, which otherwise are not denied unto it. These being in Nature the first causes that induce fasting, the next thing which

a *Tertul.* de jejun. Neque enim cibi tempus in periculo: Semper inedia mœroris sequela est.

b Μηδεὶς δ' ὑπολαβέτω τὸ ἄκρατον καὶ ἀμιγῆ λύπης χαρὰν ἀπ' εὐφανοῦ καταβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν· ἀλλ' ἐγκέκρα· ἢ ἐξ ἀμφοῖν. ἐ γὰρ εἴασεν ὁ πατὴρ τὸ ἀνθρώπων γένος λυπαῖς καὶ ὀδύναις καὶ ἄχθεσιν ἀνιάταις ἐμφέρεσθαι, παρέμιξε δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀμείνονος φύσεως, εὐδιάσας ποτὲ καὶ γαληνιάσαι τὴν ψυχὴν δικαιώσας. *Philo.* l. de *Abrah.*

c John 4. 31.

d Rom. 14. 17.

followeth to be considered, is the ancient practice thereof amongst the Jews. Touching whose private voluntary Fasts, the Precept which our Saviour gave them, was, *When ye fast, look not sour, as Hypocrites: For they dis-figure their faces, that they might seem to men to fast. Verily, I say unto you, they have their reward. When thou fastest, anoint thy head, and wash thy face, that thou seem not unto men to fast, but unto thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father which seeth in secret, will reward thee openly.* Our Lord and Saviour would not teach the manner of doing, much less propose a reward for doing that, which were not both holy and acceptable in Gods sight. The Pharisees weekly bound themselves unto double Fasts, neither are they for this reproved. Often Fasting, which was a vertue in *Johns* Disciples, could not in them of it self be a vice; and therefore not the oftenness of their Fasting, but their hypocrisie therein was blamed. Of publick enjoyned Fasts [a], upon causes extraordinary, the examples in Scripture are so far frequent, that they need no particular rehearsal. Publick extraordinary Fastings, were sometimes for [b] one onely day, sometimes for [c] three, sometimes for [d] seven. Touching Fasts not appointed for any such extraordinary causes, but either yearly, or monethly, or weekly observed and kept: First, Upon the [e] nineth day of that moneth, the tenth whereof was the Feast of Expiation, they were commanded of God, that every Soul, year by year, should afflict it self. Their yearly Fasts every fourth moneth, in regard of the City of *Jerusalem*, entred by the Enemy; every fifth, for the memory of the overthrow of their Temple; every seventh, for the treacherous destruction, and death of *Gedaliah*, the very last stay which they had to lean unto in their greatest misery; every tenth, in remembrance of the time when siege began first to be laid against them: All these not commanded by God himself, but ordained by a publick Constitution of their own; the Prophet [f] *Zachary* expresly toucheth. That St. *Jerome*, following the Tradition of the Hebrews, doth make the first, a memorial of the breaking of those Two Tables, when *Moses* descended from Mount *Sinai*; the second, a memorial as well of Gods indignation, condemning them to forty years travel in the Desart, as of his wrath, in permitting Chaldeans to waste, burn and destroy their City; the last, a memorial of heavy tydings, brought out of *Jury* to *Ezekiel*, and the rest, which lived as Captives in foreign parts; the difference is not of any moment, considering, that each time of sorrow, is naturally evermore a Register of all such grievous events as have hapned, either in, or near about the same time. To these I might add [g] sundry other Fasts, above twenty in number, ordained amongst them by like occasions, and observed in like manner, besides their weekly Abstinence, Mundays and Thursdays, throughout the whole year. When men fasted, it was not always after one and the same sort; but either by depriving themselves wholly of all food, during the time that their Fasts continued; or by abating both the quantity and kinde of Diet. We have of the one, a plain example in the *Ninivites* Fasting, and as plain a president for the other in the Prophet *Daniel*, *I was* (saith he) *in heavinesse for three weeks of days; I eat no pleasant Bread, neither tasted Flesh nor Wine.* Their Tables, when they gave themselves to fasting, had not that usual furniture of such Dishes as do cherish blood with blood; but [h] for food, they had Bread; for suppage, Salt; and for sawce, Herbs. Whereunto the Apostle may be thought to allude saying, *One believeth he may eat all things, another which is weak* (and maketh a conscience of keeping those Customs which the Jews observe) *eateth Herbs.* This austere repast they took in the Evening, after Abstinence the whole day: For, to forfeit a Noons meal, and then to recompence themselves at night, was not their use. Nor did they ever accustom themselves on Sabbaths, or Festivals days to fast. And yet it may be a question, whether in some sort they did not always fast the Sabbath. Their Fastings were partly in token of Penitency, Humiliation, Grief, and Sorrow, partly in sign of devotion and reverence towards God. Which second consideration (I dare not peremptorily and boldly affirm any thing) might induce to abstain till noon, as their manner was on Fasting days, to do till night. May it not

[a] 2 Chro. 20. Jere. 36. Ezra 8. 1 Sam. 7.
[b] Judg 20. 26.
[c] 2 Mac 3 12.
[d] 1 Sam. 31. 13. 1 Chro. 10. 12.
[e] Le ic. 1 . Levit. 16.
Philo d hujus festi jejunio ita loquitur. Οὐ σπόνον ὀυ πτὸν ἔξεσι τεσσενήκοντ, κὰ σαρᾶς ὅπως ψυχοίας μεδενὸς ἐνοχλῆτ@ μηδὲ ἐμποδίζουτ@ σωματικῆ πάθους, ὅπτα φιλεῖ συμβαίνειν ἐκ πλησμονῆς. ἐρτάζωσιν ἱλασκόμενοι τ πολέως τῆ παντὸς ὅσιας δ' χαῖς δι' ὧν ἀμνηστίαν ὧν παλαιῶν ἁμαρτημάτων, κτῆσιν ὧ κ ἀπολαυσιν νέων ἀγαθῶν ἐλπίζουσιν εἰκότως. Pag. 447.
[f] Zach 8. 6. Exod. 32. Numb. 14.
[g] Vide *Riber.* lib. 5. cap. 21. Dan. 10. 23.
[h] Puram & sine animalibus cœnam. Apul. in Asclep. in fine. Pastum & potum pura nosse, non ventris scilicet sed animæ causa *Tertul.* de Pœnit. Vide *Phil.* lib. de vita contempl. Rom. 14. 2. *Hieron.* lib. 2. contr. *Jovinian.* Judith 8 6. R. Mos. in Misne. Tora. lib. 3. Qui est de tempor. cap. de Sab. & cap. de Jejun.

very

very well be thought, that hereunto the Sacred [a] Scripture doth give some secret kinde of Testimony? *Josephus* is plain, That the sixth hour (the day they divided into twelve) was wont on the Sabbath, always to call them home unto meat. Neither is it improbable, but that the [b] Heathens did therefore so often upbraid them with Fasting on that day. Besides, they which found so great fault with our Lords Disciples, for rubbing a few Ears of Corn in their hands on the Sabbath day, are not unlikely to have aimed also at the same mark. For neither was the bodily pain so great, that it should offend them in that respect, and the very manner of defence which our Saviour there useth, is more direct and literal to justifie the breach of the Jewish custom in Fasting, then in working at that time. Finally, the Apostles afterwards themselves, when God first gave them the gift of Tongues, whereas some in disdain and spight, termed Grace, Drunkenness, it being then the day of Pentecost, and but onely a fourth part of the day spent, they use this as an argument against the other cavil, [c] *These men,* saith *Peter, are not drunk as you suppose, since as yet the third hour of the day is not over-past.* Howbeit, leaving this in suspence, as a thing not altogether certainly known, and to come from Jews to Christians, we finde that of private voluntarily Fastings, the Apostle Saint *Paul* speaketh [d] more then once. And (saith *Tertullian*) they are sometime commanded throughout the Church, *Ex aliqua sollicitudinis Ecclesiasticæ causa,* the care and fear of the Church so requiring. It doth not appear, that the Apostles ordained any set and certain days to be generally kept of all. Notwithstanding, for as much as Christ hath fore-signified, that when himself should be taken from them, his absence would soon make them apt to fast, it seemeth, that even as the first Festival day appointed to be kept of the Church, was the day of our Lords return from the dead; so the first sorrowful and mourning day, was, That which we now observe in memory of his departure out of this World. And because there could be no abatement of grief, till they saw him raised, whose death was the occasion of their heaviness; therefore the day he lay in the Sepulchre hath been also kept and observed as a weeping day. The Custom of Fasting these two days before Easter, is undoubtedly most ancient; in so much, that *Ignatius* not thinking him a Catholick Christian man which did not abhor, and (as the state of the Church was then) avoid fasting on the Jews Sabbath, doth notwithstanding except for ever, that one Sabbath or Saturday which falleth out to be the Easter-Eve, as with us it always doth, and did sometimes also with them which kept at that time their Easter the Fourteenth day of *March*, as the custom of the Jews was. It came afterward to be an order, that even as the day of Christs Resurrection, so the other two, in memory of his death and burial, were weekly. But this, when Saint *Ambrose* lived, had not as yet taken place throughout all Churches, no not in *Millan*, where himself was Bishop. And for that cause, he saith, that although at *Rome* he observed the Saturdays fast, because such was then the custom in *Rome*, nevertheless in his own Church at home he did otherwise. The Churches which did not observe that day, had another instead thereof, which was the Wednesday, for that when they judged it meet to have weekly a day of Humiliation, besides that whereon our Saviour suffered death, it seemed best to make their choice of that day especially, whereon the Jews are thought to have first contrived their treason together with *Judas* against Christ. So that the instituting and ordaining both of these, and of all other times of like exercise, is as the Church shall judge expedient for mens good. And concerning every Christians mans duty herein, surely that which *Augustine* and *Ambrose* are before alledged to have done, is such, as all men favoring Equity, must needs allow, and follow, if they affect peace. As for their specified Errors, I will not in this place dispute, whether voluntarily Fasting with a vertuous purpose of minde, be any medicinable remedy of evil, or a duty acceptable unto God, and in the World to come even rewardable, as other offices are which proceed from Christian Piety; whether wilfully to break and despise the wholesome Laws of the Church herein, be a thing which offendeth God; whether truly it may not be said, that penitent both weeping and fasting, are means to blot out sin, means whereby through Gods unspeakable and undeserved mercy, we obtain or procure to our selves pardon; which attainment unto any gracious benefit by him bestowed, the phrase

of

[a] Nehe. 8. 3, 12. Hora sexta quæ Sabbatis nostris ad prandium vocare solet, supervenit *Josephus* lib. de vita sua.

[b] Sabbata Judæorum à Mose in omne ævum jejunio dicata. *Justin.* lib. 36. Nec Judæus quidem, mi Tiberi, tam libenter Sabbati jejunium servat, quàm ego hodie servavi. *Sueton.* in Octav. c. 76.

[c] Acts 2. 5.

[d] 1 Cor. 7. 5. 2 Cor 6 5. & 11. 27. Col. 4 4.

Ignat. Epist. ad *Philip.*

of Antiquity uſeth to expreſs by the name of Merit; but if either Saint *Auguſtine*, or Saint *Ambroſe*, have taught any wrong opinion, ſeeing they which reprove them are not altogether free from Error; I hope they will think it no error in us ſo to cenſure mens ſmaller faults, that their vertues be not thereby generally prejudiced. And if in Churches abroad, where we are not ſubject to Power or Juriſdiction, diſcretion ſhould teach us for Peace and Quietneſs ſake, to frame our ſelves to other mens example, Is it meet that at home where our freedom is leſs, our boldneſs ſhould be more? Is it our duty to oppugn, in the Churches whereof we are Miniſters, the Rites and Cuſtoms which in Foreign Churches Piety and Modeſty did teach us, as ſtrangers not to oppugn, but to keep without ſhew of contradiction or diſlike? Why oppoſe they the name of a Miniſter in this caſe, unto the ſtate of a private man? Doth their order exempt them from obedience to Laws? That which their Office and place requireth, is to ſhew themſelves patterns of reverend ſubjection, not Authors and Maſters of contempt towards Ordinances, the ſtrength whereof, when they ſeek to weaken, they do but in truth diſcover to the World their own imbecillities, which a great deal wiſelier they might conceal. But the practice of the Church of Chriſt, we ſhall by ſo much the better, both underſtand and love, if to that which hitherto hath been ſpoken, there be ſomewhat added for more particular declaration, how Heretiçks have partly abuſed Faſts, and partly bent themſelves againſt the lawful uſe thereof in the Church of God. Whereas therefore *Ignatius* hath ſaid, If any keep Sundays or Saturdays Faſts (one onely Saturday in the year excepted) that man is no better then a murtherer of Chriſt; the cauſe of ſuch his earneſtneſs at that time, was the impiety of certain Hereticks, which thought * that this World being corruptible, could not be made but a very evil Author. And therefore as the Jews did by the Feſtival Solemnity of their Sabbath, rejoyce in the God that created the World, as in the Author of all Goodneſs; ſo thoſe Hereticks in hatred of the Maker of the World, ſorrowed, wept, and faſted on that day, as being the birth-day of all evil. And as Chriſtian men of ſound belief, did ſolemnize the Sunday, in joyful memory of Chriſts Reſurrection, ſo likewiſe at the ſelf-ſame time ſuch Hereticks as denied his Reſurrection, did the contrary to them which held it: When the one ſort rejoyced, the other faſted. Againſt thoſe Hereticks which have urged perpetual abſtinence from certain Meats, as being in their very nature unclean, the Church hath ſtill bent her ſelf as an enemy; Saint *Paul* giving charge to take heed of them, which under any ſuch opinion, ſhould utterly forbid the uſe of Meats or Drinks. The Apoſtles themſelves forbad ſome, as the order taken at *Jeruſalem* declareth. But the cauſe of their ſo doing, we all know. Again, when *Tertullian*, together with ſuch as were his followers, began to Montanize, and pretending to perfect the ſeverity of Chriſtian Diſcipline, brought in ſundry unaccuſtomed days of Faſting, continued their Faſts a great deal longer, and made them more rigorous then the uſe of the Church had been; the mindes of men being ſomewhat moved at ſo great, and ſo ſudden novelty, the cauſe was preſently inquired into. After notice taken how the Montaniſts held theſe Additions to be Supplements of the Goſpel, whereunto the Spirit of Propheſie did now mean to put, as it were, the laſt hand, and was therefore newly deſcended upon *Montanus*, whoſe orders all Chriſtian men were no leſs to obey, then the Laws of the Apoſtles themſelves; this Abſtinence the Church abhorred likewiſe, and that juſtly. Whereupon *Tertullian* proclaiming even open War to the Church, maintained Montaniſm, wrote a Book in defence of the new Faſt, and intituled the ſame; *A Treatiſe of Faſting againſt the Opinion of the Carnal ſort.* In which Treatiſe nevertheleſs, becauſe ſo much is ſound and good, as doth either generally concern the uſe, or in particular, declare the Cuſtom of the Churches Faſting in thoſe times, men are not to reject whatſoever is alledged out of that Book, for confirmation of the Truth. His error diſcloſeth it ſelf in thoſe places, where he defendeth Faſts to be duties neceſſary for the whole Church of Chriſt to obſerve as commanded by the Holy Ghoſt, and that with the ſame authority from whence all other Apoſtolical Ordinances came, both being the Laws of God himſelf, without any other diſtinction or difference, ſaving onely, that he which before had declared his will by *Paul* and *Peter*, did now farther

Ρει τὶς κυριακὴν ἢ σάββατον νηστεύει πλὴν ἑνὸς σαββάτου, ἑαυτῷ χριστοκτόνον δοκεῖ. *Epiſt. ad Philip.*

* Vide *Irenæ.* lib. 1. cap. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25. Epiph. Hæreſ. 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28, & 41, 42.

Vide Canon. Apoſt. 55.

farther reveal the ſame by *Montanus* alſo. *Againſt us ye pretend,* ſaith *Tertullian*; *that the Publick Orders which Chriſtianity is bound to keep, were delivered at the firſt; and that no new thing is to be added thereunto. Stand if you can upon this point; for behold, I challenge you for Faſting more then at* Eaſter *your ſelves. But in fine ye anſwer, That theſe things are to be done as eſtabliſhed by the voluntary appointment of men, and not by vertue or force of any Divine Commandment. Well then* (he addeth) *Ye have removed your firſt footing, and gone beyond that which was delivered, by doing more then was at the firſt impoſed upon you. You ſay, you muſt do that which your own judgments have allowed: We require your obedience to that which God himſelf doth inſtitute. Is it not ſtrange, that men to their own will, ſhould yield that, which to Gods Commandment they will not grant? Shall the pleaſure of men prevail more with you, then the power of God himſelf?* Theſe places of *Tertullian* for Faſting, have worthily been put to ſilence. And as worthily *Aërius* condemned for oppoſition againſt Faſting. The one endeavored to bring in ſuch Faſts as the Church ought not to receive; the other, to overthrow ſuch as already it had received and did obſerve: The one was plauſible unto many, by ſeeming to hate carnal looſneſs, and riotous exceſs, much more then the reſt of the World did; the other drew hearers, by pretending the maintenance of Chriſtian Liberty: The one thought his cauſe very ſtrongly upheld by making invective declamations with a pale and a withered countenance againſt the Church, by filling the ears of his ſtarved hearers with ſpeech ſuitable to ſuch mens humors, and by telling them, no doubt, to their marvellous contentment and liking, *Our new Propheſies are refuſed, they are deſpiſed. Is it becauſe* Montanus *doth Preach ſome other God, or diſſolve the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, or overthrow any Canon of Faith and Hope? No, our crime is, We teach that men ought to Faſt more often then Marry; the beſt Feaſtmaker is with them the perfecteſt Saint, they are aſſuredly meer Spirit; and therefore theſe our corporal devotions pleaſe them not:* Thus the one for *Montanus* and his Superſtition. The other in a clean contrary tune againſt the Religion of the Church. *Theſe Set-faſts away with them, for they are Jewiſh, and bring men under the yoke of ſervitude: If I will faſt, let me chuſe my time, that Chriſtian Liberty be not abridged.* Epiph. Hæreſ. 75. Hereupon their glory was to faſt eſpecially upon the Sunday, becauſe the order of the Church was on that day not to Faſt. *On Church Faſting days, and eſpecially the Week before* Eaſter, *when with us* (ſaith *Epiphanius*) *Cuſtom admitteth nothing but lying down upon the Earth, abſtinence from fleſhly delights and pleaſures, ſorrowfulneſs, dry and unſavory Diet, Prayer, Watching, Faſting, all the Medicines which holy Affections can miniſter; they are up betimes to take in of the ſtrongeſt for the belly; and when their veins are well ſwoln, they make themſelves mirth with laughter at this our ſervice, wherein we are perſwaded we pleaſe God.* By this of *Epiphanius*, it doth appear, not onely what Faſtings the Church of Chriſt in thoſe times uſed, but alſo what other parts of Diſcipline were together therewith in force, according to the ancient uſe and cuſtom of bringing all men at certain times, to a due conſideration, and an open Humiliation of themſelves. Two kindes there were of Publick Penitency; the one belonging to notorious offenders, whoſe open wickedneſs had been ſcandalous; the other appertaining to the whole Church, and unto every ſeveral perſon whom the ſame containeth. It will be anſwered, That touching this latter kinde, it may be exerciſed well enough by men in private. No doubt, but Penitency is as Prayer, a thing acceptable unto God, be it in publick or in ſecret. Howbeit, as in the one, if men were wholly left to their own voluntary Meditations in their Cloſets, and not drawn by Laws and Orders unto the open Aſſemblies of the Church, that there they may joyn with others in Prayer; it may be ſoon conjectured, what Chriſtian devotion that way would come unto in a ſhort time: Even ſo in the other, We are by ſufficient experience taught, how little it booteth, to tell men of waſhing away their ſins with tears of Repentance, and ſo to leave them altogether unto themſelves. O Lord, what heaps of grievous tranſgreſſions have we committed, the beſt, the perfecteſt, the moſt righteous amongſt us all; and yet clean paſs them over unſorrowed for, and unrepented of, onely becauſe the Church hath forgotten utterly how to beſtow her wonted times of Diſcipline, wherein the publick example of all was unto every particular perſon, a moſt effectual

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mean to put them often in minde, and even in a manner to draw them to that which now we all quite and clean forget, as if Penitency were no part of a Christian mans duty. Again, besides our private offences which ought not thus loosly to be overslipt; suppose we the Body and Corporation of the Church so just, that at no time it needeth to shew it self openly cast down, in regard of those Faults and Transgressions; which though they do not properly belong unto any one, had notwithstanding a special Sacrifice appointed for them in the Law of *Moses*; and being common to the whole Society which containeth all, must needs so far concern every man in particular, as at some time in solemn manner to require acknowledgment, with more then daily and ordinary testifications of grief. There could not hereunto a fitter preamble be devised, then that memorable Commination set down in the Book of Common Prayer, if our practice in the rest were suitable. The Head already so well drawn, doth but wish a proportionable Body. And by the Preface to that very part of the English Liturgy, it may appear, how at the first setting down thereof, no less was intended. For so we are to interpret the meaning of those words, wherein restitution of the Primitive Church Discipline is greatly wished for, touching the manner of publick penance in time of *Lent*. Wherewith some being not much acquainted, but having framed in their mindes, the conceit of a new Discipline, far unlike to that of old, they make themselves believe, it is undoubtedly this their Discipline, which at the first was so much desired. They have long pretended, that the whole Scripture is plain for them. If now the Communion Book make for them too (I well think the one doth as much as the other) it may be hoped, that being found such a well-willer unto their cause, they will more favor it then they have done. Having therefore hitherto spoken, both of Festival days, and so much of solemn Fasts, as may reasonably serve to shew the ground thereof in the Law of Nature; the practice partly appointed, and partly allowed of God in the Jewish Church, the like continued in the Church of Christ; together with the sinister oppositions, either of Hereticks erroneously abusing the same, or of others thereat quarrelling without cause, we will onely collect the chiefest points as well of resemblance, as of difference between them, and so end. First, In this they agree, that because Nature is the general Root of both; therefore both have been always common to the Church with Infidels and Heathen men. Secondly, They also herein accord, that as oft as joy is the cause of the one, and grief the Well-spring of the other, they are incompatible. A third degree of affinity between them, is, That neither being acceptable to God of it self, but both tokens of that which is acceptable, their approbation with him, must necessarily depend on that which they ought to import and signifie: So that if herein the minde dispose not it self aright, whether we [a] rest or [b] fast we offend. A fourth thing common unto them, is, that the greatest part of the World hath always grosly and palpably offended in both; Infidels, because they did all in relation to false gods; godless, sensual, and careless mindes, for that there is in them no constant, true, and sincere affection towards those things which are pretended by such exercise; yea, certain flattering over-sights there are, wherewith sundry, and they not of the worst sort, may be easily in these cases led awry, even through abundance of love and liking to that which must be imbraced by all means, but with caution, in as much as the very admiration of Saints, Whether we celebrate their glory, or follow them in humility; whether we laugh or weep, mourn or rejoyce with them, is, (as in all things, the affection of Love) apt to deceive; and doth therefore need the more to be directed by a watchful guide, seeing there is manifestly both ways, even in them whom we honor, that which we are to observe and shun. The best have not still been sufficiently mindful, that Gods very Angels in Heaven, are but Angels; and that bodily exercise, considered [c] in it self, is no great matter. Finally, Seeing that both are Ordinances were devised for the good of Man, and yet not Man created purposely for them, as for [d] other Offices of Vertue, whereunto Gods immutable Law for ever tieth; it is but equity to wish or admonish that, where, by uniform order, they are not as yet received, the example of [e] Victors extremity in the one, and of [f] *Johns* Disciples curiosity in the other, be not followed; yea, where they are appointed by Law,

Con. Laod. c. 51, 52. Vetat Natalitia Martyrum in Quadragesima celebrari.

a Isai. 1. 13.

b Isai. 58 3.

c 1 Tim. 4. 8.

d Eccles. 12. 13. Isai. 58. 6, 7. Rom. 14. 17. Jam. 1. 27. Heb. 12 14. Ephes. 2 4.

e *Euseb.* Eccle. Hist. lib. 5. c. 23.

f Matth. 9. 14.

Law, that notwithstanding we avoid Judaism: and, as in Festival days, mens necessities for matter of labour; so in times of Fasting, regard be had to their imbecillities, lest they should suffer harm, doing good. Thus therefore we see how these two Customes are in divers respects equal. But of Fasting the use and exercise, though less pleasant, is by so much more requisite than the other, as grief of necessity is a more familiar guest then the contrary passion of mind, albeit gladness to all men be naturally more welcome. For first, We our selves do many mo things amiss than well, and the fruit of our own ill doing is remorse, because nature is conscious to it self that it should do the contrary. Again, forasmuch as the world over-aboundeth with malice, and few are delighted in doing good unto other men; there is no man so seldom crost as pleasured at the hands of others; whereupon it cannot be chosen, but every mans Woes must double in that respect the number and measure of his delights. Besides, concerning the very choice which oftentimes we are to make, our corrupt inclination well considered, there is cause why our Saviour should account them the happiest that do most mourn, and why *Solomon* might judge it better to frequent mourning then Feasting-houses; not better simply and in it self (for then would Nature that way incline) but in regard of us and our common weakness better. *Job* was not ignorant that his Childrens Banquets, though tending to amity, needed Sacrifice. Neither doth any of us all need to be taught that in things which delight, we easily swerve from mediocrity, and are not easily led by a right direct line. On the other side, the Sores and Diseases of mind which inordinate pleasure breedeth, are by Dolour and Grief cured. For which cause as all offences use to seduce by pleasing; so all punishments endeavour by vexing to reform transgressions. We are of our own accord apt enough to give entertainment to things delectable, but patiently to lack what flesh and blood doth desire, and by Vertue to forbear, what by Nature we covet; this no man attaineth unto, but with labour and long practice. From hence it riseth that, in former Ages, Abstinence and Fasting more then ordinary was always a special branch of their praise, in whom it could be observed and known, were they such as continually gave themselves to austere life, or men that took often occasions in private vertuous respects to lay *Solomons* counsel aside, *Eat thy bread with joy*, and to be followers of *Davids* Example, which saith, *I humbled my soul with fasting*; or but they who otherwise worthy of no great commendation, have made of hunger, some their Gain, some their Physick, some their Art, that by mastering sensual Appetites without constraint, they might grow able to endure hardness whensoever need should require: For the body accustomed to emptiness pineth not away so soon as having still used to fill it self. Many singular Effects there are which should make Fasting even in publick Considerations the rather to be accepted. For I presume we are not altogether without experience how great their advantage is in martial Enterprizes, that lead Armies of men trained in a School of Abstinence. It is therefore noted at this day in some, that patience of hunger and thirst hath given them many Victories; in others, that because if they want, there is no man able to rule them, nor they in plenty to moderate themselves; he which can either bring them to hunger or overcharge them, is sure to make them their own overthrow. What Nation soever doth feel these dangerous inconveniences, may know that sloth and fulness in peaceable times at home is the cause thereof, and the remedy a strict Observation of that part of Christian Discipline, which teacheth men in practice of Ghostly warfare against themselves, those things that afterwards may help them, justly assaulting or standing in lawful defence of themselves against others. The very purpose of the Church of God, both in the number and in the order of her Fasts, hath been not only to preserve thereby throughout all Ages, the remembrance of miseries heretofore sustained, and of the causes in our selves out of which they have risen, that men considering the one, might fear the other the more, but farther also to temper the mind, lest contrary affections coming in place should make it too profuse and dissolute, in which respect it seemeth that Fasts have been set as Ushers of Festival days, for prevention of those disorders, as much as might be; wherein, notwithstanding, the

Col. 2. 16.

Mat. 6. 4.
Eccles. 7. 4.

Job 1. 5.

Ἐν παντὶ δὲ μάλιστα φυλακτέον τὸ ἡδὺ καὶ τὴν ἡδονήν. γὰρ ἀδέκαστοι κρίνομεν αὐτήν.
Arist. Eth. 2. cap. 13.

Eccles. 9. 7.
Psal. 35. 13.

World always will deserve, [d] as it hath done, blame; because such evils being not possible to be rooted out, the most we can do, is in keeping them low; and (which is chiefly the fruit we look for) to create in the minds of men a love towards a frugal and severe life, to undermine the Palaces of wantonness; to plant Parsimony as Nature, where Riotousness hath been studied; to harden whom pleasure would melt; and to help the tumours which always Fulness breedeth, that Children, as it were in the Wool of their Infancy dyed with hardness, may never afterwards change colour; that the poor whose perpetual Fasts are of Necessity, may with better contentment endure the hunger which Vertue causeth others so often to chuse, and by advice of Religion it self so far to esteem above the contrary, that they which for the most part do lead sensual and easie lives; they which, as the Prophet *David* describeth them, are not plagued like other men, may by the publick spectacle of all be still put in mind what themselves are; Finally, that every man may be every mans daily guide and example, as well by fasting to declare humility, as by praise to express joy in the sight of God, although it have herein befallen the Church, as sometimes *David*; so that the speech of the one may be truly the voice of the other, *My soul fasted, and even that was also turned to my reproof.*

[d] Valde absurdum est nimia saturitate velle honorare martyrem quem scias Deo placuisse jejuniis, *Hier. Epist. ad Eust.*

Psal. 73. 5.

Psal. 69. 10.

The celebration of Matrimony. *T.C.l.1.p.199.*

73. In this world there can be no Society durable, otherwise then only by propagation. Albeit therefore single Life be a thing more Angelical and Divine, yet sith the replenishing first of Earth with blessed Inhabitants, and then of Heaven with Saints everlastingly praising God, did depend upon conjunction of Man and Woman, he which made all things compleat and perfect, saw it could not be good to leave men without any Helper, unto the fore-alledged end: In things which some farther end doth cause to be desired, choice seeketh rather proportion, then absolute perfection of goodness. So that Woman being created for mans sake to be his Helper, in regard of the end before mentioned; namely, the having and bringing up of Children, whereunto it was not possible they could concur, unless there were subalternation between them, which subalternation is naturally grounded upon inequality, because things equall in every respect are never willingly directed one by another. Woman therefore was even in her first estate framed by Nature, not only after in time, but inferiour in excellency also unto Man, howbeit in so due and sweet proportion, as being presented before our eyes, might be sooner perceived then defined. And even herein doth lie the Reason why that kind of love which is the perfectest ground of Wedlock is seldome able to yield any reason of it self. Now, that which is born of Man must be nourished with far more travel, as being of greater price in Nature, and of slower pace to perfection, then the Off-spring of any other Creature besides. Man and Woman being therefore to joyn themselves for such a purpose, they were of necessity to be linked with some straight and insoluble knot. The bond of Wedlock hath been always more or less esteemed of, as a thing Religious and Sacred. The Title which the very Heathens themselves do thereunto oftentimes give, [a] is, *Holy.* Those Rites and Orders which were instituted in the Solemnization of Marriage, the Hebrews term by the Name of Conjugal [b] *Sanctification.* Amongst our selves, because sundry things appertaining unto the Publick Order of Matrimony, are called in Question by such as know not from whence those Customs did first grow, to shew briefly some true and sufficient Reason of them shall not be superfluous; although we do not hereby intend, to yield so far unto Enemies of all Church-Orders saving their own, as though every thing were unlawful, the true Cause and Reason whereof at the first might hardly perhaps be now rendred. Wherefore, to begin with the times wherein the liberty of Marriage is restrained; *There is,* saith *Solomon, a time for all things; a time to laugh, and a time to mourn.* That duties belonging unto Marriage, and Offices appertaining to Pennance, are things unsuitable and unfit to be matched together, the Prophets and Apostles themselves do witness. Upon which ground, as we might right well think it marvellous absurd to see in a Church a Wedding on the day of a publick Fast, so likewise in the self-same consideration, our Predecessors thought it not amiss to take away the common liberty of Marriages, during the time which was appointed

[a] Τοὺς ἱερεῦς γάμους. Dionys. ant. l. 2.

[b] Kidduschin. in Rituali Heb. de benedictione nuptiarum Eccles. 3. 1. Joel 2. 16. 1 Cor. 7. 5.

appointed for preparation unto, and for exercise of General Humiliation by Fasting and praying, weeping for sins. As for the delivering up of the woman either by her Father, or by some other, we must note that in ancient times, [a] all women which had not Husbands nor Fathers to govern them, had their Tutors, [b] without whose Authority there was no act which they did, warrantable: And for this cause, they were in Marriage, delivered unto their Husbands by others. Which custome retained, hath still this use, that it putteth Women in mind of a duty, whereunto the very imbecillity of their nature and Sex doth bind them; namely, to be always directed, guided, and ordered by others, although our Positive Laws do not tie them now as Pupils. The custome of laying down Money seemeth to have been derived from the Saxons, whose manner was to buy their Wives. But, seeing there is not any great cause wherefore the memory of that custome should remain, it skilleth not much, although we suffer it to lie dead, even as we see it in a manner already worn out. The Ring hath been always used as an especial pledge of Faith and Fidelity: Nothing more fit to serve as a token of our purposed endless continuance in that which we never ought to revoke. This is the cause wherefore the Heathens themselves did in such cases use the Ring, whereunto *Tertullian* alluding, saith, That in ancient times, [c] *No Woman was permitted to wear gold, saving only upon one finger, which her Husband had fastened unto himself, with that Ring which was usually given for assurance of future Marriage.* The cause why the Christians use it, as some of the Fathers think, is [d] either to testifie mutual love, or rather to serve for a pledge of conjunction in heart and mind agreed upon between them. But what right and custome is there so harmless, wherein the wit of man bending it self to derision may not easily find out somewhat to scorn and jest at? He that should have beheld the Jews when they stood with [e] a four-cornered Garment, spread over the heads of Espoused Couples, while their Espousals were in making: He that should have beheld their [f] praying over a Cup, and their delivering the same at the Marriage-feast, with set Forms of Benediction, as the Order amongst them was, might being lewdly affected, take thereat as just occasion of scornful cavil, as at the use of the Ring in Wedlock amongst Christians. But of all things the most hardly taken, is the uttering of these words, *With my body I thee worship*; In which words when once they are understood, there will appear as little cause as in the rest, for any wise man to be offended. First, therefore, inasmuch as unlawful copulation doth pollute and [g] dishonour both parties, this Protestation that we do worship and honour another with our bodies, may import a denial of all such Lets and Impediments to our knowledge, as might cause any stain, blemish, or disgrace that way; which kind of construction being probable, would easily approve that speech to a peaceable and quiet mind. Secondly, in that the Apostle doth so expressly affirm, that parties unmarried have not any longer entire power over themselves, but each hath interest in others person, it cannot be thought an absurd construction to say, that worshipping with the body, is the imparting of that interest in the body unto another, which none before had, save only our selves. But if this were the natural meaning, the words should perhaps be as requisite to be used on the one side as on the other; and therefore a third sense there is, which I rather rely upon. Apparent it is, that the ancient difference between a lawful Wife and a Concubine was only in the different purpose of man betaking himself to the one or the other. If his purpose were only fellowship, there grew to the Woman by this means no worship at all, but the contrary. In professing that his intent was to add by his person honour and worship unto hers, he took her plainly and cleerly to Wife. This is it which the Civil Law doth mean, when it maketh a Wife to differ from a Concubine in [i] dignity; a Wife to be taken where [k] Conjugal honour and affection do go before. The worship that grew unto her being taken with declaration of this intent, was, that her children became by this mean legitimate and free; her self was made a Mother over his Family: Last of all, she received such advancement of state, as things annexed unto his person might augment her with; yea, a right of participation was thereby given her both in him, and even in all things which were his. This doth somewhat the more plainly appear, by adding also that other Clause, *With*

[a] Mulieres antiquo-jure tutela perpetua continebar. Recedebant verò à tutoris potestate, quæ in manum convenissent. *Boet. in Topic. Cic.*

[b] Nullam re privatam quidem rem fœminas sine auctore agere, majores nostri voluerunt. *Liv.* l. 4. The reason yielded by *Tully* this, Propter infirmitatem consilii. Cic. pro Mur. Vide leg. Saxon. tit. 6. & 17.

[c] Aurum nulla norat præter unico digito quem sponsus oppignorasset pro nubo annulo *Tertul.* Apol. c. 6. *Isidor. de Eccles. Offic.* l. 2. c. 19.

[d] Elias Thesb. in dict. Hupha.

[e] In Ritual. de benedict. nuptiarum.

[f] Rom. 1. 24. 1 Cor. 7. 4.

[g] L. penul. D. de concub.

[h] L. item legato sect. penult. D. de leg. 3.

[i] L. Donationes D. donationibus.

Οὗτος ὁ νόμος τὰς τῆς γυναῖκας ἠνάγκασε τὰς γαμητὰς οἷα μηδεμίαν ἐχούσας ἑτέραν ἀποστροφὴν πρὸς ἕνα τὴν τοῦ γεγαμηκότος ζῆν τρόπον, καὶ τοὺς ἄνδρας ὡς ἀναγκαίου τῆς καὶ ἀναφαιρέτου χρήματος τῆς γυναικὸς κρατεῖν. Dionys. Hal. Antiq. lib. 2. Tertul. lib. 2. ad Uxorem.

all my worldy goods I thee endow. The former branch having granted the principal, the latter granteth that which is annexed thereunto. To end the Publick Solemnity of Marriage, with receiving the Blessed Sacrament, is a Custom so Religious, and so holy; that, if the Church of *England* be blameable in this respect, it is not for suffering it to be so much, but rather for not providing that it may be more put in ure. The Laws of *Romulus* concerning Marriage, are therefore extolled above the rest amongst the Heathens which were before, in that they established the use of certain special Solemnities, whereby the mindes of men were drawn to make the greater conscience of Wedlock, and to esteem the Bond thereof, a thing which could not be without impiety dissolved. If there be any thing in Christian Religion, strong and effectual to like purpose, it is the Sacrament of the holy Eucharist; in regard of the force whereof, *Tertullian* breaketh out into these words, concerning Matrimony therewith sealed, *Unde sufficiam ad enarrandam fœlicitatem ejus Matrimonii quod Ecclesia conciliat & confirmat Oblatio? I know not which way I should be able to shew the happiness of that Wedlock, the knot whereof the Church doth fasten, and the Sacrament of the Church confirm.* Touching Marriage therefore, let thus much be sufficient.

Churching of Women. T. C. lib. 1. pag. 150.

74. The Fruit of Marriage, is Birth; and the Companion of Birth, Travail; the grief whereof being so extream, and the danger always so great: Dare we open our mouths against the things that are holy, and presume to censure it, as a fault in the Church of Christ, That Women after their Deliverance, do publickly shew their thankful mindes unto God? But behold, What reason there is against it! *Forsooth, if there should be solemn and express giving of Thanks in the Church for every benefit, either equal, or greater then this, which any singular person in the Church doth receive: We should not onely have no Preaching of the Word, nor Ministring of the Sacraments; but we should not have so much leisure as to do any corporal or bodily work, but should be like those Massilian Hereticks which do nothing else but pray.* Surely, better a great deal to be like unto those Hereticks which do nothing else but pray, then those which do nothing else but quarrel. Their heads it might happily trouble somewhat more then as yet they are aware of, to finde out so many benefits greater then this, or equivalent thereunto; for which, if so be our Laws did require solemn and express Thanksgivings in the Church, the same were like to prove a thing so greatly cumbersome as is pretended. But if there be such store of Mercies, even inestimable, poured every day upon thousands (as indeed the Earth is full of the Blessings of the Lord, which are day by day renewed without number, and above measure) shall it not be lawful to cause solemn Thanks to be given unto God for any benefit, then which greater, or whereunto equal are received, no Law binding men in regard thereof to perform the like duty? Suppose that some Bond there be, that tieth us at certain times to mention publickly the names of sundry our Benefactors. Some of them, it may be, are such, That a day would scarcely serve to reckon up together with them the Catalogue of so many men besides, as we are either more, or equally beholden unto. Because no Law requireth this impossible labor at our hands, shall we therefore condemn that Law, whereby the other being possible, and also dutiful, is enjoyned us? So much we ow to the Lord of Heaven, that we can never sufficiently praise him, nor give him thanks for half those benefits, for which this Sacrifice were most due. Howbeit, God forbid, we should cease performing this duty, when publick Order doth draw us unto it, when it may be so easily done, when it hath been so long executed by devout and vertuous people. God forbid, that being so many ways provoked in this case unto so good a duty, we should omit it, onely because there are other cases of like nature, wherein we cannot so conveniently, or at least wise do not perform the same most vertuous Office of Piety. Wherein we trust, that as the action it self pleaseth God, so the order and manner thereof, is not such as may justly offend any. It is but an over-flowing of Gall, which causeth the Womans absence from the Church, during the time of her lying in, to be traduced and interpreted, as though she were so long judged unholy, and were thereby shut out, or sequestred from the House of God, according to the ancient Levitical Law. Whereas the very Canon Law it self doth not so hold, but directly professeth the

the contrary [a]; She is not barred from thence in such sort as they interpret it, nor in respect of any unholiness forbidden entrance into the Church, although her abstaining from publick Assembles, and her abode in separation for the time be most convenient [b]. To scoff at the manner of attire, then which, there could be nothing devised for such a time, more grave and decent, to make it a token of some folly committed; for which, they are loth to shew their faces, argueth, that great Divines are sometime more merry then wise. As for the Women themselves, God accepting the service which they faithfully offer unto him, it is no great disgrace, though they suffer pleasant witted men, a little to intermingle with zeal, scorn. The name of *Oblations*, applied not onely here to those small and petit payments which yet are a part of the Ministers right, but also generally given unto all such allowances as serve for their needful maintenance, is both ancient and convenient. For as the life of the Clergy is spent in the Service of God, so it is sustained with his Revenue. Nothing therefore more proper then to give the name of *Oblations* to such payments, in token that we offer unto him whatsoever his Ministers receive.

[a] Dist. 5. cap. Hæc quæ in lege præcipiebatur, ut mulier si masculum pareret 40. si fœminam 80. diebus à templi cessaret ingressu Nunc autem statim post partum, Ecclesiam ingredi non prohiberur.

[b] *Leo.* Const. 17. Quod profecto non tam propter mulierem immunditiem, quam ob alias causas in intima legis ratione reconditas, & veteri prohibitum esse lege, & gratiæ tempus traditionis loco susceptisse puto. Existimo siquidem sacram legem id præscripsisse, quo protervam eorum qui intemperanter viverent concupiscentiam castigaret, quemadmodum & alia multa per alia præcepta ordinantur & præscribuntur, quo indomitus quorundam in mulieres stimulus retundatur. Quin & hæc providentiæ quæ legem constituit voluntas est, ut partus à depravatione liberi sint. Quia enim quicquid natura supervacaneum est, idem corruptivum est & inutile, quod hic sanguis superfluus sit, quæ illi obnoxia essent in immunditie ad id temporis vivere illa Lex jubet, quo ipso etiam nominis sono lascivi concupiscentia ad temperantiam redigatur, ne ex inutili & corrupta materia ipsum animans coagmentetur.

75. But to leave this, there is a duty which the Church doth ow to the faithful departed, wherein for as much as the Church of *England* is said to do those things which are, though not unlawful, yet inconvenient; because it appointeth a prescript Form of Service at Burials, suffereth mourning Apparel to be worn, and permitteth Funeral Sermons; a word or two concerning this point will be necessary, although it be needless to dwell long upon it. The end of Funeral duties is, first, to shew that love towards the party deceased, which Nature requireth; then to do him that honor which is fit both generally for man, and particularly for the quality of his person: Last of all, to testifie the care which the Church hath to comfort the living, and the hope which we all have concerning the Resurrection of the dead. For signification of love towards them that are departed, Mourning is not denied to be a thing convenient; as in truth, the Scripture every where doth approve lamentation made unto this end. The Jews by our Saviours tears therefore, gathered in this case, that his love towards *Lazarus* was great. And that as Mourning at such times is fit, so likewise, that there may be a kinde of Attire suitable to a sorrowful affection, and convenient for Mourners to wear; how plainly doth *Davids* example shew, who being in heavineſs, went up to the Mount with his head covered, and all the people that were with him in like sort? White Garments being fit to use at Marriage Feasts, and such other times of joy; whereunto *Solomon* alluding, when he requireth continual chearfulness of minde, speaketh in this sort, *Let thy Garments be always white:* What doth hinder the contrary from being now as convenient in grief, as this heretofore in gladness hath been? *If there be no sorrow,* they say, *it is hypocritical to pretend it; and if there be, to provoke it by wearing such attire, is dangerous.* Nay, if there be, to shew it is natural; and if there be not, yet the signs are meet to shew what should be, especially, sith it doth not come oftentimes to pass, that men are fain to have their Mourning Gowns pulled off their backs, for fear of killing themselves with sorrow that way nourished. The honor generally due unto all men, maketh a decent interring of them to be convenient, even for very humanities sake. And therefore, so much as is mentioned in the Burial of the Widows Son, the carrying of him forth upon a Bier, and the accompanying of him to the Earth, hath been used even amongst Infidels; all men accounting it a very extream destitution, not to have at the least this honor done them. Some mans estate may require a great deal more, according as the fashion of the Country where he dieth, doth afford. And unto this appertained the ancient use of the Jews, to embalm the Corps with sweet Odors, and to adorn the Sepulchres of certain. In regard of the quality

Of the Rites of Burial. *T. C.* lib. 3. pag. 236.

John 11. 36.

2 Sam. 15. 30.

Eccles. 9. 8.

Luke 7. 12.

Psal. 79. 3. John 19. 40. Matth. 23. 27.

quality of men, it hath been judged fit to commend them unto the World at their
2 Sam. 1. 19. death, amongſt the Heathen in Funeral Orations, amongſt the Jews in Sacred Poems; and why not in Funeral Sermons alſo amongſt Chriſtians? Us it ſufficeth, that the known benefit hereof doth countervail Millions of ſuch inconveniences as are therein ſurmiſed, although they were not ſurmiſed onely, but found therein. The life and the death of Saints is precious in Gods ſight. Let it not ſeem odious in our eyes, if both the one and the other be ſpoken of, then eſpecially, when the preſent occaſion doth make mens mindes the more capable of ſuch ſpeech. The care, no doubt, of the living, both to live and to die well muſt needs be ſomewhat increaſed, when they know that their departure ſhall not be folded up in ſilence, but the ears of many be made acquainted with it. Moreover, when they hear how mercifully God hath dealt with their Brethren in their laſt need, beſides the praiſe which they give to God, and the joy which they have or ſhould have by reaſon of their Fellowſhip and Communion with Saints; Is not their hope alſo much confirmed againſt the day of their own diſſolution? Again, the ſound of theſe things doth not ſo paſs the ears of them that are moſt looſe and diſſolute in life, but it cauſeth them one time or other to wiſh, *O that I might die the death of the righteous, and that my end might be like this!* Thus much peculiar good there doth grow at thoſe times by ſpeech concerning the dead, beſides the benefit of publick inſtruction common unto Funeral with other Sermons. For the comfort of them whoſe mindes are through natural affection penſive in ſuch caſes, no man can juſtly miſlike the cuſtom which the Jews had to end their Burials with Funeral Banquets, in reference whereunto the Prophet *Jeremy* ſpake, concerning the people
Jere. 16. 7. whom God had appointed unto a grievous manner of deſtruction, ſaying, *That men ſhould not give them the Cup of Conſolation to drink for their Father, or for their Mother*, becauſe it ſhould not be now with them, as in peaceable times with others, who bringing their Anceſtors unto the Grave with weeping eyes, have notwithProv. 31. 6. ſtanding means wherewith to be re-comforted. *Give Wine*, ſaith *Solomon*, *unto*
1 Chron. 19. 2. *them that have grief of heart.* Surely, he that miniſtreth unto them comfortable
Job 2. 11. ſpeech, doth much more then give them Wine. But the greateſt thing of all other about this duty of Chriſtian Burial, is an outward teſtification of the hope which we have touching the Reſurrection of the Dead. For which purpoſe, let any man of reaſonable judgment examine, whether it be more convenient for a company of men, as it were, in a dumb ſhow, to bring a Corſe to the place of Burial, there to leave it covered with Earth, and ſo end, or elſe to have the Exequies devoutly performed with ſolemn recital of ſuch Lectures, Pſalms, and Prayers, as are purpoſely framed for the ſtirring up of mens mindes unto a careful conſideration of their eſtate, both here and hereafter. Whereas therefore it is objected, that neither the people of God under the Law, nor the Church in the Apoſtles times, did uſe any form of Service in Burial of their dead; and therefore, that this order is taken up without any good example or precedent followed therein: Firſt, while the World doth ſtand, they ſhall never be able to prove, that all things which either the one or the other did uſe at Burials, are ſet down in holy Scripture, which doth not any where of purpoſe deliver the whole manner and form thereof, but toucheth onely ſometime one thing, and ſometime another which was in uſe, as ſpecial occaſions require any of them to be either mentioned or inſinuated. Again, if it might be proved, that no ſuch thing was uſual amongſt them, hath Chriſt ſo deprived his Church of Judgment, that what Rites and Orders ſoever the latter Ages thereof, have deviſed, the ſame muſt needs be inconvenient? Furthermore, that the Jews before our Saviours coming had any ſuch form of ſervice, although in Scripture it be not affirmed; yet neither is it there denied (for, the forbidding of Prieſts to be preſent at Burials, letteth not but that others might diſcharge that duty, ſeeing all were not Prieſts which had rooms of Publick Function in their Synagogues) and if any man be of opinion, that they had no ſuch form of Service; thus much there is to make the contrary more probable. The Jews at this day have, as appeareth in their form of Funeral Prayers, and in certain of their Funeral Sermons publiſhed; neither are they ſo affected towards Chriſtians, as to borrow that order from us; beſides that, the form thereof is ſuch as hath in it ſundry things,

things, which the very words of the Scripture it self doth seem to allude unto, as namely, after departure from the Sepulchre unto the House whence the dead was brought, it sheweth the manner of their Burial-feast, and a consolatory form of Prayer, appointed for the Master of the Synagogue thereat to utter; albeit I may not deny, but it hath also some things which are not perhaps so antient as the Law and the Prophets. But whatsoever the Jewes custom was before the dayes of our Saviour Christ, hath it once at any time been heard of, that either Church or Christian man of sound belief did ever judge this a thing unmeet, undecent, unfit for Christianity, till these miserable daies, wherein, under the colour of removing superstitious abuses, the most effectual means, both to testifie and to strengthen true Religion, are plucked at, and in some places even pulled up by the very roots? Take away this which was ordained to shew at Burials the peculiar hope of the Church of God concerning the dead; and in the manner of those dumb Funerals, what one one thing is there whereby the World may perceive we are Christian men?

Of the nature of that Ministery, which serveth for performance of divine duties in the Church of God; and how happiness, not eternal onely, but also temporal, doth depend upon it.

76. I come now unto that Function which undertaketh the publick Ministry of holy things, according to the Laws of Christian Religion. And because the nature of things consisting, as this doth, in action, is known by the object whereabout they are conversant, and by the end or scope whereunto they are referred, we must know that the object of this Function is both God and Men; God, in that he is publickly worshipped of his Church; and Men, in that they are capable of happinesse, by means which Christian Discipline appointeth. So that the summe of our whole labour in this kinde, is to honour God, and to save men. For whether we severally take, and consider men one by one, or else gather them into one Society and Body, as it hath been before declared, that every man's Religion is in him the Well-spring of all other sound and sincere vertues, from whence both here in some sort, and hereafter more abundantly, their full joy and felicity ariseth; because while they live, they are blessed of God, and when they dye, their works follow them: So at this present we must again call to minde how the very worldly peace and prosperity, the secular happinesse, the temporal and natural good estate both of all Men, and of all Dominions, hangeth chiefly upon Religion, and doth evermore give plain testimony, that as well in this as in other considerations the Priest is a pillar of that Common-wealth, wherein he faithfully serveth God. For if these Assertions be true, first, that nothing can be enjoyed in this present world against his will which hath made all things: secondly, that albeit God doth sometime permit the impious to *have*, yet impiety permitteth them not to *enjoy*, no not temporal blessings on earth: thirdly, that God hath appointed those blessings to attend as Hand-maids upon Religion: and fourthly, that without the work of the Ministry, Religion by no means can possibly continue, the use and benefit of that sacred Function, even towards all mens worldly happiness, must needs be granted. Now the [a] first being a Theoreme both understood and confest by all, to labour in proof thereof were superfluous. The second perhaps may be called in question, except it be perfectly understood. By good things temporal therefore we mean length of daies, health of body, store of friends and well-willers, quietness, prosperous success of those things we take in hand; riches with fit opportunities to use them during life, reputation following us both alive and dead, children, or such as instead of children, we wish to leave Successors and Partakers of our happinesse. These things are naturally every man's desire, because they are good. And on whom God bestoweth the same, them we confesse he graciously blesseth. Of earthly blessings the meanest is wealth, reputation the chiefest. For which cause we esteem the gain of honour an ample recompence for the losse of all other worldly benefits. But for as much as in all this there is no certain perpetuity of goodnesse, nature hath taught to affect these things, not for their own sake, but with reference and relation to somewhat independently good, as is the exercise of vertue and speculation of truth. None, whose desires are rightly ordered, would wish to live, to breathe, and move,

[a] Si creaturæ Dei, merito & dispensatio Dei sumus: Quis enim magis diligit, quam ille qui fecit? Quis autem ordinatius regit quam is qui & fecit & diligit? Quis vero sapientius & fortius ordinare & regere facta potest, quam qui & facienda providit & provisa perfecit? Quapropter omnem potestatem à Deo esse omnemque ordinationem, & qui non legerunt sentiunt, & qui legerunt cognoscunt. *Paul. Oros.* Hist. advers. Pagan. lib. 2. Οὗτοι τὰ χρήματ' ἴδια κέκτηνται βρότοι τὰ τῶν θεῶν δ' ἔχοντες ἐπιμελούμεθα. Eurip. Phœnis.

without

without performance of those actions which are beseeming man's excellency: Wherefore having not how to employ it; we wax weary even of life it self. Health is precious, because sickness doth breed that pain which disableth action. Again, why do men delight so much in the multitude of friends, but for that the actions of life, being many, do need many helping hands to further them? Between troublesome and quiet dayes we should make no difference, if the one did not hinder and interrupt, the other uphold our liberty of action. Furthermore, if those things we do, succeed, it rejoyceth us not so much for the benefit we thereby reap, as in that it probably argueth our actions to have been orderly and well-guided. As for riches, to him which hath and doth nothing with them, they are a contumely. Honour is commonly presumed a sign of more than ordinary vertue and merit, by means whereof when ambitious mindes thirst after it, their endeavours are testimonies how much it is in the eye of nature to possesse that Body, the very shadow whereof is set at so high a rate. Finally, such is the pleasure and comfort which we take in doing, that when life forsaketh us, still our desires to continue action, and to work, though not by our selves, yet by them whom we leave behinde us, causeth us providently to resign into other mens hands, the helps we have gathered for that purpose, devising also the best we can to make them perpetual. It appeareth therefore, how all the parts of temporal felicity are only good in relation to that which useth them as instruments; and that they are no such good as wherein a right desire doth ever stay or rest it self. Now temporal blessings are enjoyed of those which have them, know them, *esteem them according to that they are in their own nature.* Wherefore of the wicked whom God doth hate, his usual and ordinary speeches are, That blood-thirsty and deceitful men shall not live out half their dayes; that God shall cause a pestilence to cleave unto the wicked, and shall strike them with consuming grief, with Feavers, burning diseases, and sores which are past cure; that when the impious are fallen, all men should tread them down, and none shew countenance of love towards them; as much as by pitying them in their misery; that the sinnes of the ungodly shall bereave them of peace; that all counsels, complots, and practices against God shall come to nothing; that the lot and inheritance of the unjust is beggery; that the name of unrighteous Persons shall putrifie, and the posterity of Robbers starve. If any think that Iniquity and Peace, Sinne and Prosperity can dwell together, they erre, because they distinguish not aright between the matter, and that which giveth it the form of happinesse, between possession and fruition, between the having and the enjoying of good things. The impious cannot enjoy that they have, partly because they receive it not as at God's hands, which onely consideration maketh temporal blessings comfortable; and partly because through errour, placing it above things of farr more price and worth, they turn that to Poyson which might be Food, they make their prosperitie their own snare; in the nest of their highest growth they lay foolishly those Egges, out of which their woful over-throw is afterwards hatcht. Hereby it commeth to passe, that wise and judicious men observing the vain behaviour of such as are risen to unwonted greatnesse, have thereby been able to prognosticate their ruine. So that in very truth no impious or wicked man doth prosper on earth, but either sooner or later the world may perceive easily, how at such time as others thought them most fortunate, they had but only the good estate which fat Oxen have above lean; when they appeared to grow, their climbing was towards ruine. The gross and bestial conceit of them which want understanding, is onely, that the fullest bellies are happiest. Therefore the greatest felicitie they wish to the Common-wealth wherein they live, is that it may but abound and stand, that they which are riotous may have to pour out without stint; that the poor may sleep, and the rich feed them; that nothing unpleasant may be commanded, nothing forbidden men which themselves have a lust to follow; that Kings may provide for the ease of their Subjects, and not be too curious about their manners; that wantonnesse, excesse, and lewdness of life may be left free; and that no fault may be capital, besides dislike of things settled in so good terms. But be it farr from the Just to dwell either in or near to the Tents of these so miserable felicities. Now whereas we thirdly affirm, that Religion and the Fear of God, as well induceth secular prosperitie as everlasting blisse in the world

Οἰόμεθα γὰρ τὸν εὐτυχοῦντα παντ' ἐπίστασθαι καλῶς. Eurip. Heracl.

Psal. 55. 23.

Deut 28. 22.

Prov. 10.

Prov. 16. 18. Ante ruinam elatio.

Φιλέει ὁ θεὸς πάντα τὰ ὑπερέχοντα κωλύειν· οὐ γὰρ ἐᾶ φρονέειν ἄλλον μέγα ἢ ἑαυτόν. Herodot. lib. 7.

to

to come, this alſo is true. For otherwiſe godlineſs could not be ſaid to have the promiſes of both lives; to be that ample Revenue, wherein there is always ſufficiency; and to carry with it a general diſcharge of want, even ſo general, that *David* himſelf ſhould proteſt, he never ſaw the Juſt forſaken. Howbeit to this we muſt adde certain ſpecial limitations; as firſt, that we do not forget how crazed and diſeaſed mindes (whereof our heavenly Phyſician muſt judge) receive oftentimes moſt benefit by being deprived of thoſe things which are to others beneficially given, as appeareth in that which the Wiſe-man hath noted concerning them whoſe lives God mercifully doth abridge, leſt wickedneſs ſhould alter their underſtanding; again, that the meaſure of our outward proſperity be taken by proportion with that which every man's eſtate in this preſent life requireth. External abilities are inſtruments of action. It contenteth wiſe Artificers to have their Inſtruments proportionable to their Work, rather fit for uſe, than huge and goodly to pleaſe the eye: Seeing then the actions of a Servant do not need that which may be neceſſary for men of Calling and Place in the World, neither men of inferiour condition many things which greater Perſonages can hardly want, ſurely they are bleſſed in worldly reſpects, that have wherewith to perform ſufficiently what their ſtation and place asketh, though they have no more. For by reaſon of man's imbecility and proneneſs to elation of minde, [b] too high a flow of proſperity is dangerous, too low an ebbe again as dangerous; for that the vertue of patience is rare, and the hand of neceſſity ſtronger, than ordinary vertue is able to withſtand; *Solomon*'s diſcreet and moderate deſire we all know: *Give me, O Lord, neither riches nor penury.* Men over-high exalted either in honor, or in power, or in nobility, or in wealth; they likewiſe that are as much on the contrary hand ſunk either with beggery, or through dejection, or by baſeneſs, do not eaſily give ear to reaſon; but the one exceeding apt unto outrages, and the other unto petty miſchiefs. For greatneſs delighteth to ſhew it ſelf by effects of power, and baſeneſs to help it ſelf with ſhifts of malice. For which cauſe, a moderate, indifferent temper, between fulneſs of bread, and emptineſs hath been evermore thought and found (all circumſtances duly conſidered) the ſafeſt and happieſt for all Eſtates, even for Kings and Princes themſelves. Again, we are not to look, that theſe things ſhould always concur, no not in them which are accounted happy, neither that the courſe of men's lives, or of publick affairs ſhould continually be drawn out as an even thred (for that the nature of things will not ſuffer) but a juſt ſurvey being made, as thoſe particular men are worthily reputed good, whoſe vertues be great, and their faults tolerable; ſo him we may regiſter for a man fortunate, and that for a proſperous and happy State, which having flouriſhed, doth not afterwards feel any tragical alteration, ſuch as might cauſe them to be a ſpectacle of miſery to others. Beſides, whereas true felicity conſiſteth in the higheſt operations of that nobler part of man, which ſheweth ſometime greateſt perfection, not in uſing the benefits which delight nature, but in ſuffering what nature can hardlieſt indure, there is no cauſe why either the loſs of good, if it tend to the purchaſe of better, or why any miſery, the iſſue whereof is their greater praiſe and honor that have ſuſtained it, ſhould be thought to impeach that temporal happineſs, wherewith Religion, we ſay, is accompanied, but yet in ſuch meaſure, as the ſeveral degrees of men may require by a competent eſtimation, and unleſs the contrary do more advance, as it hath done thoſe moſt Heroical Saints, whom afflictions have made glorious. In a word, not to whom no calamity falleth, but whom neither miſery nor proſperity is able to move from a right minde, them we may truly pronounce fortunate, and whatſoever doth outwardly happen without that precedent improbity, for which it appeareth in the eyes of ſound and unpartial Judges to have proceeded from Divine revenge, it paſſeth in the number of humane caſualties whereunto we are all alike ſubject. No miſery is reckoned more than common or humane, if God ſo diſpoſe that we paſs thorow it, and come ſafe to ſhore, even as contrariwiſe, men do not uſe to think thoſe flouriſhing days happy, which do end with tears. It ſtandeth therefore with theſe cautions firm and true, yea, ratified by all mens unfeigned confeſſions drawn from the very heart of experience, that whether we compare men of note in the world with others of like degree and ſtate, or elſe the ſame men with themſelves, whether we confer one Dominion with another, or elſe the different times of one and the ſame Dominion, the manifeſt odds between their very outward condition,

a Ἐπεὶ τοῦ ἀρκεῖ θ' ἵκανὰ τὶς γε σώφρων. Eurip. Phœniſ.

b τοιαύτης τῶν ὁ λογισμὸς ἴσως ἀλλ' ἐν ἀσαλεῖ μέσον, ἵσην ἀπεχθεῖν ὕβρεσι καὶ πλούτῳ. Greg. Nazian. Apol. 3.

They may haply the moſt dejected, but they are the wiſeſt for their own ſafety, which fear climing, no leſs than falling. *Ariſt.* Polit. lib. 4. c. 11.

as long as they ſtedfaſtly were obſerved to honour God, and their ſucceſs being faln from him, are remonſtrances more than ſufficient, how all our welfare even on earth dependeth wholly upon our Religion. Heathens were ignorant of true Religion. Yet ſuch as that little was which they knew, it much impaired, or bettered alwaies their worldly affairs, as their love and zeal towards it did wain or grow. Of the Jews, did not even their moſt malicious and mortal Adverſaries all acknowledge, that to ſtrive againſt them it was in vain, as long as their amity with God continued, that nothing could weaken them but Apoſtaſie? In the whole courſe of their own proceedings, did they ever finde it otherwiſe, but that, during their faith and fidelity towards God, every man of them was in war as a thouſand ſtrong, and as much as a grand Senate for counſel in peaceable deliberations; contrariwiſe, that if they ſwarved, as they often did, their wonted courage and magnanimity forſook them utterly, their Soldiers and military men trembled at the ſight of the naked ſword; when they entered into mutual conference, and ſate in counſel for their own good, that which Children might have ſeen, their graveſt Senators could not diſcern; their Prophets ſaw darkneſs inſtead of Viſions; the wiſe and prudent were as men bewitcht, even that which they knew (being ſuch as might ſtand them in ſtead) they had not the grace to utter, or if any thing were well propoſed, it took no place, it entered not into the minds of the reſt to approve and follow it, but as men confounded with ſtrange and unuſual amazements of ſpirit, they attempted tumultuouſly they ſaw not what; and, by the iſſues of all attempts, they found no certain concluſion but this, *God and Heaven are ſtrong againſt us in all we do.* The cauſe whereof was ſecret fear, which took heart and courage from them; and the cauſe of their fear, an inward guiltineſs that they all had offered God ſuch apparent wrongs as were not pardonable. But it may be, the caſe is now altogether changed, and that in Chriſtian Religion there is not the like force towards Temporal felicity. Search the antient Records of time, look what hath happened by the ſpace of theſe ſixteen hundred years, ſee if all things to this effect be not luculent and clear, yea, all things ſo manifeſt, that for evidence and proof herein, we need not by uncertain dark conjectures ſurmiſe any to have been plagued of God for contempt, or bleſt in the courſe of faithful obedience towards true Religion, more than onely them, whom we finde in that reſpect on the one ſide, guilty by their own confeſſions, and happy on the other ſide by all mens acknowledgement, who beholding the proſperous eſtate of ſuch as are good and vertuous, impute boldly the ſame to God's moſt eſpecial favour, but cannot in like manner pronounce, that whom he afflicteth above others, with them he hath cauſe to be more offended. For Vertue is always plain to be ſeen, rareneſs cauſeth it to be obſerved, and goodneſs to be honoured with admiration. As for iniquity and ſin, it lyeth many times hid, and becauſe we be all offenders, it becometh us not to incline towards hard and ſevere ſentences touching others, unleſs their notorious wickedneſs did ſenſibly before proclaim that which afterwards came to paſs. Wherefore the ſum of every Chriſtian man's duty is, to labour by all means towards that which other men ſeeing in us may juſtifie, and what we our ſelves muſt accuſe, if we fall into it, that by all means we can to avoid, conſidering eſpecially, that as hitherto upon the Church there never yet fell tempeſtuous ſtorm, the vapours whereof were not firſt noted to riſe from coldneſs in affection, and from backwardneſs in duties of ſervice towards God; ſo if that which the tears of antiquity have uttered concerning this point ſhould be here ſet down, it were aſſuredly enough to ſoften and to mollifie an Heart of ſteel. On the contrary part, although we confeſſe with Saint *Auguſtine* moſt willingly, that the chiefeſt happineſs for which we have ſome Chriſtian Kings in ſo great admiration above the reſt, is not becauſe of their long Reign, their calm and quiet departure out of this preſent life, the ſettled eſtabliſhment of their own fleſh and blood, ſucceeding them in Royalty and Power, the glorious overthrow of foreign enemies, or the wiſe prevention of inward danger, and of ſecret attempts at home; all which ſolaces and comforts of this our unquiet life, it pleaſeth God oftentimes to beſtow on them which have no ſociety or part in the joys of Heaven, giving thereby to underſtand, that theſe in compariſon are toys and trifles, farr under the value and price of that which is to be looked for at his hands: but in truth the reaſon wherefore we moſt extol their felicity, is, if ſo be they have virtuouſly reigned, if honour have

not

not filled their hearts with pride; if the exerciſe of their power have been ſervice and attendance upon the Majeſtie of the Moſt High, if they have feared him as their own inferiours and ſubjects have feared them, if they have loved neither pomp nor pleaſure more than Heaven; if revenge have ſlowly proceeded from them, and mercy willingly offered it ſelf, if ſo they have tempered rigour with lenity, that neither extream ſeveritie might utterly cutt them off in whom there was manifeſt hope of amendment, nor yet the eaſineſſe of pardoning offences imbolden offenders; if, knowing that whatſoever they do their potency may bear it out, they have been ſo much the more carefull not to do any thing but that which is commendable in the beſt, rather than uſual with greateſt Perſonages; if the true knowledge of themſelves have humbled them in God's ſight, no leſſe than God in the eyes of men hath raiſed them up; I ſay, albeit we reckon ſuch to be the happieſt of them that are mightieſt in the World, and albeit thoſe things alone are happineſſe, nevertheleſs in conſidering what force there is even in outward bleſſings, to comfort the mindes of the beſt diſpoſed, and to give them the greater joy, when Religion and Peace, Heavenly and Earthly happineſs are wreathed in one Crown, as to the worthieſt of Chriſtian Princes it hath by the providence of the Almighty hitherto befallen: let it not ſeem unto any man a needleſſe and ſuperfluous waſte of labour, that there hath been thus much ſpoken, to declare how in them eſpecially it hath been ſo obſerved, and withal univerſally noted even from the higheſt to the very meaneſt, how this peculiar benefit, this ſingular grace and preheminence Religion hath, that either it guardeth as an heavenly ſhield from all calamities, or elſe conducteth us ſafe through them, and permitteth them not to be miſeries; it either giveth honours, promotions, and wealth, or elſe more benefit by wanting them than if we had them at will; it either filleth our Houſes with plenty of all good things, or maketh a Sallad of green herbs more ſweet than all the Sacrifices of the ungodly. Our fourth Propoſition before ſet down was, that Religion without the help of ſpiritual Miniſtery is unable to plant it ſelf, the fruits thereof not poſſible to grow of their own accord. Which laſt Aſſertion is herein as the firſt, that it needeth no farther confirmation: If it did, I could eaſily declare, how all things which are of God, he hath by wonderful art and wiſdom ſodered, as it were, together with the glue of mutual aſſiſtance, appointing the loweſt to receive from the neereſt to themſelves, what the influence of the higheſt yieldeth. And therefore the Church being the moſt abſolute of all his works, was in reaſon to be alſo ordered with like harmony, that what he worketh, might no leſſe in grace than in nature be effected by hands and inſtruments duly ſubordinated unto the power of his own Spirit. A thing both needful for the humiliation of man, which would not willingly be debtor to any, but to himſelf; and of no ſmall effect to nouriſh that divine love, which now maketh each embrace other, not as Men, but as Angels of God. Miniſterial actions tending immediately unto God's honour, and man's happineſſe, are either as contemplation, which helpeth forward the principal work of the Miniſtery, or elſe they are parts of that principal work of Adminiſtration it ſelf, which work conſiſteth in doing the ſervice of God's Houſe, and in applying unto men the ſoveraign medicines of Grace already ſpoken of the more largely, to the end it might thereby appear, that we [a] owe to the Guides of our Souls even as much as our Souls are worth, although the debt of our Temporal bleſſings ſhould be ſtricken off.

Luke 12. 42. 1 Cor. 4. 1. Tit. 1. 7. 1 Per. 4. 10. Epheſ. 3. 2.

[a] ἐμαυτόν μοι προσοφείλεις. Epiſt. ad Philem.

77. The Miniſtery of things divine is a Function, which as God did himſelf inſtitute, ſo neither may men undertake the ſame but by Authoritie and Power given them in lawful manner. That God, which is no way deficient or wanting unto Man in neceſſaries, and hath therefore given us the light of his heavenly Truth, becauſe without that ineſtimable benefit we muſt needs have wandered in darkneſs, to our endleſs perdition and woe, hath in the like abundance of mercies ordained certain to attend upon the due execution of requiſite Parts and Offices therein preſcribed for the good of the whole World, which men thereunto aſſigned, do hold their authoritie from him, whether they be ſuch as himſelf immediately, or as the Church in his name inveſteth; it being neither poſſible for all, nor for every man without diſtinction convenient to take upon him a Charge of ſo great impor-

Of power given unto men to execute that heavenly Office; of the gift of the Holy Ghoſt in Ordination; and whether conveniently the power of Order may be given for Life, or ſeaſoned for.

tance. They are therefore Miniſters of God, not onely by way of ſubordination as Princes and Civil Magiſtrates, whoſe execution of Judgement and Juſtice the ſupream hand of divine providence doth uphold, but Miniſters of God, as from whom their authority is derived, and not from men. For in that they are Chriſt's Ambaſſadours, and his Labourers, Who ſhould give them their Commiſſion, but he whoſe moſt inward affairs they mannage? Is not God alone the Father of Spirits? Are not Souls the purchaſe of Jeſus Chriſt? What Angel in Heaven could have ſaid to Man, as our Lord did unto *Peter*, *Feed my Sheep? Preach? Baptize? Do this in remembrance of me? Whoſe Sins ye retain, they are retained, and their offences in Heaven pardoned, whoſe faults you ſhall on earth forgive?* What think we? Are theſe terreſtrial ſounds, or elſe are they voices uttered out of the clouds above? The power of the Miniſtry of God tranſlateth out of darkneſſe into glory; it rayſeth men from the Earth, and bringeth God himſelf from Heaven; by bleſſing viſible Elements it maketh them inviſible grace; it giveth daily the Holy Ghoſt, it hath to diſpoſe of that fleſh which was given for the life of the World, and that blood which was poured out to redeem Souls; when it poureth malediction upon the heads of the wicked, they periſh; when it revoketh the ſame, they revive. O wretched blindneſſe, if we admire not ſo great power; more wretched if we conſider it aright, and notwithſtanding imagine that any but God can beſtow it! To whom Chriſt hath imparted power, both over that myſtical Body which is the ſocietie of Souls, and over that natural, which is himſelf for the knitting of both in one, (a work which antiquitie doth call the making of Chriſt's Body) the ſame power is in ſuch not amiſs both termed a kinde of mark or Character, and acknowledged to be indelible. Miniſterial power is a mark of ſeparation, becauſe it ſevereth them that have it from other men, and maketh them a ſpecial *order* conſecrated unto the ſervice of the moſt High, in things wherewith others may not meddle. Their difference therefore from other men, is in that they are a diſtinct *order*. So *Tertullian* calleth them. And Saint *Paul* himſelf dividing the body of the Church of Chriſt into two Moyeties, nameth the one part ἰδιώτας; which is as much as to ſay, the order of the Laity, the oppoſite part whereunto we in like ſort term the order of God's Clergy, and the Spiritual power which he hath given them, the power of their *order*, ſo farr forth as the ſame conſiſteth in the bare execution of holy things, called properly the affairs of God. For of the Power of their juriſdiction over mens perſons we are to ſpeak in the Books following. They which have once received this power, may not think to put it off and on, like a Cloak, as the weather ſerveth, to take it, reject and reſume it as oft as themſelves liſt; of which prophane and impious contempt theſe latter times have yielded, as of all other kindes of Iniquity and Apoſtaſie, ſtrange examples: but let them know which put their hands unto this Plough, that once conſecrated unto God, they are made his peculiar Inheritance for ever. Suſpenſions may ſtop, and degradations utterly cut off the uſe or exerciſe of Power before given; but voluntarily it is not in the power of man to ſeparate and pull aſunder what God by his authority coupleth. So that although there may be through miſ-deſert degradation, as there may be cauſe of juſt ſeparation after Matrimony; yet if (as ſometime it doth) reſtitution to former dignity, or reconciliation after breach doth happen, neither doth the one nor the other ever iterate the firſt knot. Much leſs is it neceſſary, which ſome have urged, concerning the re-ordination of ſuch, as others in times more corrupt did conſecrate heretofore. Which Errour already quell'd by Saint *Jerome*, doth not now require any other refutation. Examples I grant there are which make for reſtraint of thoſe men from admittance again into rooms of Spiritual function, whoſe fall by Hereſie, or want of conſtancy in profeſſing the Chriſtian Faith, hath been once a diſgrace to their calling. Nevertheleſs, as there is no Law which bindeth, ſo there is no cauſe that ſhould alwaies lead to ſhew one and the ſame ſeverity towards Perſons culpable. Goodneſſe of nature it ſelf more inclineth to clemency than rigour. And we in other mens offences do behold the plain image of our own imbecillity. Beſides alſo them that wander out of the way, it cannot be unexpedient to win with all hopes of favour, leſt ſtrictneſs uſed towards ſuch as reclaim themſelves ſhould make others more

Tertul. de Adhort. Caſtit.

Heb. 2. 7.

Matth. 19.

a In 12. tabulis cautum eſt, ut idem juris eſſet ſanantibus quod fortibus, id eſt bonis & qui nunquam defecerunt à populo Romano. Feſt. in voce Samnites.

b Ruffin. Hiſt. Eccl. lib. c. 28.

more obſtinate in errour. Wherefore [b] after that the Church of *Alexandria* had ſomewhat recovered it ſelf from the tempeſts and ſtorms of Arrianiſm, being in conſultation about the re-eſtabliſhment of that which by long diſturbance had been greatly decayed and hindered, the ferventer ſort gave quick ſentence, that touching them which were of the Clergy, and had ſtained themſelves with Hereſie, there ſhould be none ſo received into the Church again, as to continue in the order of the Clergy. The reſt which conſidered how many mens caſes it did concern, thought it much more ſafe and conſonant to bend ſomewhat down towards them which were fallen, to ſhew ſeverity upon a few of the chiefeſt Leaders, and to offer to the reſt a friendly reconciliation, without any other demand, ſaving onely the abjuration of their errour; as in the Goſpel that waſtful young man which returned home to his Father's houſe, was with joy both admitted and honored, his elder Brother hardly thought of for repining thereat; neither commended ſo much for his own fidelity and vertue, as blamed for not embracing him freely, whoſe unexpected recovery ought to have blotted out all remembrance of miſdemeanors and faults paſt. But of this ſufficient. A thing much ſtumbled at in the manner of giving Orders, is our uſing thoſe memorable words of our Lord and Saviour Chriſt *Receive the Holy Ghoſt*. The Holy Ghoſt, they ſay, we cannot give, and therefore we [a] *fooliſhly* bid men receive it. Wiſe-men, for their Authorities ſake, muſt have leave to befool them whom they are able to make wiſe by better inſtruction. Notwithſtanding, if it may pleaſe their wiſdom, as well to hear what Fools can ſay, as to control that which they doe, thus we have heard ſome Wiſe-men teach, namely, That the [b] *Holy Ghoſt* may be uſed to ſignifie not the Perſon alone, but the Gift of the Holy Ghoſt; and we know that Spiritual gifts are not onely abilities to do things miraculous, as to ſpeak with Tongues which were never taught us, to cure Diſeaſes without art, and ſuch like; but alſo that the very authority and power which is given men in the Church to be Miniſters of holy things, this is contained within the number of thoſe Gifts whereof the Holy Ghoſt is Author; and therefore he which giveth this Power, may ſay without abſurdity or folly, *Receive the Holy Ghoſt*, ſuch power as the Spirit of Chriſt hath endued his Church withal, ſuch Power as neither Prince nor Potentate, King nor *Cæſar* on Earth can give. So that if men alone had deviſed this form of ſpeech, thereby to expreſſe the heavenly well-ſpring of that Power which Eccleſiaſtical Ordinations do beſtow, it is not ſo fooliſh but that Wiſe-men might bear with it. If then our Lord and Saviour himſelf have uſed the ſelf-ſame form of words, and that in the ſelf-ſame kinde of action, although there be but the leaſt ſhew of probability, yea, or any poſſibility, that his meaning might be the ſame which ours is, it ſhould teach ſober and grave men not to be too venturous in condemning that of folly, which is not impoſſible to have in it more profoundneſſe of wiſdom than fleſh and blood ſhould preſume to controll. Our Saviour after his reſurrection from the dead, gave his Apoſtles their Commiſſion, ſaying, *All power is given me in Heaven and in Earth: Go therefore and teach all Nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, teaching them to obſerve all things whatſoever I have commanded you.* In ſum, *As my Father ſent me, ſo ſend I you.* Whereunto Saint *John* doth adde farther, that *having thus ſpoken, he breathed on them and ſaid, Receive the Holy Ghoſt.* By which words he muſt of likelyhood underſtand ſome gift of the Spirit which was preſently at that time beſtowed upon them, as both the ſpeech of actual delivery in ſaying *Receive*, and the viſible ſign thereof, his Breathing did ſhew. Abſurd it were to imagine our Saviour did both to the ear, and alſo to the very eye, expreſſe a real donation, and they at that time receive nothing. It reſteth then that we ſearch what ſpecial grace they did at that time receive. Touching miraculous power of the Spirit, moſt apparent it is, that as then they received it not, but the promiſe thereof was to be ſhortly after performed. The words of Saint *Luke* concerning that Power, are therefore ſet down with ſignification of the time to come, *Behold I will ſend* the promiſe of my Father upon you, but tarry you in the City of *Jeruſalem*, untill ye be endued with power from on high. Wherefore, undoubtedly, it was ſome other effect of the Spirit, the Holy Ghoſt, in ſome other kinde which

[a] Papiſticus quidam ritus, ſtultè quidem ab illis & ſine ullo Scripturæ fundamento inſtitutus & à diſciplinæ noſtræ auctoribus (pace illorum dixerim) non magno primùm judicio acceptus, mimore adhuc in Eccleſia noſtra retinetur. Eccleſiaſt. diſcip. p. 53.

[b] Eccleſ. diſcip. fol. 52, p. 2. l. 1.

Matth. 28. 18.

John 20. 21.

our Saviour did then bestow. What other likelier than that which himself doth mention, as it should seem of purpose to take away all ambiguous constructions, and to declare that the Holy Ghost, which he then gave, was an holy and a ghostly authority, authority over the souls of men, authority, a part whereof consisteth in power to remit and retain sinnes? Receive the Holy Ghost, *Whose sinnes soever ye remit,* John 20. 23. *they are remitted; whose sinnes ye retain, they are retained.* Whereas therefore the other Evangelists had set down, that Christ did before his suffering promise to give his Apostles the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and being risen from the dead, promised moreover at that time a miraculous power of the Holy Ghost: Saint *John* addeth, that he also invested them even then with the power of the Holy Ghost for castigation and relaxation of sinne, wherein was fully accomplished that which the promise of the Keys did import. Seeing therefore that the same power is now given, why should the same form of words expressing it be thought foolish? The cause why we breathe not as Christ did on them unto whom he imparted power, is, for that neither Spirit nor Spiritual authority may be thought to proceed from us, who are but Delegates or Assigns to give men possession of his Graces. Now besides that the power and authority delivered with those words is it self χάρισμα, a gracious donation which the Spirit of God doth bestow, we may most assuredly perswade our selves, that the hand which imposeth upon us the function of our Ministry, doth under the same form of words so tye it self thereunto, that he which receiveth the burthen, is thereby for ever warranted to have the Spirit with him, and in him for his assistance, aid, countenance and support in whatsoever he faithfully doth to discharge duty. Knowing therefore that when we take Ordination, we also receive the presence of the Holy Ghost, partly to guide, direct, and strengthen us in all our wayes, and partly to assume unto it self for the more authority, those actions that appertain to our Place and Calling, can our ears admit such a speech uttered in the reverend performance of that Solemnity; or can we at any time renew the memory, and enter into serious cogitation thereof, but with much admiration and joy? Remove what these foolish words do imply, and what hath the Ministry of God besides wherein to glory? Whereas now, forasmuch as the Holy Ghost, which our Saviour in his first Ordinations gave, doth no lesse concurr with Spiritual vocations throughout all ages, than the Spirit which God derived from *Moses* to them that assisted him in his Government, did descend from them to their Successors in like Authority and Place, we have for the least and meanest Duties, performed by vertue of Ministerial power, that, to dignifie, grace, and authorize them, which no other Offices on Earth can challenge. Whether we Preach, Pray, Baptize, Communicate, Condemn, give Absolution, or whatsoever, as Disposers of God's Mysteries; our words, judgemnts, acts, and deeds are not ours, but the Holy Ghost's. Enough if unfeignedly and in heart we did believe it, enough to banish whatsoever may justly be thought corrupt, either in bestowing, or in using, or in esteeming the same otherwise than is meet. For prophanely to bestow, or loosely to use, or vilely to esteem of the Holy Ghost, we all in shew and profession abhor. Now because the Ministerie is an Office of dignitie and honour; some are doubtful whether any man may seek for it without offence; or, to speak more properly, doubtful they are not, but rather bold to accuse our Discipline in this respect, as not only permitting, but requiring also ambitious suits, or other oblique waies or means whereby to obtain it. Against this they plead, that our Saviour did stay till his Father sent him, and the Apostles till he them; that the antient Bishops in the Church of Christ were examples and patterns of the same modesty. Whereupon in the end they infer, *Let us therefore at the length amend that custom of repairing from all parts unto the Bishop at the day of Ordination, and of seeking to obtain Orders; Let the custom of bringing commendatory Letters be removed; let men keep themselves at home, expecting there the voyce of God, and the authority of such as may call them to undertake charge.* Thus severely they censure and control ambition, if it be ambition which they take upon them to reprehend. For of that there is cause to doubt. Ambition, as we understand it, hath been accounted a Vice which seeketh after Honours inordinately. Ambitious mindes esteeming it their greatest happiness to be admired, reverenced,

Et si necessarium est trepidare de merito, religiosum est tamen gaudere de dono: quoniam qui mihi oneris est autor, ipse fiet administrationis adjutor; & ne magnitudine gratiæ succumbat infirmus, dabit virtutem qui contulit dignitatem. *Leo* ser. 1. in Anniver. die A.

τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἐθέλω ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν διακονίαν ταύτην. *Greg. Nazian.* Num. 11. 17.

Author. libel. discipl. Eccles. Anglic.

and

and adored above others, use all means lawful and unlawful which may bring them to high rooms. But as for the power of Order considered by it self, and as in this case it must be considered, such reputation it hath in the eye of this present World, that they which affect it, rather need encouragement to bear contempt, than deserve blame as men that carry aspiring mindes. The work whereunto this power serveth is commended, and the desire thereof allowed by the Apostle for good. Neverthe- 1 Tim. 3. 1.
less because the burthen thereof is heavy, and the charge great, it commeth many times to pass, that the mindes even of virtuous men are drawn into clean contrary affections; some in humility declining that by reason of hardness, which others in regard of goodness onely do with fervent alacrity covet. So that there is not the least degree in this service, but it may be both in [a] reverence shunned, and of very devotion longed for. If then the desire thereof may be holy, religious, and good, may not the profession of that desire be so likewise? We are not to think it so long good as it is dissembled, and evil if once we begin to open it. And allowing that it may be opened without ambition, what offence, I beseech you; is there in opening it, there where it may be furthered and satisfied, in case they to whom it appertaineth think meet? In vain are those desires allowed, the accomplishment whereof it is not lawful for men to seek. Power therefore of Ecclesiastical order may be desired, the desire thereof may be professed, they which profess themselves that way inclined, may endeavour to bring their desires to effect, and in all this no necessity of evil. Is it the bringing of testimonial Letters wherein so great obliquity consisteth? What more simple, more plain, more harmless, more agreeable with the law of common humanity, than that men where they are not known, use for their easier access the credit of such as can best give testimony of them? Letters of any other construction our Church-discipline alloweth not; and these to allow, is neither to require ambitious suings, nor to approve any indirect or unlawful act. The Prophet *Esay* receiving his message at the hands of God, and his charge by heavenly vision, heard the voice of the Lord, saying, *Whom shall I send, Who shall go for us?* Whereun- Esay 6. 8.
to he recordeth his own answer, *Then I said, Here Lord I am, send me.* Which in effect is the Rule and Canon whereby touching this point the very order of the Church is framed.

[a] τῶν παλαιῶν τοὺς εὐδοκιμωτάτους ἀναοκοπῶν εὑρίσκω ὅσους πώποτε εἰς ἐπιστασίαν ἢ προφήτειαν ἡ χάρις προβάλλετο τοὺς μὲν εἴξαντας προθύμως τῇ κλήσει τοὺς δὲ ἀναβαλλομένους τὸ χάρισμα καὶ οὐδετέρων μεμπτὴν οὔτε τῶν ὑποχωρησάντων τὴν δειλίαν, οὔτε τῶν ὁρμησάντων τὴν προθυμίαν, οἱ μετὰ γὰρ τῆς διακονίας τὸ μέγεθος εὐλαβήθησαν, οἱ δὲ τῷ καλοῦντι πιστεύσαντες ἠκολούθησαν; Greg. Nazian. Apologet.

The appointment of times for solemn Ordination, is but the publick demand of the Church in the name of the Lord himself, *Whom shall I send, who shall go for us?* Heb. 10. 8.
The confluence of men, whose inclinations are bent that way, is but the answer thereunto, whereby the labours of sundry being offered, the Church hath freedom to take whom her Agents in such case think meet and requisite. As for the example of our Saviour Christ who took not to himself this honour to be made our High Priest, but received the same from him which said: *Thou art a Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedec*, his waiting, and not attempting to execute the Office till Heb. 5. 5.
God saw convenient time, may serve in reproof of usurped honours, for as much as we ought not of our own accord to assume dignities, whereunto we are not called as Christ was. But yet it should be withal considered, that a proud usurpation without any orderly calling is one thing, and another the bare declaration of willingness to obtain admittance; which willingness of minde, I suppose, did not want in him whose answer was to the voice of his heavenly calling, *Behold I am come to do thy will.* And had it been for him, as it is for us, expedient to receive his Commission signed with the hands of men, to seek it, might better have beseemed his humility, than it doth our boldness, to reprehend them of Pride and Ambition, that make no worse kinde of suits than by Letters of information. Himself in calling his Apostles prevented all cogitations of theirs that way, to the end it might truly be said of them; *Ye chose not me, but I of mine own voluntary motion made choice of you.* Which kinde of undesired nomination to Ecclesiastical Places befell divers of the most famous amongst the antient Fathers of the Church in a clean contrary consideration. For our Saviour's election respected not any merit or worth, but took them which were farthest off from likelihood of fitness; that afterwards their supernatural ability and performance, beyond hope, might cause the greater admiration;

whereas

whereas in the other, mere admiration of their ſingular and rare vertues was the reaſon why honours were inforced upon them, which they of meekneſs and modeſty did what they could to avoid. But did they ever judge it a thing unlawful to wiſh or deſire the Office, the onely charge and bare Function of the Miniſtery? Towards which labour, what doth the bleſſed Apoſtle elſe but encourage, ſaying, *He which deſireth it, is deſirous of a good work?* What doth he elſe by ſuch ſentences but ſtir, kindle and inflame ambition; if I may term that deſire ambition, which coveteth more to teſtifie love by painfulneſs in God's ſervice, than to reap any other benefit? Although of the very honour it ſelf, and of other emoluments annexed to ſuch labours, for more encouragement of man's induſtry, we are not ſo to conceive neither, as if no affection could be caſt towards them without offence. Onely as the Wiſe-man giveth counſel: *Seek not to be made a Judge, leſt thou be not able to take away iniquity, and leſt thou fearing the perſon of the mighty, ſhouldeſt commit an offence againſt thine uprightneſs*; ſo it always behoveth men to take good heed, leſt affection to that, which hath in it as well difficulty as goodneſs, ſophiſticate the true and ſincere judgement which before-hand they ought to have of their own ability, for want whereof, many forward mindes have found in ſtead of contentment repentance. But for as much as hardneſs of things in themſelves moſt excellent cooleth the fervency of mens deſires, unleſs there be ſomewhat naturally acceptable to incite labour (for both the method of ſpeculative knowledge doth by things which we ſenſibly perceive conduct to that which is in nature more certain, though leſs ſenſible; and the method of vertuous actions is alſo to train Beginners at the firſt by things acceptable unto the taſte of natural appetite, till our mindes at the length be ſettled to embrace things precious in the eye of reaſon, merely and wholly for their own ſakes) howſoever inordinate deſires do hereby take occaſion to abuſe the Polity of God, and Nature; either affecting without worth, or procuring by unſeemly means that which was inſtituted, and ſhould be reſerved for better mindes to obtain by more approved courſes; in which conſideration the Emperours *Anthemius* and *Leo* did worthily oppoſe againſt ſuch ambitious practiſes that antient and famous Conſtitution, wherein they have theſe ſentences: *Let not a Prelate be ordained for reward or upon requeſt, who ſhould be ſo farr ſequeſtred from all ambition, that they which advance him might be fain to ſearch where he hideth himſelf, to entreat him drawing back, and to follow him till importunity have made him yield, let nothing promote him but his excuſes to avoid the burthen, they are unworthy of that Vocation which are not thereunto brought unwillingly*; notwithſtanding, we ought not therefore with the odious name of Ambition, to traduce and draw into hatred every poor requeſt or ſuit wherein men may ſeem to affect honour; ſeeing that Ambition and Modeſty do not always ſo much differ in the mark they ſhoot at, as in the manner of their Proſecutions. Yea, even in this may be errour alſo, if we ſtill imagine them leaſt ambitious, which moſt forbear to ſtir either hand or foot towards their own Preferments. For there are that make an Idol of their great ſufficiency, and becauſe they ſurmiſe the place ſhould be happy that might enjoy them, they walk every where like grave Pageants, obſerving whether men do not wonder why ſo ſmall account is made of ſo rare worthineſs; and in caſe any other man's advancement be mentioned, they either ſmile or bluſh at the marvellous folly of the world, which ſeeth not where dignities ſhould offer themſelves. Seeing therefore that ſuits after ſpiritual Functions may be as ambitiouſly forborn as proſecuted, it remaineth that the [a] eveneſt line of moderation between both, is, neither to follow them, *without conſcience*; nor of *pride*, to withdraw our ſelves utterly from them.

Eccleſ. 7. 6.

[a] Μέσος εἰμὶ τις ἥ τε ἀγαν πλημμελῶν καὶ ἥ λίαν ἀφλῶν, ἥ μὴν πάσας ἐπιδώπτων ὀρθασίας δειλόπρεπ, ἥ δὲ φευγόντων πάσας ἀφαλεώπρ. Greg. Nazian. Apologet.

* Of Degrees, whereby the power of Order is diſtinguiſhed; and concerning the Attire of Miniſters.

* 78. It pleaſed Almighty God to chuſe to himſelf, for diſcharge of the [b] legal Miniſtery, one onely Tribe out of twelve others, the Tribe of *Levi*; not all unto every divine ſervice, but *Aaron* and his Sons to one charge, the reſt of that ſanctified Tribe to another. With what Solemnities they were admitted into their Functions, in what manner *Aaron* and his ſucceſſours the High-Prieſts aſcended every Sabboth and Feſtival day, offered, and miniſtred in the Temple; with what Sin-offering once every year they reconciled firſt themſelves and their own houſe, afterwards

[b] Πρὸς διαπόρησιν καὶ φυλακὴν ὁσίου καὶ εὐσεβείας καὶ λειτουργιῶν ἁ πρὸς τὸν τῶν ὅλων ἀναφέρονται. Philo. p. 297.

the

the People unto God; how they confeſſed all the iniquities of the Children of *Iſrael*, laid all their treſpaſſes upon the head of a ſacred Goat, and ſo carried them out of the City; how they purged the Holy place from all uncleanneſs, with what reverence they entred within the Vail, preſented themſelves before the Mercy-ſeat, and conſulted with the Oracle of God: What ſervice the other Prieſts did continually in the Holy Place, how they miniſtred about the Lamps, Morning and Evening; how every Sabbath they placed on the Table of the Lord thoſe twelve Loaves with pure incenſe, in perpetual remembrance of that mercy which the Fathers, the twelve Tribes had found by the providence of God for their food, when hunger cauſed them to leave their natural ſoyl, and to ſeek for ſuſtenance in *Egypt*; how they imployed themſelves in ſacrifice day by day; finally, what Offices the Levites diſcharged, and what Duties the reſt did execute, it were a labour too long to enter into it, if I ſhould collect that which Scriptures and other antient Records do mention. Beſides theſe, there were indifferently out of all Tribes from time to time ſome call'd of God as Prophets, fore-ſhewing them things to come, and giving them counſel in ſuch particulars as they could not be directed in by the Law; ſome choſen men to read, ſtudy, and interpret the Law of God, as the Sonnes or Scholars of the old Prophets, in whoſe room afterwards Scribes and Expounders of the Law ſucceeded. And, becauſe where ſo great variety is, if there ſhould be equality, confuſion would follow, the Levites were in all their Service at the appointment and direction of the Sons of *Aaron*, or Prieſts; they ſubject to the principal Guides and Leaders of their own Order; and they all in obedience under the High Prieſt. Which difference doth alſo manifeſt it ſelf in the very Titles, that men for Honours ſake gave unto them, terming *Aaron* and his Succeſſours, High or Great; the Antients over the Companies of Prieſts, Arch-Prieſts, Prophets, Fathers; Scribes and Interpreters of the Law, Maſters. Touching the Miniſtery of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt, the whole Body of the Church being divided into Laity and Clergy, the Clergy are either Presbyters or Deacons. I rather term the one ſort Presbyters than [a] Prieſts, becauſe in a matter of ſo ſmall moment, I would not willingly offend their eares, to whom the name of Prieſthood is odious, though without cauſe. For as things are diſtinguiſhed one from another by thoſe true eſſential forms, which being really and actually in them, doe not onely give them the very laſt and higheſt degree of their natural perfection, but are alſo the knot, foundation and root whereupon all other inferiour perfections depend: ſo if they that firſt do impoſe names, did alwayes underſtand exactly the nature of that which they nominate, it may be that then, by hearing the termes of vulgar ſpeech, we ſhould ſtill be taught what the things themſelves moſt properly are. But becauſe words have ſo many Artificers by whom they are made, and the things whereunto we apply them are fraught with ſo many varieties, it is not always apparent, what the firſt Inventers reſpected, much leſs what every man's inward conceit is which uſeth their words. For any thing my ſelf can diſcern herein, I ſuppoſe that they which have bent their ſtudy to ſearch more diligently ſuch matters, do, for the moſt part, finde that Name's adviſedly given, had either regard unto that which is naturally moſt proper; or if perhaps, to ſome other ſpeciality, to that which is ſenſibly moſt-eminent in the thing ſignified; and concerning popular uſe of words, that which the wiſedom of their Inventors did intend thereby, is not commonly thought of, but by the name the thing altogether conceived in groſs, as may appear in that if you ask of the common ſort what any certain word, for example, what a Prieſt doth ſignifie, their manner is not to anſwer, a Prieſt is a Clergy-man which offereth ſacrifice to God, but they ſhew ſome particular Perſon, whom they uſe to call by that name. And if we liſt to deſcend to Grammar, we are told by maſters in

[a] T. C. l. 1. p. 198. For ſo much as the common and uſual ſpeech of *England* is to note by the word *Prieſt* not a Miniſter of the Goſpel, but a *Sacrificer*, which the Miniſter of the Goſpel is not; therefore we ought not to call the Miniſters of the Goſpel *Prieſts*. And that this is the Engliſh ſpeech, it appeareth by all the Engliſh Tranſlations, which tranſlate always ἱερεῖς, which were Sacrificers, *Prieſts*, and do not on the other ſide, for any that ever I read, tranſlate πρεσβύτερον a *Prieſt*. Seeing therefore a Prieſt with us, and in our Tongue, doth ſignifie both by the Papiſts Judgement, in reſpect of their abominable Maſs, and alſo by the Judgement of the Proteſtants, in reſpect of the Beaſts which were offered in the Law, *a ſacrificing Office*, which the Miniſter of the Goſpel neither doth nor can execute; it is manifeſt, that it cannot be without great offence ſo uſed.

Etym. magn. those Schools, that the word *Priest* hath his right place ἐπὶ τοῦ ψιλῶς προεστῶτος τῆς θεραπείας τοῦ θεοῦ, in him whose meer Function or Charge is the service of God. Howbeit, because the eminentest part both of Heathenish and Jewish service did consist in Sacrifice, when Learned-men declare what the word *Priest* doth properly signifie, *according to the minde of the first imposer* of that name, their ordinary [a] Schools do well expound it to imply Sacrifice. Seeing then that Sacrifice is now no part of the Church-Ministry, how should the name of Priesthood be thereunto rightly applyed? Surely even as Saint *Paul* applyeth the name of [b] *Flesh* unto that very substance of Fishes, which hath a proportionable correspondence to Flesh, although it be in nature another thing. Whereupon, when Philosophers will speak warily, they [c] make a difference between Flesh in one sort of living Creatures, and that other substance in the rest which hath but a kinde of analogy to Flesh: the Apostle contrariwise having matter of greater importance whereof to speak, nameth indifferently both Flesh. The Fathers of the Church of Christ with like security of speech call usually the Ministery of the Gospel *Priesthood*, in regard of that which the Gospel hath *proportionable* to antient Sacrifices, namely, the *Communion* of the blessed Body and Blood of Christ, although it hath properly now no Sacrifice. As for the People, when they hear the name, it draweth no more their Mindes to any cogitation of Sacrifice, than the name of a Senator or of an Alderman causeth them to think upon old age, or to imagine that every one so termed must needs be antient, because years were respected in the first nomination of both. Wherefore, to pass by the name, let them use what dialect they will, whether we call it a Priesthood, a Presbytership, or a Ministery, it skilleth not: Although in truth the word *Presbyter* doth seem more fit, and in propriety of speech more agreeable than *Priest* with the drift of the whole Gospel of Jesus Christ. For what are they that embrace the Gospel but Sons of God? What are Churches but his Families? Seeing therefore we receive the Adoption and state of Sons by their Ministery whom God hath chosen out for that purpose: seeing also that when we are the Sons of God, our continuance is still under their care which were our Progenitors, what better Title could there be given them than the reverend name of *Presbyters*, or fatherly Guides? The Holy Ghost throughout the body of the New Testament, making so much mention of them, doth not any where call them Priests. The Prophet *Esay*, I grant, doth, but in such sort as the antient Fathers, by way of analogy. *A Presbyter*, according to the proper meaning of the New Testament, *is he unto whom our Saviour Christ hath communicated the power of Spiritual procreation.* Out of twelve Patriarks issued the whole multitude of *Israel* according to the flesh. And, according to the mystery of heavenly birth, our Lord's Apostles we all acknowledge to be the Patriarks of his whole Church. St. *John* therefore beheld sitting about the Throne of God in Heaven four and twenty Presbyters, the one half Fathers of the old; the other of the new *Jerusalem.* In which respect the Apostles likewise gave themselves the same Title, albeit that name were not proper, but common unto them with others. For of Presbyters, some were greater, some lesse in power, and that by our Saviour's own appointment; the greater they which received fulness of Spiritual power, the less they to whom less was granted. The Apostle's peculiar charge was to publish the Gospel of Christ unto all Nations, and to deliver them his Ordinances received by *immediate revelation from himself.* Which preheminence excepted, to all other Offices and Duties incident unto their Order, it was in them to Ordain and Consecrate whomsoever they thought meet, even as our Saviour did himself assign seventy other of his own Disciples, inferiour Presbyters, whose Commission to Preach and Baptize, was the same which the Apostles had. Whereas therefore we finde, that the very first Sermon which the Apostles did publickly make, was, the conversion of above three thousand Souls, unto whom there were every day more and more added, they having no open place permitted them for the exercise of Christian Religion, think we that Twelve were sufficient to teach and administer Sacraments in so many private places, as so great a multitude of People did require? This harvest, our Saviour (no doubt) foreseeing, provided accordingly Labourers for it before hand. By which means it came to pass, that the growth of that Church being so great and so

[a] ἱερεῦσαι, θυσιᾶσαι.
[b] *Hesy.* Christus homo dicitur, quia natus est; Propheta quia futura revelavit; Sacerdos, quia pro nobis hostiam se obtulit. *Isid. Orig.* l. 7. c. 2.
[c] 1 Cor. 15. 39.
[d] Ἔχει δ' ἀπόριαν τί τὸ αἰσθητήριον τὸ τοῦ ἁπτοῦ ἁπτικόν, πότερον ἡ σάρξ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τὸ ἀνάλογον ἢ οὔ. Arist. de Anim. l. 2. c. 11.
Esay 66. 21.
Revel. 4. 4. Rev. 20. 14. Mat. 19. 28. 1 Pet. 5. 1.
οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν θεοπαραδότως νομοθεταί. Dionys. Areop. p. 113. Acts 2. 41, 47.

ſo ſudden, they had notwithſtanding in a readineſs Presbyters enough to furniſh it. And therefore the Hiſtory doth make no mention by what occaſion Presbyters were inſtituted in *Jeruſalem*, onely we read of things which they did, and how the like were made afterwards elſewhere. To theſe two Degrees appointed of our Lord and Saviour Chriſt, his Apoſtles ſoon after annexed Deacons: Deacons therefore muſt know, ſaith *Cyprian*, that our Lord himſelf did elect Apoſtles; but Deacons, after his aſcenſion into Heaven, the Apoſtles ordained: Deacons were Stewards of the Church, unto whom at the firſt was committed the diſtribution of Church-goods, the care of providing therewith for the Poor, and the charge to ſee that all things of expence might be religiouſly and faithfully dealt in. A part alſo of their Office, was attendance upon their Presbyters at the time of Divine Service. For which cauſe *Ignatius*, to ſet forth the dignity of their Calling, ſaith, that they are in ſuch caſe to the Biſhop, as if Angelical Powers did ſerve him. Theſe onely being the uſes for which Deacons were firſt made, if the Church have ſithence extended their Miniſtery further than the circuit of their labour at the firſt was drawn; we are not herein to think the Ordinance of Scripture violated, except there appear ſome prohibition, which hath abridged the Church of that liberty. Which I note chiefly, in regard of them to whom it ſeemeth a thing ſo monſtrous, that Deacons ſhould ſometime be licenſed to preach, whoſe inſtitution was at the firſt to another end. To charge them for this as men not contented with their own Vocations, and as breakers into that which appertaineth unto others, is very hard. For when they are thereunto once admitted, it is part of their own Vocation, it appertaineth now unto them as well as others; neither is it intruſion for them to do it being in ſuch ſort called, but rather in us it were temerity to blame them for doing it. Suppoſe we the Office of Teaching to be ſo repugnant unto the Office of Deaconſhip, that they cannot concurr in one and the ſame Perſon? What was there done in the Church by Deacons, which the Apoſtles did not firſt diſcharge being Teachers? Yea, but the Apoſtles found the burthen of Teaching ſo heavy, that they judged it meet to cutt off that other charge, and to have Deacons which might undertake it. Be it ſo. The multitude of Chriſtians increaſing in *Jeruſalem*, and waxing great, it was too much for the Apoſtles to teach, and to miniſter unto Tables alſo. The former was not to be ſlacked, that this latter might be followed. Therefore unto this they appointed others. Whereupon we may rightly ground this Axiom, that when the ſubject wherein one man's labours of ſundry kindes are imployed, doth wax ſo great, that the ſame men are no longer able to manage it ſufficiently as before, the moſt natural way to help this, is, by dividing their Charge into ſlipes, and ordaining of Under-Officers; as our Saviour under twelve Apoſtles, ſeventy Presbyters; and the Apoſtles by his example ſeven Deacons to be under both. Neither ought it to ſeem leſs reaſonable, that when the ſame men are ſufficient both to continue in that which they do, and alſo to undertake ſomewhat more, a combination be admitted in this caſe, as well as diviſion in the former. We may not therefore diſallow it in the Church of *Geneva*, that *Calvin* and *Beza* were made both Paſtors and Readers in Divinity, being men ſo able to diſcharge both. To ſay they did not content themſelves with their Paſtoral vocations, but brake into that which belongeth to others; to alledge againſt them, *He that exhorteth on exhortation*, as againſt us, *He that diſtributeth in ſimplicity*, is alledged in great diſlike of granting licence for Deacons to preach, were very hard. The antient cuſtome of the Church, was to yield the poor much relief, eſpecially Widows. But as poor people are always querulous and apt to think themſelves leſs reſpected then they ſhould be, we ſee that when the Apoſtles did what they could without hindrance to their weightier buſineſs, yet there were which grudged that others had too much, and they too little, the Grecian Widows ſhorter Commons than the Hebrews. By means whereof the Apoſtles ſaw it meet to ordain Deacons. Now tract of time having clean worn out thoſe firſt occaſions, for which the Deaconſhip was then moſt neceſſary, it might the better be afterwards extended to other Services, and ſo remain, as at this preſent day, a Degree in the Clergy of God which the Apoſtles of Chriſt did inſtitute. That the firſt ſeven Deacons were choſen out of the ſeventy Diſciples, is

Cypr. Ep. 9. l. 3. ad Rogatianum.

Ignat. Epiſt. ad Tral.

Rom. 12. 8.

Epiph. l. 1. c. 25. an errour in *Epiphanius*. For to draw men from places of weightier, unto rooms of meaner labour, had not been fit. The Apoſtles, to the end they might follow teaching with more freedom, committed the miniſtery of Tables unto Deacons. And ſhall we think they judged it expedient to chuſe ſo many out of thoſe ſeventy to be miniſters unto Tables, when Chriſt himſelf had before made them Teachers? It appeareth therefore, how long theſe three degrees of Eccleſiaſtical Order have continued in the Church of Chriſt; the higheſt and largeſt, that which the Apoſtles, the next that which Presbyters, and the loweſt that which Deacons had. Touching Prophets, they were ſuch men as having otherwiſe learned the Goſpel, had from above beſtowed upon them a ſpecial gift of expounding Scriptures, and of foreſhewing things to come. Of this ſort *Agabus* was, and beſides him in *Jeruſalem* ſundry others, who notwithſtanding are not therefore to be reckoned with the Clergy, becauſe no man's gifts or qualities can make him a Miniſter of holy things, unleſs Ordination do give him power. And we nowhere finde Prophets to have been made by Ordination; but all whom the Church did ordain, where either to ſerve as Presbyters or as Deacons. Evangeliſts were Presbyters of principal ſufficiency, whom the Apoſtles ſent abroad, and uſed as Agents in Eccleſiaſtical affairs whereſoever they ſaw need. They whom we finde to have been named in Scripture, Evangeliſts, [a] *Ananias*, [b] *Apollos*, [c] *Timothy*, and others were thus employed. And concerning Evangeliſts, afterwards in *Trajans* dayes, the Hiſtory Eccleſiaſtical noteth that many of the Apoſtle's Diſciples and Scholars which were then alive, and did with ſingular love of Wiſdom affect the Heavenly Word of God, to ſhew their willing mindes in executing that which Chriſt firſt of all requireth at the hands of men, they ſold their Poſſeſſions, gave them to the Poor, and, betaking themſelves to travel, undertook the labour of Evangeliſts, that is, they painfully preached Chriſt, and delivered the Goſpel to them, who as yet had never heard the Doctrine of Faith. Finally, whom the Apoſtle nameth Paſtors and Teachers, what other were they than Presbyters alſo, howbeit ſettled in ſome certain charge, and thereby differing from Evangeliſts? I beſeech them therefore which have hitherto troubled the Church with queſtions, about Degrees and Offices of Eccleſiaſtical Calling, becauſe they principally ground themſelves upon two places, that, all partiality laid aſide, they would ſincerely weigh and examine, whether they have not miſ-interpreted both places, and all by furniſing incompatible Offices, where nothing is meant but ſundry graces, gifts and abilities which Chriſt beſtowed. To them of *Corinth*, his words are theſe, *God placed in the Church, firſt of all, ſome Apoſtles; Secondly, Prophets; Thirdly, Teachers; after them Powers, then gifts of Cures, Aides, Governments, kindes of Languages. Are all Apoſtles? Are all Prophets? Are all Teachers? Is there power in all? Have all grace to cure? Do all ſpeak with Tongues? Can all interpret? But be you deſirous of the better graces.* They which plainly diſcern firſt, that ſome *one general* thing there is which the Apoſtle doth here divide into all theſe branches, and do ſecondly conceive that general to be Church-Offices, beſides a number of other difficulties, can by no means poſſibly deny but that many of theſe might concurr in one man, and peradventure, in ſome one all; which mixture notwithſtanding, their form of diſcipline doth moſt ſhun. On the other ſide, admit that *Communicants of ſpecial infuſed grace*, for the benefit of Members knit into one body, the Church of Chriſt, are here ſpoken of, which was in truth the plain drift of that whole Diſcourſe; and ſee if every thing do not anſwer in due place with that fitneſs, which ſheweth eaſily what is likelieſt to have been meant. For why are Apoſtles the firſt, but becauſe unto them was granted the Revelation of all Truth from Chriſt immediately? Why Prophets the ſecond, but becauſe they had of ſome things knowledge in the ſame manner? Teachers the next, becauſe whatſoever was known to them it came by hearing, yet God withal made them able to inſtruct, which every one could not do that was taught. After Gifts of Edification there follow general abilities to work things above Nature, Grace to cure men of bodily Diſeaſes, Supplies againſt occurrent defects and impediments, Dexterities to govern and direct by counſel; Finally, aptneſs to ſpeak or interpret foreign tongues. Which Graces, not poured out equally, but diverſly ſorted and given, were a cauſe

Acts 21. 10. Acts 11. 27.

[a] Acts 9. 18. [b] Acts 18. 24. [c] 2 Tim. 4. 5. 9. 1 Tim. 3. 15. 5. 14. 2. 8. *Euſeb.* Eccleſ. Hiſt. l. 3. c. 34.

1 Cor. 2. 28.

cauſe why not onely they all did furniſh up the whole Body, but each benefit and help other. Again, the ſame Apoſtle, other-where in like ſort, *To every one of us is given grace, according to the meaſure of the gift of Chriſt. Wherefore he ſaith, When he aſcended up on high, he led Captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men. He therefore gave ſome Apoſtles, and ſome Prophets, and ſome Evangeliſts, and ſome Paſtors and Teachers, for the gathering together of Saints, for the work of the Miniſtery, for the edification of the Body of Chriſt.* In this place none but gifts of Inſtruction are expreſt. And becauſe of Teachers ſome were Evangeliſts which neither had any part of their knowledge by Revelation as the Prophets, and yet in ability to teach were farr beyond other Paſtors, they are, as having received one way leſs than Prophets, and another way more than Teachers, ſet accordingly between both. For the Apoſtle doth in neither place reſpect what any of them were by Office or Power given them through Ordination, but what by grace they all had obtained through miraculous infuſion of the Holy Ghoſt. For in Chriſtian Religion, this being the ground of our whole Belief, that the promiſes which God of old had made by his Prophets concerning the wonderful Gifts and graces of the Holy Ghoſt, wherewith the Reign of the true *Meſſias* ſhould be made glorious, were immediately after our Lord's Aſcenſion performed, there is no one thing whereof the Apoſtles did take more often occaſion to ſpeak. Out of men thus endued with gifts of the Spirit upon their Converſion to Chriſtian Faith, the Church had her Miniſters choſen, unto whom was given Eccleſiaſtical power by Ordination. Now, becauſe the Apoſtle in reckoning degrees and varieties of Grace, doth mention Paſtors and Teachers, although he mention them not in reſpect of their Ordination to exerciſe the Miniſtery, but as examples of men eſpecially enriched with the gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, divers learned and skilfull men have ſo taken it, as if thoſe places did intend to teach what Orders of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons there ought to be in the Church of Chriſt, which thing we are not to learn from thence but out of other parts of holy Scripture, whereby it clearly appeareth, that Churches Apoſtolick did know but three degrees in the power of Eccleſiaſtical Order; at the firſt Apoſtles, Presbyters, and Deacons; afterwards in ſtead of Apoſtles, Biſhops, concerning whoſe Order we are to ſpeak in the ſeventh Book. There is an errour which beguileth many who doe much intangle both themſelves and others by not diſtinguiſhing *Services*, *Offices*, and *Orders* Eccleſiaſtical: the firſt of which three, and in part the ſecond may be executed by the Laity; whereas none have, or can have the third but the Clergy. Catechiſts, Exorciſts, Readers, Singers, and the reſt of like ſort, if the nature onely of their labours and pains be conſidered, may in that reſpect ſeem Clergy-men, even as the Fathers for that cauſe term them uſually Clerks; as alſo in regard of the end whereunto they were trained up, which was to be ordered when years and experience ſhould make them able. Notwithſtanding, in as much as they no way differed from others of the Laity longer than during that work of Service, which at any time they might give over, being thereunto but admitted, not tyed by irrevocable Ordination, we finde them alwayes exactly ſevered from that body whereof thoſe three before rehearſed Orders alone are natural parts. Touching Widows, of whom ſome men are perſwaded, that if ſuch as Saint *Paul* deſcribeth may be gotten, we ought to retain them in the Church for ever. Certain mean Services there were of Attendance; as about Women, at the time of their Baptiſm, about the Bodies of the ſick and dead, about the neceſſities of Travellers, Way-faring men, and ſuch like, wherein the Church did commonly uſe them when need required, becauſe they lived of the Alms of the Church, and were fitteſt for ſuch purpoſes; Saint *Paul* doth therefore, to avoid ſcandal, require that none but Women well-experienced and vertuouſly given, neither any under threeſcore years of age ſhould be admitted of that number. Widows were never in the Church ſo highly eſteemed as Virgins. But ſeeing neither of them did or could receive Ordination, to make them Eccleſiaſtical Perſons were abſurd. The antienteſt therefore of the Fathers mention thoſe three degrees of Eccleſiaſtical Order ſpecified, and no moe. *When your Captains* (ſaith *Tertullian*) *that is to ſay; the Deacons, Presbyters, and Biſhops fly, who ſhall teach the Laity, that they muſt be conſtant?* Again, *What ſhould I mention*

Epheſ. 4. 7. Pſal. 68. 18.

T.C.l.1.p.191 1 Tim. 5. 9.

Tertul. de Perſecut.

Lay-men

Optat. l. 1. *Lay-men* (ſaith *Optatus*) *yea, or divers of the Miniſtery it ſelf? To what purpoſe Deacons, which are in the third, or Presbyters in the ſecond degree of Prieſthood, when the very Heads and Princes of all, even certain of the Biſhops themſelves* were content to redeem life with the loſs of Heaven? Heaps of Allegations in a caſe ſo evident and plain are needleſs. I may ſecurely therefore conclude, that there are at this day in the Church of *England*, no other than the ſame Degrees of Eccleſiaſtical Order, namely, Biſhops, Presbyters, and Deacons, which had their beginning from Chriſt, and his bleſſed Apoſtles themſelves. As for Deans, Prebendaries, Parſons, Vicars, Curates, Arch-deacons, Chancellours, Officials, Commiſſaries, and ſuch other the like names, which being not found in holy Scripture, we have been thereby through ſome mens errour thought to allow of Eccleſiaſtical Degrees not known, nor ever heard of in the better ages of former times; all theſe are in truth but Titles of Office, whereunto partly Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, and partly others are in ſundry forms and conditions admitted, as the ſtate of the Church doth need degrees of Order, ſtill continuing the ſame they were from the firſt beginning. Now what habit or attire doth beſeem each Order to uſe in the courſe of common life, both for the gravity of his Place, and for Example-ſake to other men, is a matter frivolous to be diſputed of. A ſmall meaſure of wiſedom may ſerve to teach them how they ſhould cutt their coats. But ſeeing all well-ordered Polities have ever judged it meet and fit by certain ſpecial diſtinct Ornaments to ſever each ſort of men from other when they are in publick, to the end that all may receive ſuch Complements of Civil Honour, as are due to their Roomes and Callings, even where their Perſons are not known, it argueth a diſproportioned minde in them whom ſo decent Orders diſpleaſe.

Of Oblations, Foundations, Endowments, Tithes, all intended for perpetuity of Religion, which purpoſe being chiefly fulfilled by the Clergies certain and ſufficient maintenance, muſt needs by alienation of Church-livings be made fruſtrate.

79. We might ſomewhat marvel, what the Apoſtle Saint *Paul* ſhould mean to ſay that Covetouſneſs is Idolatry, if the daily practiſe of men did not ſhew, that whereas Nature requireth God to be honoured with wealth, we honour for the moſt part Wealth as God. Fain we would teach our ſelves to believe, that for worldly goods it ſufficeth frugally and honeſtly to uſe them to our own benefit, without detriment and hurt of others; or if we go a degree farther, and perhaps convert ſome ſmall contemptible portion thereof to Charitable uſes, the whole duty which we owe unto God herein is fully ſatisfied. But for as much as we cannot rightly honour God, unleſs both our Souls and Bodies be ſometime imployed meerly in his Service; Again, ſith we know that Religion requireth at our hands the taking away of ſo great a part of the time of our lives quite and clean from our own buſineſs; and the beſtowing of the ſame in his; Suppoſe we that nothing of our wealth and ſubſtance is immediately due to God, but all our own to beſtow and ſpend as our ſelves think meet? Are not our riches as well his, as the days of our life are his? Wherefore, unleſs with part we acknowledge his Supream Dominion, by whoſe benevolence we have the whole, how give we Honour to whom Honour belongeth, or how hath God the things that are God's? I would know what Nation in the World did ever honour God, and not think it a point of their duty to do him honour with their very goods. So that this we may boldly ſet down as a Principle clear in Nature, an Axiom which ought not to be called in queſtion, a Truth manifeſt and infallible, that men are eternally bound to honour God with their ſubſtance, in token of thankful acknowledgement that all they have is from him. To honour him with our worldly goods, not only by ſpending them in lawful manner, and by uſing them without offence, but alſo by alienating from our ſelves ſome reaſonable part or portion thereof, and by offering up the ſame to him as a ſign that we gladly confeſs his ſole and Soveraign Dominion over all, is a dury which all men are bound unto; and a part of that very Worſhip of God; which, as the Law of God and Nature it ſelf requireth, ſo we are the rather to think all men no leſs ſtrictly bound thereunto than to any other natural duty, in as much as the hearts of men do ſo cleave to theſe earthly things, ſo much admire them for the ſway they have in the World, impute them ſo generally either to Nature, or to Chance, and Fortune, ſo little think upon the Grace and Providence from which they come, that unleſs by a kinde of continual tribute we

did

did acknowledge God's Dominion, it may be doubted that ſhort in time men would learn to forget whoſe Tenants they are, and imagine that the World is their own abſolute, free, and independent inheritance. Now, concerning the kinde or quality of gifts which God receiveth in that ſort, we are to conſider them, partly as firſt they proceed from us, and partly as afterwards they are to ſerve for divine uſes. In that they are teſtimonies of our affection towards God, there is no doubt, but ſuch they ſhould be as beſeemeth moſt his Glory to whom we offer them. In this reſpect the fatneſs of *Abel*'s Sacrifice is commended; the flower of all mens increaſe aſſigned to God by *Solomon*; the Gifts and Donations of the People rejected as oft as their cold affection to God-ward made their Preſents to be little worth. Somewhat the Heathens ſaw touching that which was herein fit, and therefore they unto their gods did not think they might conſecrate any thing which was *impure* or *unſound*, or *already given*, or elſe *not truly their own to give*. Again, in regard of uſe, foraſmuch as we know that God hath himſelf no need of worldly commodities, but taketh them becauſe it is our good to be ſo exerciſed, and with no other intent accepteth them, but to have them uſed for the endleſs continuance of Religion; there is no place left of doubt or controverſie, but that we in the choyce of our gifts, are to level at the ſame mark, and to frame our ſelves to his known intents and purpoſes. Whether we give unto God therefore that which himſelf by commandment requireth; or that which the publick conſent of the Church thinketh good to allot, or that which every man's private devotion doth beſt like, in as much as the gift which we offer, proceedeth not only as a teſtimony of our affection towards God, but alſo as a mean to uphold Religion, the exerciſe whereof cannot ſtand without the help of temporal commodities: if all men be taught of Nature to wiſh, and, as much as in them lyeth, to procure the perpetuity of good things; if for that very cauſe we honour and admire their wiſdom, who having been Founders of Common-weals, could deviſe how to make the benefit they left behind them durable; if, eſpecially in this reſpect, we preferr *Lycurgus* before *Solon*, and the *Spartan* before the *Athenian* Polity, it muſt needs follow, that as we do unto God very acceptable ſervice in honouring him with our ſubſtance, ſo our ſervice that way is then moſt acceptable, when it tendeth to perpetuity. The firſt permanent donations of honour in this kinde are Temples. Which works do ſo much ſet forward the exerciſe of Religion, that while the World was in love with Religion, it gave to no ſort greater reverence than to whom it could point and ſay, *Theſe are the men that have built us Synagogues.* But of Churches we have ſpoken ſufficiently heretofore. The next things to Churches are the Ornaments of Churches, memorials which mens devotion hath added to remain in the treaſure of God's Houſe, not onely for uſes wherein the exerciſe of Religion preſently needeth them, but alſo partly for ſupply of future caſual neceſſities, whereunto the Church is on earth ſubject, and partly to the end, that while they are kept they may continually ſerve as teſtimonies, giving all men to underſtand, that God hath in every Age and Nation, ſuch as think it no burthen to honour him with their ſubſtance. The riches firſt of the Tabernacle of God, and then of the Temple of *Jeruſalem*, ariſing out of voluntary Gifts and Donations, were, as we commonly ſpeak, a *Nemo ſcit*, the value of them above that which any man would imagine. After that the Tabernacle was made, furniſhed with all neceſſaries, and ſet up, although in the wilderneſs their ability could not poſſibly be great, the very metal of thoſe Veſſels which the Princes of the twelve Tribes gave to God for their firſt Preſents, amounted even then to two thouſand and four hundred ſhekels of Silver, an hundred and twenty ſhekels of Gold, every ſhekel weighing half an ounce. What was given to the Temple which *Solomon* erected, we may partly conjecture, when over and beſides Wood, Marble, Iron, Braſs, Veſtments, Precious Stones, and Money; the ſum which *David* delivered into *Solomon*'s hands for that purpoſe, was of Gold in maſs eight thouſand, and of Silver ſeventeen thouſand Cichars, every Cichar containing a thouſand and eight hundred ſhekels, which riſeth to nine hundred Ounces in every one Cichar: whereas the whole charge of the Tabernacle did not amount unto thirty Cichars. After their return out of *Babylon*, they were not preſently in caſe

Purum, probum, profanum, ſuum, Feſt. lib. 14.

Num. 7 85, 86.

1 Chron. 29. Exod. 25. 28. & 37. 24. Ezra 2. 68, 69. Hag. 2. 40. Ezra 8. 24.

case to make their second Temple of equal magnificence and glory with that which the enemy had destroyed. Notwithstanding what they could, they did. Insomuch that, the building finished, there remained in the Coffers of the Church to uphold the fabrick thereof, six hundred and fifty Cichars of Silver, one hundred of Gold. Whereunto was added by *Nehemias* of his own gift a thousand drams of Gold, fifty vessels of Silver, five hundred and thirty Priests vestments; by other the Princes of the Fathers twenty thousand drams of Gold, two thousand and two hundred pieces of Silver; by the rest of the People twenty thousand of Gold, two thousand of Silver, threescore and seven attires of Priests. And they furthermore bound themselves towards other Charges to give by the Pole in what part of the World soever they should dwell, the third of a shekel, that is to say, the sixth part of an ounce yearly. [a] This out of foreign Provinces, they always sent in Gold. Whereof [b] *Mithridates* is said to have taken up by the way before it could pass to *Jerusalem* from *Asia*, in one adventure eight hundred talents; *Crassus* after that to have borrowed of the Temple it self eight thousand: at which time *Eleazar* having both many other rich Ornaments, and all the Tapestry of the Temple under his custody, thought it the safest way to grow unto some composition, and so to redeem the residue by parting with a certain beam of Gold about seven hundred and an half in weight, a prey sufficient for one man, as he thought, who had never bargained with *Crassus* till then, and therefore upon the confidence of a solemn Oath that no more should be looked for, he simply delivered up a large morsel, whereby the value of that which remained was betrayed, and the whole lost. Such being the casualties whereunto moveable Treasures are subject, the Law of *Moses* did both require eight and twenty Cities, together with their Fields and whole Territories in the Land of *Jury*, to be reserved for God himself; and not onely provide for the liberty of farther additions, if men of their own accord should think good, but also for the safe preservation thereof unto all Posterities, that no man's avarice or fraud, by defeating so vertuous intents, might discourage from like purposes. God's third indowment did therefore of old consist in Lands. Furthermore, some cause no doubt there is, why besides sundry other more rare Donations of uncertain rate, the Tenth should be thought a Revenue so natural to be allotted out unto God. For of the spoils which *Abraham* had taken in Warr, he delivered unto *Melchisedeck* the Tithes. The vow of *Jacob*, at such time as he took his journey towards *Haran*, was, *If God will be with me, and will keep me in this voyage which I am to go, and will give me Bread to eat, and Cloaths to put on, so that I may return to my Father's house in safety, then shall the Lord be my God; and this Stone which I have set up as a Pillar, the same shall be God's House, and of all thou shalt give me I will give unto thee the Tythe.* And as *Abraham* gave voluntarily, as *Jacob* vowed to give God Tythes, so the Law of *Moses* did require at the hands of all men the self-same kinde of Tribute, the Tenth of their Corn, Wine, Oyl, Fruit, Cattel, and whatsoever increase his heavenly Providence should send. In so much, that Painims being herein followers of their steps, paid Tythes likewise: Imagine we that this was for no cause done, or that there was not some special inducements to judge the Tenth of our Worldly profits the most convenient for God's Portion? Are not all things by him created in such sort, that the formes which give them their distinction are number, their operations measure, and their matter weight? *Three* being the mystical number of God's unsearchable perfection within himself; *Seven* the number whereby our own perfections, through grace, are most ordered; and *Ten* the number of Nature's perfections (for the beauty of Nature, is Order; and the foundation of Order, Number; and of Number, Ten the highest we can rise unto without iteration of numbers under it) could Nature better acknowledge the power of the God of nature, than by assigning unto him that quantity which is the continent of all she possesseth? There are in *Philo* the Jew, many Arguments to shew the great congruity and fitness of this number in things consecrated unto God. But because over-nice and curious speculations become not the earnestnesse of holy things, I omit what might be farther observed, as well out of others, as out of him, touching the quantity of this general sacred Tribute; whereby it commeth to passe, that the

Nehem. 7. 70.

Nehem. 10. 32

a Cic. orat. pro L. Flac. Cum aurum Judæorum nomine quotannis ex *Italia* & ex omnibus vestris Provinciis Hierosolymam exportari soleret Flaccus sanxit edicto, ne ex Asia exportari liceret.

b Joseph. Anti. l. 4. c. 12.

c Every talent in value 600. Crowns: Num. 35. Levit. 25. 34. & 27. 38.

Gen. 14. 20. Gen. 28. 20.

Deut. 14. 22.

Plin. hist. nat. l. 12. c. 14.

Δεκὰς ἀριθμῶν τῶν ἀπὸ μονάδος ἐστὶ τέρας τελειότατον. Philo. περὶ Ἀποικ.

the meanest and the very poorest amongst men, yielding unto God as much in proportion as the greatest, and many times in affection more, have this as a sensible token always assuring their mindes, that in his sight, from whom all good is expected, they are concerning acceptation, protection, divine priviledges and preheminencies whatsoever, Equals and Peers with them unto whom they are otherwise in earthly respects Inferiours; being furthermore well assured that the top as it were thus presented to God is neither lost, nor unfruitfully bestowed, but doth sanctifie to them again the whole Mass, and that he by receiving a little undertaketh to bless all. In which consideration the Jewes were accustomed to name their Tithes, the [b] *hedge* of their Riches. Albeit a hedge do onely fence and preserve that which is contained, whereas their Tithes and Offerings did more, because they procured increase of the heap out of which they were taken. God demandeth no such debt for his own need, but for their onely benefit that owe it. Wherefore detaining the same, they hurt not him whom they wrong; and themselves whom they think they relieve, they wound; except men will haply affirm, that God did by fair speeches, and large promises, delude the world in saying, *Bring ye all the Tithes into the Store-house, that there may be meat in mine House*, (deal truly, defraud not God of his due, but bring all) *and prove if I will not open unto you the Windows of Heaven, and powre down upon you an immeasurable blessing.* That which Saint *James* hath concerning the effect of our Prayers unto God, is for the most part of like moment in our gifts: We pray and obtain not, because he which knoweth our hearts, doth know our desires are evil. In like manner we give, and we are not the more accepted, because he beholdeth how unwisely we spill our Gifts in the bringing. It is to him which needeth nothing, all one whether any thing or nothing be given him. But for our own good, it always behoveth that whatsoever we offer up into his hands, we bring it seasoned with this cogitation, *Thou Lord art worthy of all honour.* With the Church of Christ touching these matters, it standeth as it did with the whole World before *Moses*. Whereupon for many years men being desirous to honour God in the same manner, as other vertuous and holy Personages before had done, both during the time of their life, and, if farther ability did serve, by such devise as might cause their works of piety to remain always; it came by these means to pass that the Church from time to time, had Treasure, proportionable unto the poorer or wealthier estate of Christian men. And, assoon as the state of the Church could admit thereof, they easily condescended to think it most natural and most fit, that God should receive, as before, of all men his antient accustomed Revenues of Tithes. Thus therefore both God and Nature have taught to convert things temporal to eternal uses, and to provide for the perpetuity of Religion, even by that which is most transitory. For, to the end that, in worth and value, there might be no abatement of any thing once assigned to such purposes, the Law requireth precisely the best of what we possesse; and, to prevent all dammages by way of commutation, where in stead of natural Commodities, or other rights, the price of them might be taken, the Law of *Moses* determined their rates, and the payments to be alwayes made by the Sickle of the Sanctuary, wherein there was great advantage of weight above the ordinary currant Sickle. The truest and surest way for God to have alwayes his own, is by making him payment in kinde out of the very self-same riches, which through his gracious benediction the earth doth continually yield. This, where it may be without inconvenience, is for every man's Conscience sake. That which commeth from God to us, by the natural course of his providence, which we know to be innocent and pure, is perhaps best accepted, because least spotted with the stain of unlawful, or indirect procurement. Besides, whereas prices daily change, Nature, which commonly is one, must needs be the most indifferent, and permanent Standard between God and Man. But the main foundation of all, whereupon the security of these things dependeth, as farr as any thing may be ascertained amongst men, is, that the Title and Right which man had in every of them before Donation, doth by the Act, and from the time of any such Donation, Dedication, or Grant, remain the proper possession of God till the World's end, unlesse himself renounce or relinquish it. For

[b] *Massoreth sepes est legis; divitiarum sepes decimæ.* R. Aquiba in *Pirk. Aboth.*

Mal. 3.

Nemo libenter dedit quod non accepit. sed expressit. *Sen. de Benef.* l. 1. c. 1.

Levit. 27. 25.

if equity have taught us, that every one ought to enjoy his own; that what is ours no other can alienate from us, but with our [a] own [b] deliberate consent; finally, that no man having past his consent or deed, may [c] change it to the prejudice of any other, should we presume to deal with God worse than God hath allowed any man to deal with us? Albeit therefore we be now free from the Law of *Moses*, and consequently, not thereby bound to the payment of Tithes; yet because Nature hath taught men to honour God with their Substance, and Scripture hath left us an example of that particular proportion, which for moral considerations hath been thought fittest by him whose wisedom could best judge; furthermore, seeing that the Church of Christ hath long sithence entred into like obligation, it seemeth in these dayes a question altogether vain and superfluous, whether Tithes be a matter of Divine Right: because howsoever at the first, it might have been thought doubtful, our case is clearly the same now with theirs, unto whom Saint *Peter* sometime spake, saying, *While it was whole, it was whole thine.* When our Tithes might have probably seemed our own, we had colour of liberty to use them as we our selves saw good. But having made them His whose they are, let us be warned by other mens example what it is νοσφίσασθαι to wash or clip that coine which hath on it the mark of God. For that all these are his possessions, and that he doth himself so reckon them, appeareth by the form of his own speeches. Touching Gifts and Oblations, *Thou shalt give* them *me*; touching Oratories and Churches, *My House* shall be called the House of Prayer; touching Tithes, *Will a man spoil God?* Yet behold, even me your God ye have [d] *spoiled*, notwithstanding ye ask wherein, as though ye were ignorant, what injury there hath been offered in Tithes: ye are heavily accursed, because with a kinde of publick consent ye have joyned your selves in one to rob me, imagining the commonness of your offence to be every man's particular justification; touching Lands, *Ye shall offer to the Lord a sacred portion of ground, and that sacred portion shall belong to the Priests.* Neither did God onely thus ordain amongst the Jews, but the very purpose, intent, and meaning of all that have honoured him with their substance, was to invest him with the property of those benefits, the use whereof must needs be committed to the hands of men. In which respect the stile of antient Grants and Charters, is, *We have given unto God both for Us and our Heirs for ever*, Yea, *We know*, saith *Charles* the Great, that *the goods of the Church are the sacred indowments of God, to the Lord our God we offer and dedicate whatsoever we deliver unto his Church.* Whereupon the Laws Imperial doe likewise divide all things in such sort, that they make some to belong by right of Nature indifferently unto every man, some to be the certain goods and possessions of Common-weals, some to appertain unto several Corporations or Companies of men, some to be privately mens own in particular, and some to be separated quite [e] from all men; which last branch comprizeth things sacred and holy, because thereof God alone is Owner. The sequel of which received opinion, as well without as within the Walls of the House of God touching such possessions as hath been ever, that there is not an act more honourable, than by all means to amplifie and to defend the patrimony of Religion, not any more [f] impious and hateful, than to impair those possessions which men in former times, when they gave unto holy uses, were wont at the Altar of God, and in presence of their ghostly Superiours, to make, as they thought, inviolable, by words of fearful execration, saying, *These things we offer to God, from whom if any take them away (which we hope no man will attempt to do) but if any shall, Let his account be without favour in the last day, when he commeth to receive the doom which is due for Sacriledge against that Lord and God unto whom we dedicate the same.* The best and most renowned Prelates of the Church of Christ have in this consideration rather sustained the wrath, than yielded to satisfie the hard desire of their greatest Commanders on earth, coveting with ill advice and counsel that which they willingly should have suffered God to enjoy. There are of Martyrs, whom posterity doth much honour, for that having under their hands the custody of such [g] treasures, they could by vertuous delusion invent how to save them from prey, even when the safety of their own lives they gladly neglected; as one, sometime an Archdeacon under *Xistus* the Bishop of *Rome*, did: whom when his Judge understood to be one of the Church-

Stewards,

[a] Lib. 11. de Reg. Jur.
[b] Cujus per errorem dati repetitio est, ejus consulto dati donatio est, l. 1. D. de cond. indeb. This is the ground of *Consideration* in alienations from man to man.
[b] Nemo potest mutare consilium suum in alterius præjudicium, l. 75. de Reg. Jur. Acts 5. 4. Exod. 32. 29, 30. Matth. 21. 13. Mal 3. 8.
[d] Non videntur rem admittere quibus propria non fuit. l. 83. de Reg. Jur. Ezech. 45. 1. 4.

Mag. Char. c. 1

Capit. Carul. l. 6. c. 284.

[e] Nullius autem sunt res sacræ & religiosæ & sanctæ. Quod enim divini juris est, id nullius in bonis est. Inst. l. 2. tit. 1.
[f] Soli cum Diis sacrilegi pugnant, *Curt.* l. 7. Sacrum sacrove commendatum qui dempserit rapserit ve, parricida esto, Leg. 12. tab. Capit. Carul. l. 6. c. 285.
[g] Deposita pietatis, *Tertul.* Apologet. Prudent. Peristeph.

Stewards, thirſt of blood began to ſlake, and another humour to work, which firſt by a favourable countenance, and then by quiet ſpeech did thus calmly diſcloſe it ſelf, *You that profeſs the Chriſtian Religion, make great complaint of the wonderful cruelty we ſhew towards you. Neither peradventure altogether without cauſe. But for my ſelf, I am farr from any ſuch bloody purpoſe. Ye are not ſo willing to live, as I unwilling that out of theſe lips ſhould proceed any capital ſentence againſt you. Your Biſhops are ſaid to have rich Veſſels of Gold and Silver, which they uſe in the exerciſe of their Religion; beſides, the fame is, that numbers ſell away their Lands and Livings, the huge prices whereof are brought to your Church-coffers; by which means the devotion, that maketh them and their whole Poſterity poor, muſt needs mightily enrich you, whoſe God we know was no Coyner of Money, but left behinde him many wholeſome and good Precepts, as namely, that* Cæſar *ſhould have of you the things that are fit for, and due to* Cæſar. *His Wars are coſtly and chargeable unto him. That which you ſuffer to ruſt in corners, the affairs of the Common-wealth do need. Your Profeſſion is not to make account of things tranſitory. And yet if ye can be contented but to forego that which ye care not for, I dare undertake to warrant you both ſafety of life, and freedom dom of uſing your conſcience, a thing more acceptable to you than wealth.* Which fair Parley the happy Martyr quietly hearing, and perceiving it neceſſary to make ſome ſhift for the ſafe concealment of that which being now deſired was not unlikely to be more narrowly afterwards ſought, he craved reſpite for three dayes, to gather the riches of the Church together, in which ſpace againſt the time the Governour ſhould come to the doors of the Temple, bigg with hope to receive his prey, a miſerable rank of poor, lame, and impotent Perſons was provided, their names delivered him up in writing as a true Inventory of the Churches goods, and ſome few words uſed to ſignifie how proud the Church was of theſe Treaſures. If men did not naturally abhor Sacriledge, to reſiſt or to defeat ſo impious attempts would deſerve ſmall prayſe. But ſuch is the general deteſtation of rapine in this kinde, that whereas nothing doth either in Peace or War more uphold men's reputation than proſperous ſucceſs, becauſe in common conſtruction, unleſs notorious improbity be joyn'd with proſperity, it ſeemeth to argue favour with God; they which once have ſtained their hands with theſe odious ſpoyls, do thereby faſten unto all their actions an eternal prejudice, in reſpect whereof, for that it paſſeth through the World as an undoubted Rule and Principle, that Sacriledge is open defiance to God, whatſoever afterwards they undertake, if they proſper in it, men reckon it but *Dionyſius* his Navigation; and if any thing befall them otherwiſe, it is not, as commonly, ſo in them aſcribed to the great uncertainty of caſual events, wherein the providence of God doth controul the purpoſes of men oftentimes; much more for their good than if all things did anſwer fully their hearts deſire, but the cenſure of the World is ever directly againſt them both a bitter and peremptory. To make ſuch actions therefore leſs odious, and to mitigate the envy of them, many colourable ſhifts and inventions have been uſed, as if the World did hate onely Wolves, and think the Fox a goodly Creature. The b time it may be will come, when they that either violently have ſpoyled, or thus ſmoothly defrauded God, ſhall finde they did but deceive themſelves. In the mean while there will be always ſome skilful Perſons, which can teach a way how to grinde treatably the Church with jawes that ſhall ſcarce move, and yet devour in the end more than they that come ravening with open mouth, as if they would worry the whole in an inſtant; others alſo, who having waſtfully eaten out their own Patrimony, would be glad to repair, if they might, their decayed Eſtates, with the ruine they care not of what nor of whom, ſo the ſpoyl were theirs, whereof in ſome part if they happen to ſpeed; yet commonly they are men born under that conſtellation which maketh them, I know not how, as unapt to enrich themſelves, as they are ready to impoveriſh others; it is their lot to ſuſtain during life, both the miſery of Beggers, and the infamy of Robbers. But though no other Plague and Revenge ſhould follow

a Novimus multa regna, & reges eorum, propterea cecidiſſe; quia Eccleſias ſpoliaverunt, reſque earum vaſtaverunt, alienaverunt vel diripuerunt, Epiſcopiſque & Sacerdotibus, atque, quod magis eſt, Eccleſiis eorum abſtulerunt, & pugnantibus dederunt. Quapropter nec fortes in bello, nec in fide ſtabiles fuerunt, nec victores extiterunt; ſed terga multi vulnerati, & plures interfecti verterunt, regnaq; & regiones, &, quod pejus eſt, regna cœleſtia perdiderunt, atque propriis hæreditatibus caruerunt, & hactenus carent. *Verba Carol. Ma in Capitu. Carul.* l. 7. c. 104.

b Turno tempus erit magno cum optaverit emptum Intactum Pallanta, & cum ſpolia iſta diemque Oderit. *Virg. Æn.* lib. 10.

ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων αἰσχύνη ἡ δεινὰς ἐλάττων ζημίας τοῖς γε σώφροσι. Demoſt.

follow ſacrilegious violations of holy things, the natural ſecret diſgrace and ignominy, the very turpitude of ſuch actions in the eye of a wiſe underſtanding heart, is it ſelf a heavy puniſhment. Men of vertuous quality are by this ſufficiently moved to beware how they anſwer and requite the mercies of God with injuries, whether openly or indirectly offered. I will not abſolutely ſay concerning the goods of the Church, that they may in no caſe be ſeized on by men, or that no Obligation, Commerce and Bargain made between man and man, can never be of force to alienate the property which God hath in them. Certain caſes I grant there are, wherein it is not ſo dark what God himſelf doth warrant, but that we may ſafely preſume him as willing to forego for our benefit, as alwayes to uſe and convert to our benefit whatſoever our Religion hath honoured him withall. But ſurely under the name of that which may be, many things that ſhould not be are often done. By means whereof the Church moſt commonly for Gold hath Flanel; and whereas the uſual Saw of old was *Glaucus his change*, the Proverb is now, *A Church-bargain*. And for fear leſt Covetouſneſs alone ſhould linger out the time too much, and not be able to make havock of the Houſe of God with that expedition, which the mortal enemy thereof did vehemently wiſh, he hath by certain ſtrong inchantments ſo deeply bewitcht Religion it ſelf, as to make it in the end an earneſt Sollicitour, and an eloquent Perſwader of Sacriledge, urging confidently, that the very beſt ſervice which men of Power can do to Chriſt, is without any more Ceremony, to ſweep all, and to leave the Church as bare as in the day it was firſt born; that fulneſs of bread having made the Children of the Houſhold wanton, it is without any ſcruple to be taken away from them, and thrown to Doggs; that they which laid the prices of their Lands as offerings at the Apoſtles feet, did but ſow the ſeeds of Superſtition; that they which indowed Churches with Lands, poyſoned Religion; that Tythes and Oblations are now in the ſight of God as the ſacrificed bloud of Goats; that if we give him our hearts and affections, our goods are better beſtowed otherwiſe; that *Irenæus Polycarp*'s Diſciple ſhould not have ſaid, *We offer unto God our goods as tokens of thankfulneſs for that we receive*; neither Origen, *He which worſhippeth God, muſt by Gifts and Oblations acknowledge him the Lord of all*; In a word, that to give unto God is errour; reformation of errour, to take from the Church that which the blindneſs of former Ages did unwiſely give: By theſe or the like ſuggeſtions, received with all joy, and with like ſedulity practiſed in certain parts of the Chriſtian world, they have brought to paſſe, that as *David* doth ſay of Man, ſo it is in hazard to be verified concerning the whole Religion and Service of God: *The time thereof may peradventure fall out to be threeſcore and ten years, or if ſtrength do ſerve unto fourſcore, what followeth, is likely to be ſmall joy for them whatſoever they be that behold it.* Thus have the beſt things been overthrown, not ſo much by puiſſance and might of Adverſaries, as through defect of counſel, in them that ſhould have upheld and defended the ſame.

Pœnam non dico legum quas ſæpe perrumpunt, ſed ipſius turpitudinis quæ acerbiſſima eſt eſt non vident *Cic. Offic.* l. 3.

Impunita tu credes eſſe quæ inviſa ſunt? aut ullum ſupplicium gravius exiſtimas publico odio? *Sen. de Benef.* l. 3. c. 17.

Iren. l. 4 c. 34. Orig. in 18. Num. hom. 11

Pſal. 90. 10.

80. There are in a Miniſter of God theſe four things to be conſidered, his Ordination which giveth him power to meddle with things ſacred, the charge or portion of the Church allotted unto him for exerciſe of his Office; the performance of his Duty, according to the exigence of his Charge; and laſtly, the maintenance which in that reſpect he receiveth. All Eccleſiaſtical Lawes and Canons which either concern the beſtowing or the uſing of the power of Miniſterial Order, have relation to theſe four. Of the firſt we have ſpoken before at large. Concerning the next, for more convenient diſcharge of Eclceſiaſtical Duties, as the body of the People muſt needs be ſevered by divers Precincts, ſo the Clergy likewiſe accordingly diſtributed. Whereas therefore Religion did firſt take place in Cities, and in that reſpect was a cauſe why the name of Pagans, which properly ſignifieth a Countrey people, came to be uſed in common ſpeech for the ſame that Infidels and Unbelievers were; it followed thereupon that all ſuch Cities had their Eccleſiaſtical Colledges, conſiſting of Deacons and of Presbyters, whom firſt the Apoſtles or their Delegates the Evangeliſts, did both ordain and govern. Such were the Colledges of *Jeruſalem*, *Antioch*, *Epheſus*, *Rome*, *Corinth*, and the reſt, where the Apoſtles are known to have planted our Faith and Religion. Now becauſe Religion and the cure of Souls was their general charge in common over all that were near about them,

Of Ordinations lawful without title, and without any popular election precedent, but in no caſe without regard of due information what their quality is, that enter into holy Orders.

them, neither had any one Presbyter his ſeveral Cure apart, till *Evariſtus* Biſhop in the See of *Rome*, about the year 112. began to aſſign Precincts unto every Church, or Title, which the Chriſtians held, and to appoint unto each Presbyter a certain compaſſe, whereof himſelf ſhould take charge alone; the commodiouſneſſe of this invention cauſed all parts of Chriſtendom to follow it, and at the length, amongſt the reſt our own Churches, about the year 636. became divided in like manner. But other diſtinction of Churches there doth not appear any in the Apoſtles Writings, ſave onely, according to thoſe [a] Cities wherein they planted the Goſpel of Chriſt, and erected Eccleſiaſtical Colledges. Wherefore to ordain [b] κατὰ πόλιν throughout every City, and [c] κατὰ ἐκκλησίαν throughout every Church, doe in them ſignifie the ſame thing. Churches then neither were, nor could be in ſo convenient ſort limited as now they are; firſt, by the bounds of each ſtate, and then within each ſtate by more particular Precincts, till at the length we deſcend unto ſeveral Congregations, termed *Pariſhes*, with farr narrower reſtraint, than this Name at the firſt was uſed. And from hence hath grown their errour, who, as oft as they read of the duty which Eccleſiaſtical Perſons are now to perform towards the Church, their manner is alwayes to underſtand by that Church, ſome particular Congregation, or Pariſh Church. They ſuppoſe that there ſhould now be no man of Eccleſiaſtical Order, which is not tyed to ſome certain Pariſh. Becauſe the names of all Church-Officers are words of relation, becauſe a Shepheard muſt have his Flock, a Teacher his Scholars, a Miniſter his Company which he miniſtreth unto, therefore it ſeemeth a thing in their eyes abſurd and unreaſonable, that any man ſhould be ordained a Miniſter, otherwiſe, than onely for ſome particular Congregation. Perceive they not, how by this meane they make it unlawful for the Church to imploy men at all, in converting Nations? For if ſo be, the Church may not lawfully admit to an Eccleſiaſtical Function, unleſſe it tye the party admitted unto ſome particular Pariſh, then ſurely a thankleſſe labour it is, whereby men ſeek the Converſion of Infidels, which know not Chriſt, and therefore cannot be as yet divided into their ſpecial Congregations and Flocks: But, to the end it may appear how much this one thing amongſt many more hath been miſtaken, there is firſt no Precept, requiring that Presbyters and Deacons be made in ſuch ſort, and not otherwiſe. Albeit therefore the Apoſtles did make them in that order, yet is not their Example ſuch a Law, as, without all exception, bindeth to make them in no other order but that. Again, if we will conſider that which the Apoſtles themſelves did, ſurely, no man can juſtly ſay, that herein we practiſe any thing repugnant to their example. For by them there was ordained onely in each Chriſtian City a Colledge of Presbyters and Deacons to adminiſter holy things. *Evariſtus* did a hundred years after the birth of our Saviour Chriſt begin the diſtinction of the Church into Pariſhes. Presbyters and Deacons having been ordained before to exerciſe Eccleſiaſtical Functions in the Church of *Rome* promiſcuouſly, he was the firſt that tyed them each one to his own ſtation. So that of the two, indefinite Ordination of Presbyters and Deacons doth come more near the Apoſtles Example, and the tying of them to be made onely for particular Congregations, may more juſtly ground it ſelf upon the Example of *Evariſtus* than of any Apoſtle of Chriſt. It hath been the opinion of wiſe and good men heretofore, that nothing was ever deviſed more ſingularly beneficial unto God's Church, than this which our honourable Predeceſſors have to their endleſs praiſe found out by the erecting of ſuch Houſes of Study, as thoſe two moſt famous Univerſities do contain, and by providing that choiſe Wits, after reaſonable time ſpent in contemplation, may at the length either enter into that holy Vocation, for which they have been ſo long nouriſhed and brought up, or elſe give place, and ſuffer others to ſucceed in their rooms, that ſo the Church may be alwayes furniſhed with a number of men, whoſe ability being firſt known by publick tryal in Church-labours there where men can beſt judge of them, their calling afterwards unto particular charge abroad may be accordingly. All this is fruſtrate, thoſe worthy Foundations we muſt diſſolve, their whole device and religious purpoſe which did erect them is made void, their Orders and Statutes are to be cancelled

[a] Acts 15 36. Apoc. 1. 20.
[b] Tit. 1. 6.
[c] Acts 14. 23.

cancelled and disannulled, in case the Church be forbidden to grant any power of Order, unless it be with restraint to the Party ordained unto some particular Parish or Congregation. Nay, might we not rather affirm of Presbyters and of Deacons, that the very nature of their Ordination is unto necessary local restraint a thing opposite and repugnant? The Emperour *Justinian* doth say of Tutors, *Certæ rei vel causæ tutor dari non potest, quia personæ non causæ vel rei tutor datur.* He that should grant a Tutorship, restraining his grant to some one certain thing or cause, should do but idlely, because Tutors are given for personal defence generally, and not for managing of a few particular things or causes. So he that ordaining a Presbyter, or a Deacon, should, in the form of Ordination, restrain the one or the other to a certain place, might, with much more reason, be thought to use a vain and a frivolous addition, than they reasonably to require such local restraint, as a thing which must of necessity concurr evermore with all lawfull Ordinations. Presbyters and Deacons are not by Ordination consecrated unto Places, but unto Functions. In which respect, and in no other it is, that sith they are by vertue thereof bequeathed unto God, severed and sanctified to be imployed in his Service, which is the highest advancement that mortal Creatures on Earth can be raised unto, the Church of Christ hath not been acquainted in former Ages with any such propane and unnatural Custom, as doth hallow men with Ecclesiastical Functions of Order onely for a time, and then dismiss them again to the common Affairs of the World. Whereas, contrariwise, from the Place or Charge where that Power hath been exercised, we may be by sundry good and lawful occasions translated, retaining nevertheless the self-same Power which was first given. It is some grief to spend thus much labour in refuting a thing that hath so little ground to uphold it, especially sith they themselves that teach it doe not seem to give thereunto any great credit, if we may judge their mindes by their actions. There are amongst them that have done the work of Ecclesiastical Persons, sometime in the Families of Noblemen, sometime in much more publick and frequent Congregations; there are that have successively gone through perhaps seven or eight particular Churches after this sort; yea, some that at one and the same time have been, some which at this present hour are, in real obligation of Ecclesiastical duty, and possession of Commodity thereto belonging, even in sundry particular Churches within the Land; some there are amongst them which will not so much abridge their liberty, as to be fastened or tyed unto any place; some which have bound themselves to one place, onely for a time, and that time being once expired, have afterwards voluntarily given unto other places the like experience and tryal of them. All this I presume they would not doe, if their perswasion were as strict as their words pretend. But for the avoiding of these and such other the like confusions as are incident unto the cause and question whereof we presently treat, there is not any thing more material, than first to separate exactly the nature of the Ministery from the use and exercise thereof; Secondly, to know that the onely true and proper Act of Ordination is, to invest men with that power which doth make them Ministers by consecrating their Persons to God, and his Service in holy things during term of life, whether they exercise that power or no; Thirdly, that to give them a Title or Charge where to use their Ministery, concerneth not the making, but the placing of God's Ministers; and therefore the Lawes which concern onely their Election or Admission unto place of Charge, are not applyable to infringe any way their Ordination; Fourthly, that as oft as any antient Constitution, Law, or Cannon is alledged, concerning either Ordinations or Elections, we forget not to examine whether the present case be the same which the antient was, or else do contain some just reason for which it cannot admit altogether the same Rules which former Affairs of the Church, now altered, did then require. In the question of making Ministers without a Title, which to doe, they say, is a thing unlawful, they should at the very first have considered what the name of *Title* doth imply, and what affinity or coherence Ordinations have with Titles, which thing observed would plainly have shewed them their own errour. They are not ignorant, that when they speak of a Title, they handle that which belongeth to the placing of a Minister in some charge, that the Place of Charge wherein a Minister doth execute his

Just. lib. 1. tit. 14. sect. 4.

his Office, requireth some House of God for the People to resort unto, some definite number of Souls unto whom he there administreth holy things, and some certain allowance whereby to sustain life; that the Fathers at the first named *Oratories*, and Houses of Prayer; Titles, thereby signifying how God was interessed in them, and held them as his own Possessions. But because they know that the Church had Ministers before Christian Temples and Oratories were, therefore some of them understand by a Title, a *definite Congregation* of People onely, and so deny that any Ordination is lawful which maketh Ministers, that have no certain Flock to attend: forgetting how the Seventy whom Christ himself did ordain Ministers, had their Calling in that manner, whereas yet no certain Charge could be given them. Others referring the name of a Title, especially to the maintenance of the Minister, infringe all Ordinations made, except they which receive Orders be first intituled to a competent Ecclesiastical Benefice, and (which is most ridiculously strange) except besides their present Title to some such Benefice, they have likewise some other Title of Annual Rent or Pension whereby they may be relieved, in case through infirmity, sickness, or other lawful impediment they grow unable to execute their Ecclesiastical Function. So that every man lawfully ordained must bring a Bow which hath two strings, a Title of present Right, and another to provide for future possibility or chance. Into these absurdities and follies they slide by mis-conceiving the true purpose of certain Canons, which indeed have forbidden to ordain a Minister without a Title, not that simply it is unlawful so to ordain, but because it might grow to an inconvenience, if the Church did not somewhat restrain that liberty. For, seeing they which have once received Ordination, cannot again return into the World, it behoveth them which Ordain, to fore-see how such shall be afterwards able to live, lest their poverty and destitution should redound to the disgrace and discredit of their Calling. Which evil prevented, those very Lawes which in that respect forbid, doe expresly admit Ordinations to be made at large, and without Title, namely, if the Party so ordained have of his own for the sustenance of this life; or if the Bishop which giveth him Orders will finde him competent allowance, till some place of Ministration, from whence his maintenance may arise, be provided for him; or if any other fit and sufficient means be had against the danger before mentioned. Absolutely therefore it is not true, that any antient Canon of the Church which is, or ought to be with us in force, doth make Ordinations at large unlawful, and, as the state of the Church doth stand, they are most necessary. If there be any conscience in men touching that which they write or speak, let them consider, as well what the present condition of all things doth now suffer, as what the Ordinances of former Ages did appoint, as well the weight of those Causes, for which our Affairs have altered, as the reasons in regard whereof our Fathers and Predecessours did sometime strictly and severely keep that, which for us to observe now, is neither meet nor alwayes possible. In this our present Cause and Controversie, whether any not having Title of Right to a Benefice, may be lawfully ordained a Minister, is it not manifest in the eyes of all men, that whereas the name of a Benefice doth signifie some standing Ecclesiastical Revenue, taken out of the Treasure of God, and allotted to a Spiritual Person, to the end he may use the same, and enjoy it as his own for term of life, unless his default cause Deprivation? The Clergy for many years after Christ had no other Benefices, but onely their Canonical Portions, or monethly Dividends allowed them according to their several degrees and qualities, out of the Common Stock of such Gifts, Oblations, and Tythes, as the fervour of Christian Piety did then yield. Yea, that even when Ministers had their Churches and Flocks assigned unto them in several; yet for maintenance of life, their former kinde of allowance continued, till such time as Bishops and Churches Cathedral being sufficiently endowed with Lands, other Presbyters enjoyed in stead of their first Benefices, the Tythes and Profits of their own Congregations whole to themselves? Is it not manifest, that in this Realm, and so in other the like Dominions, where the tenure of Lands is altogether grounded

Unlawful to ordain a Minister without a Title. *Abstra.* pag. 243, & pag. 246. The Law requireth, that every one admitted unto Orders, having for his present Relief some Ecclesiastical Benefice, should also have some other Title unto some Annual Rent or Pension whereby he might be relieved in case he were not able through infirmity, sickness, or other lawfull impediment to execute his Ecclesiastical Office and Function.

grounded on Military Laws, and held as in Fee under Princes which are not made Heads of the People by force of voluntary Election, but born the Soveraign Lords of those whole and intire Territories, which Territories their famous Progenitours obtaining by way of Conquest, retained what they would in their own hands, and divided the rest to others with reservation of Soveraignty and Capital Interest; the building of Churches, and consequently the assigning of either Parishes or Benefices was a thing impossible without consent of such as were principal Owners of Land; in which consideration, for their more encouragement hereunto, they which did so farr benefit the Church, had by common consent granted (as great equity and reason was) a right for them and their Heirs till the Worlds end, to nominate in those Benefices men whose quality the Bishop allowing might admit them thereunto? Is it not manifest, that from hence inevitably such inequality of Parishes hath grown, as causeth some through the multitude of people which have resort unto one Church, to be more than any one man can weild, and some to be of that nature by reason of Chappels annex'd, that they which are Incumbents should wrong the Church, if so be they had not certain Stipendaries under them, because where the Grops of the Profit or Benefice is but one, the Title can be but one man's, and yet the charge may require more? Not to mention therefore any other reason whereby it may clearly appear how expedient it is, and profitable for this Church to admit Ordinations without Title, this little may suffice to declare, how impertinent their allegations against it are out of antient Canons, how untrue their confident asseverations, that onely through negligence of Popish Prelates the custom of making such kinde of Ministers hath prevailed in the Church of *Rome* against their Canons, and that with us it is expresly against the Laws of our own Government, when a Minister doth serve as a Stipendary Curate, which kinde of Service nevertheless the greatest Rabbins of that part doe altogether follow. For howsoever they are loath peradventure to be named Curates, Stipendaries they are, and the labour they bestow is in other mens Cures; a thing not unlawfull for them to doe, yet unseemly for them to condemn which practise it. I might here discover the like over-sight throughout all their Discourses, made in behalf of the Peoples pretended right to elect their Ministers before the Bishop may lawfully ordain. But because we have otherwhere at large disputed of popular Elections, and of the right of Patronage, wherein is drowned whatsoever the people under any pretence of colour may seem to challenge about Admission and Choyce of the Pastours that shall feed their Souls, I cannot see what one Duty there is which alwayes ought to goe before Ordination, but onely care of the Partie's worthinesse, as well for integrity and vertue, as knowledge, yea; for vertue more: in as much as defect of knowledge may sundry wayes be supplyed, but the scandal of vicious and wicked life is a deadly evil.

Of the Learning in Ministers, their residence, and the number of their Livings.

81. The truth is, that of all things hitherto mentioned, the greatest is that threefold blott or blemish of notable ignorance, unconscionable absence from the Cures whereof men have taken charge, and unsatiable hunting after Spiritual preferments without either care or conscience of the publick good. Whereof, to the end that we may consider as in Gods own sight and presence with all uprightnesse, sincerity, and truth, let us particularly weigh and examine in every of them; First, how farr forth they are reproveable by Reasons and Maxims of Common right; Secondly, whether that which our Laws do permit, be repugnant to those Maxims, and with what equity we ought to judge of things practised in this case, neither on the one hand defending that which must be acknowledged out of square, nor on the other side condemning rashly whom we list, for whatsoever we disallow. Touching Arguments therefore, taken from the principles of Common right, to prove that Ministers should [a] be learned, that they ought to be [b] Resident upon their Livings, and that [c] more than one onely Benefice or Spiritual Living may not be granted unto one man; the first, because Saint *Paul* requireth in a Minister ability to teach, to convince, to distri-

[a] T.C I. 1. p. 70. [b] 66. [c] 69.

1 Tim. 3. 2. Titus 1. 9. 2 Tim. 2. 15. Hosea 4. 6. Mat. 15. 14. Luke 2. 8. Acts 20. 2. 1 Sam. 1. 19. 1 Tim. 4. 12. John 10. 4. 1 Peter 5. 2. Acts 20. 28. 1 Thess. 2. 17. Concil. Nic. cap. 15. Matth. 6. 24. 1 Cor. 7. 24.

bute

bute the Word rightly, becauſe alſo the Lord himſelf hath proteſted, they ſhall be no Prieſts to him which have rejected knowledge, and becauſe if the blinde lead the Blinde, they muſt both needs fall into the Pit; the ſecond, becauſe Teachers are Shepherds, whoſe Flocks can be at no time ſecure from danger; they are Watchmen whom the Enemy doth alwayes beſiege, their labours in the Word and Sacraments admit no intermiſſion; their duty requireth inſtruction and conference with men in private; they are the living Oracles of God, to whom the People muſt reſort for counſel; they are commanded to be Patterns of Holineſs, Leaders, Feeders, Superviſors amongſt their own; it ſhould be their grief, as it was the Apoſtles, to be abſent, though neceſſarily, from them over whom they have taken charge; finally, the laſt, becauſe Plurality and Reſidence are oppoſite, becauſe the placing of one Clark in two Churches is a point of Merchandize and filthy gain, becauſe no man can ſerve two Maſters, becauſe every one ſhould remain in that Vocation whereto he is called; What conclude they of all this? Againſt Ignorance, againſt Non-reſidence, and againſt Plurality of Livings, is there any man ſo raw and dull, but that the Volumes which have been written, both of old and of late, may make him in ſo plentiful a cauſe eloquent? For if by that which is generally juſt and requiſite, we meaſure what knowledge there ſhould be in a Miniſter of the Goſpel of Chriſt; the Arguments which Light of Nature offereth; the Laws and Statutes which Scripture hath; the Canons that are taken out of antient Synods; the Decrees, and Conſtitutions of ſincereſt Times; the Sentences of all Antiquity; and in a word, even every man's full conſent and conſcience is againſt Ignorance in them that have Charge and Cure of Souls. Again, what availeth it if we be Learned and not Faithful? or what benefit hath the Church of Chriſt, if there be in us ſufficiency without endeavour or care to do that good which our place exacteth? Touching the pains and induſtry therefore, wherewith men are in conſcience bound to attend the work of their Heavenly Calling, even as much as in them lyeth, bending thereunto their whole endeavour, without either fraud, ſophiſtication, or guile; I ſee not what more effectual Obligation or Bond of Duty there ſhould be urged, than their own onely Vow and Promiſe made unto God himſelf, at the time of their Ordination. The work which they have undertaken requireth both care and fear. Their ſloth that negligently perform it maketh them ſubject to malediction. Beſides, we alſo know that the fruit of our pains in this Function is life both to our ſelves and others. And doe we yet need incitements to labour? Shall we ſtop our ears both againſt thoſe conjuring exhortations which Apoſtles, and againſt the fearful comminations which Prophets, have uttered out of the mouth of God; the one for prevention, the other for reformation of our ſluggiſhneſs in this behalf? Saint *Paul*, *Attend to your ſelves, and to all the Flock, whereof the Holy Ghoſt hath made you Over-ſeers, to feed the Church of God, which he hath purchaſed with his own blood.* Acts 20. 27. Again, *I charge thee before God, and the Lord Jeſus Chriſt, which ſhall judge the quick and the dead at his comming, preach the Word; be inſtant.* Jeremiah, *Wo unto the Paſtors that deſtroy and ſcatter the ſheep of my Paſture; I will viſit you for the wickedneſs of your Works, ſaith the Lord; the remnant of my Sheep, I will gather together out of all Countries, and will bring them again to their folds, they ſhall grow and increaſe, and I will ſet up Shepherds over them which ſhall feed them.* Ezekiel, *Should not the Shepherds, ſhould they not feed the Flocks? Ye eat the fat, and ye clothe your ſelves with the wool, but the weak ye have not ſtrengthened, the ſick ye have not cured, neither have ye bound up the broken, nor brought home again that which was driven away; ye have not inquired after that which was loſt, but with cruelty and rigour ye have ruled.* And verſe 8. *Wherefore, as I live, I will require, &c.* Nor let us think to excuſe our ſelves, if haply we labour, though it be at random, and ſit not altogether idle abroad. For we are bound to attend that part of the flock of Chriſt, whereof the Holy Ghoſt hath made us Over-ſeers. The reſidence of Miniſters upon their own peculiar Charge, is by ſo much the rather neceſſary; for that abſenting themſelves from the place where they ought to labour, they neither can do the good which is looked for at their hands, nor reap the comfort which ſweeteth life to them that ſpend it in theſe travels upon their own. For it is in this, as in all things elſe, which are through private intereſt dearer than what concerneth either others

Jer. 23. 2.

Ezek. 34. 2.

wholly, or us, but in part; and according to the rate of a general regard. As for plurality, it hath not onely the same inconveniencies which are observed to grow by absence; but over and besides, at the least in common construction, a shew of that worldly humour which men do think should not raign so high. Now from hence their Collections are, as followeth; first, a repugnancy or contradiction between the Principles of common right, and that which our Laws in special considerations have allowed: secondly, a nullitie or frustration of all such acts, as are by them supposed opposite to those Principles, and invalidity in all Ordinations of men unable to preach, and in all dispensations which mitigate the Law of Common right for the other two: And why so? Forsooth, becaus whatsoever we do in these three cases, and not by vertue of Common-right, we must yield it of necessity done by warrant of peculiar right or priviledge. Now a Priviledge is said to be that, that for favour of certain persons commeth forth against Common-right; things prohibited are dispensed with, becaus things permitted are dispatched by Common-right, but things forbidden require Dispensations. By which descriptions of a Priviledge and Dispensation it is (they say) apparent, that a Priviledge must licence and authorize the same, which the Law against ignorance, non-residence, and plurality doth infringe; and so be a Law contrariant or repugnant to the Law of Nature, and the Law of God, becaus all the reasons whereupon the Positive Law of man against these three was first established, are taken and drawn from the Law of Nature, and the Law of God. For answer whereunto, we will but lead them to answer themselves. First therefore if they will grant (as they must) that all direct oppositions of speech require one and the self-same subject, to be meant on both parts where opposition is pretended, it will follow that either the Maxims of Common right do inforce *the very same things* not to be good which we say are good, grounding our selves on the reasons, by vertue whereof our priviledges are established; or if the one doe not reach unto that particular subject for which the other have provided, then is there no contradiction between them. In all contradictions, if the one part be true, the other eternally must be false. And therefore if the Principles of Common right, do at any time truly inforce *that particular* not to be good, which Priviledges make good, it argueth invincibly, that such priviledges have been grounded upon errour. But to say, that every Priviledge is opposite unto the Principles of Common right, becaus it dispenseth with that which Common right doth prohibite, hath gross absurdity. For the voyce of Equity and Justice is, that a general Law doth never derogate from a special Priviledge; whereas if the one were contrariant to the other, a general Law being in force should alwayes dissolve a Priviledge. The reason why many are deceived by imagining that so it should doe, and why men of better insight conclude directly it should not, doth rest in the *subject* or *matter* it self, which matter *indefinitely* considered in Laws of Common right, is in Priviledges considered as *beset and limited with special circumstances*, by means whereof to them which respect it, but by way of generality, it seemeth one and the same in both, although it be not the same, if once we descend to particular consideration thereof. Precepts do alwayes propose perfection, not such as none can attain unto, for then in vain should we ask or require it at the hands of men, but such perfection as all men must aim at; to the end that as largely as human providence and care can extend it, it may take place. Moral laws are the rules of Politick; those Politick, which are made to order the whole Church of God, rules unto all particular Churches; and the Laws of every particular Church, Rules unto every particular man, within the body of the same Church; Now, becaus the higher we ascend in these Rules, the further still we remove from those specialities, which being proper to the subject, whereupon our actions must work, are therfore chiefly considered by us, by them least thought upon that wade altogether in the two first kindes of general directions, their judgment cannot be exact and sound, concerning either laws of Churches, or actions of men in particular, becaus they determine of effects by a part of the causes onely out of which they grow, they judge conclusions by demi-premises and half-principles, they lay them in the balance stript from those necessary material circumstances which should give them weight, and by shew of falling uneven with the scale of most universal and abstracted rules, they pronounce that too light which is not, if they had the skill to weigh it. This is the reason why men altoge-

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ther converſant in ſtudy do know how to teach, but not how to govern; men experienced contrariwiſe govern well, yet know not which way to ſet down orderly the precepts and reaſons of that they do. He that will therefore judge rightly of things done, muſt joyn with his forms and conceits of general ſpeculation, the matter wherein our actions are converſant. For by this ſhall appear what equity there is in thoſe Priviledges and peculiar grants or favours, which otherwiſe will ſeem repugnant to juſtice, and becauſe in themſelves conſidered, they have a ſhew of repugnancy; this deceiveth thoſe great Clerks, which hearing a Priviledge defined to be *an eſpecial right brought in by their power and authority, that make it for ſome publick benefit againſt the general courſe of reaſon*, are not able to comprehend how the word *againſt* doth import *exception*, without any *oppoſition* at all. For inaſmuch as the hand of Juſtice muſt diſtribute to every particular what is due, and judge what is due with reſpect had, no leſs of particular circumſtances than of general rules and axioms; it cannot fit all ſorts with one meaſure, the wills, counſels, qualities and ſtates of men being divers. For example, the Law of Common right bindeth all men to keep their Promiſes, perform their Compacts, and anſwer the Faith they have given either for themſelves, or others. Notwithſtanding he which bargaineth with one under years, can have no benefit by this allegation, becauſe he bringeth it againſt a Perſon which is exempt from the Common rule. Shall we then conclude, that thus to exempt certain men from the Law of Common right, is againſt God, againſt Nature, againſt whatſoever may avail to ſtrengthen and juſtifie that Law before alledged, or elſe acknowledge (as the truth is) that ſpecial cauſes are to be ordered by ſpecial rules, that if men grown unto ripe age, diſadvantage themſelves by bargaining, yet what they have wittingly done, is ſtrong, and in force againſt them, becauſe they are able to diſpoſe and manage their own affairs; whereas youth for lack of experience and judgement, being eaſily ſubject to circumvention, is therefore juſtly exempt from the Law of Common-right, whereunto the reſt are juſtly ſubject. This plain inequality between men of years, and under years, is a cauſe why Equity and Juſtice cannot apply equally the ſame general rule to both, but ordereth the one by Common right, and granteth to the other a ſpecial priviledge. Priviledges are either tranſitory or permanent: Tranſitory, ſuch as ſerve onely ſome one turn, or at the moſt extend no farther than to this or that man, with the end of whoſe natural life they expire; Permanent, ſuch as the uſe whereof doth continue ſtill, for that they belong unto certain kindes of men and cauſes which never dye. Of this nature are all immunities and preheminencies, which, for juſt conſiderations, one ſort of men enjoyeth above another, both in the Church and Commonwealth, no man ſuſpecting them of contrariety to any branch of thoſe Laws or Reaſons, whereupon the general right is grounded. Now there being general Laws and Rules whereby it cannot be denied, but the Church of God ſtandeth bound to provide, that the Miniſtry may be learned, that they which have charge may reſide upon it, and that it may not be free for them in ſcandalous manner to multiply Eccleſiaſtical Livings; it remaineth in the next place to be examined, what the Laws of the Church of *England* do admit, which may be thought repugnant to any thing hitherto alledged, and in what ſpecial conſideration they ſeem to admit the ſame. Conſidering therefore, that to furniſh all places of Cure in this Realm, it is not an Army of twelve thouſand Learned men that would ſuffice, nor two Univerſities that can always furniſh as many as decay in ſo great a number, nor a fourth part of the Livings with Cure, that when they fall are able to yield ſufficient maintenance for Learned men, is it not plain, that unleſs the greateſt part of the People ſhould be left utterly without the publick uſe and exerciſe of Religion, there is no remedy but to take into the Eccleſiaſtical Order, a number of men meanly qualified in reſpect of Learning? For whatſoever we may imagine in our private Cloſets, or talk for Communion-ſake at our Boords, yea, or write in our Books, through a notional conceit of things needful for performance of each man's duty, if once we come from the Theory of Learning, to take out ſo many Learned men, let them be diligently viewed, out of whom the choice ſhall be made, and thereby an eſtimate made, what degree of skill we muſt either admit, or elſe leave numbers utterly deſtitute of Guides; and I doubt not but that men indued with ſenſe of common equity, will ſoon diſcern, that, beſides

Jus ſingulare eſt, quod contra tenorem rationis propter aliquam utilitatem authoritate conſtituentium introductum eſt. *Paulus* ff. de Leg. b.

Privilegium perſonale cum perſona extinguitur, &, privilegium datum actioni tranſit cum actione. *Op.* de Regulis, part. 1. 227.

ſides eminent and competent knowledge, we are to deſcend to a lower ſtep, receiving knowledge in that degree which is but tolerable. When we commend any man for learning, our ſpeech importeth him to be more than meanly qualified that way; but when Laws do require learning as a quality, which maketh capable of any Function, our meaſure to judge a learned man by, muſt be ſome certain degree of learning, beneath which we can hold no man ſo qualified. And if every man that liſteth may ſet that degree himſelf, how ſhall we ever know when Laws are broken, when kept, ſeeing one man may think a lower degree ſufficient, another may judge them unſufficient that are not qualified in ſome higher degree. Wherefore of neceſſity either we muſt have ſome Judge, in whoſe conſcience they that are thought and pronounced ſufficient, are to be ſo accepted and taken, or elſe the Law it ſelf is to ſet down the very loweſt degree of fitneſs that ſhall be allowable in this kinde. So that the queſtion doth grow to this iſſue. Saint *Paul* requireth Learning in Presbyters, yea ſuch Learning as doth inable them to exhort in Doctrine which is ſound, and to diſprove them that gain-ſay it. What meaſure of ability in ſuch things ſhall ſerve to make men capable of that kinde of Office, he doth not himſelf preciſely determine, but re-
Tit. 1. 9. ferreth it to the Conſcience of *Titus*, and others, which had to deal in ordaining Presbyters. We muſt therefore of neceſſity make this demand, whether the Church, lacking ſuch as the Apoſtle would have choſen, may with good conſcience take out of ſuch as it hath in a meaner degree of fitneſs, them that may ſerve to perform the ſervice of publick Prayer, to miniſter the Sacraments unto the People, to ſolemnize Marriage, to viſit the Sick, and bury the Dead, to inſtruct by reading, although by Preaching they be not as yet ſo able to benefit and feed Chriſt's flock. We conſtantly hold, that in this caſe the Apoſtles Law is not broken. He requireth more in Presbyters than there is found in many whom the Church of *England* alloweth. But no man being tyed unto impoſſibilities, to do that we cannot we are not bound. It is but a ſtratagem of theirs therefore, and a very indirect practiſe, when they publiſh large declamations to prove that Learning is required in the Miniſtry, and to make the ſilly people believe that the contrary is maintained by the Biſhops, and upheld by the Laws of the Land; whereas the queſtion in truth is not whether Learning be required, but whether a Church, wherein there is not ſufficient ſtore of Learned men to furniſh all Congregations, ſhould do better to let thouſands of Souls grow ſavage, to let them live without any publick ſervice of God, to let their Children dye unbaptiſed, to with-hold the benefit of the other Sacrament from them, to let them depart this World like Pagans, without any thing, ſo much as readd unto them, concerning the way of life, than, as it doth in this neceſſity, to make ſuch Presbyters as are ſo farr forth ſufficient, although they want that ability of Preaching which ſome others have. In this point therefore we obey neceſſity, and of two evils we take the leſs; in the reſt a publick utility is ſought, and in regard thereof ſome certain inconveniencies tolerated, becauſe they are recompenced with greater good. The Law giveth liberty of Non-reſidence for a time to ſuch as will live in Univerſities, if they faithfully there labour to grow in knowledge, that ſo they may afterwards the more edifie and the better inſtruct their Congregations. The Church in their abſence is not deſtitute, the Peoples ſalvation not neglected for the preſent time, the time of their abſence is in the intendment of Law beſtowed to the Churches great advantage and benefit, thoſe neceſſary helps are procured by it, which turn by many degrees more to the Peoples comfort in time to come, than if their Paſtours had continually abidden with them. So that the Law doth hereby provide in ſome part to remedy and help that evil which the former neceſſity hath impoſed upon the Church. For compare two men of equal meanneſs, the one perpetually reſident, the other abſent for a ſpace, in ſuch ſort as the Law permitteth. Allot unto both ſome nine years continuance with Cure of Souls. And muſt not three years abſence in all probability and likelihood make the one more profitable than the other unto God's Church; by ſo much as the increaſe of his knowledge, gotten in thoſe three years, may adde unto ſix years travel following? For the greater ability there is added to the inſtrument, wherewith it pleaſeth God to ſave Souls, the more facility and expedition it hath to work that which is otherwiſe hardlier effected. As much may be ſaid touching

abſence

abſence granted to them that attend in the families of Biſhops; which Schools of gravity, diſcretion, and wiſedom, preparing men againſt the time that they come to reſide abroad, are, in my poor opinion, even the fitteſt places that any ingenious minde can wiſh to enter into, between departure from private ſtudy and acceſs to a more publick charge of Souls; yea no leſs expedient, for men of the beſt ſufficiency and moſt maturity in knowledge, than the very Univerſities themſelves are for the ripening of ſuch as be raw. Imployment in the Families of Noble-men, or in Princes Courts, hath another end, for which the ſelf-ſame leave is given, not without great reſpect to the good of the whole Church. For aſſuredly, whoſoever doth well obſerve, how much all inferiour things depend upon the orderly courſes and motions of thoſe greater Orbes, will hardly judge it either meet or good, that the Angels aſſiſting them ſhould be driven to betake themſelves unto other ſtations, although by nature they were not tyed where now they are, but had charge alſo elſewhere, as long as their abſence from beneath might but tolerably be ſupplyed, and by deſcending their rooms above ſhould become vacant. For we are not to dream in this caſe of any platform, which bringeth equally high and low unto Pariſh Churches, nor of any conſtraint to maintain at their own charge men ſufficient for that purpoſe; the one ſo repugnant to the Majeſty and Greatneſs of Engliſh Nobility, the other ſo improbable and unlikely to take effect, that they which mention either of both, ſeem not indeed to have conceived what either is. But the eye of Law is the eye of God, it looketh into the hearts and ſecret diſpoſitions of men, it beholdeth how far one ſtar differeth from another in glory, and, as mens ſeveral degrees require, accordingly it guideth them; granting unto principal Perſonages priviledges correſpondent to their high Eſtates, and that not onely in Civil, but even in Spiritual Affairs, to the end they may love that Religion the more, which no way ſeeketh to make them vulgar, no way diminiſheth their dignity and greatneſs, but to do them good doth them honour alſo, and by ſuch extraordinary favours teacheth them to be in the Church of God the ſame which the Church of God eſteemeth them, more worth than thouſands. It appeareth therefore in what reſpect the Laws of this Realm have given liberty of non-reſidence to ſome, that their knowledge may be increaſed, and their labours by that mean be made afterwards the more profitable to others, leſt the Houſes of Great-men ſhould want that daily exerciſe of Religion, wherein their example availeth as much, yea many times peradventure more than the Laws themſelves, with the common ſort. A third thing reſpected both in permitting abſence, and alſo in granting to ſome that liberty of addition or plurality, which neceſſarily inforceth their abſence, is a meer both juſt and conſcionable regard, that as men are in quality, and as their ſervices are in weight for the publick good, ſo likewiſe their rewards and encouragements by ſpecial priviledge of Law might ſomewhat declare how the State it ſelf doth accept their pains, much abhorring from their beſtial and ſavage rudeneſs, which think that Oxen ſhould onely labour, and Aſſes feed. Thus to Readers in Univerſities, whoſe very Paper and Book-expences, their antient allowances and ſtipends at this day do either not, or hardly ſuſtain; to Governours of Colledges, leſt the great overplus of charges neceſſarily inforced upon them, by reaſon of their place, and very ſlenderly ſupplyed, by means of that change in the preſent condition of things, which their Founders could not fore-ſee; to men called away from their Cures, and imployed in weightier buſineſs, either of the Church or Common-wealth, becauſe to impoſe upon them a burthen which requireth their abſence, and not to releaſe them from the duty of Reſidence, were a kinde of cruel and barbarous injuſtice; to Reſidents in Cathedral Churches, or upon Dignities Eccleſiaſtical, foraſmuch as theſe being rooms of greater Hoſpitality, places of more reſpect and conſequence than the reſt, they are the rather to be furniſhed with men of beſt quality, and the men for their qualities-ſake, to be favoured above others: I ſay unto all theſe, in regard of their worth and merit, the Law hath therefore given leave while themſelves bear weightier burthens, to ſupply inferiour by deputation; and in like conſideration partly, partly alſo by way of honour to Learning, Nobility and Authority permitteth, that men which have taken Theological degrees in Schools, the Suffragans of Biſhops, the Houſhold-Chaplains of men of Honour, or in great

Offices, the Brethren and Sonnes of Lords Temporal; or of Knights, if God shall move the hearts of such to enter at any time into Holy Orders, may obtain to themselves a faculty or licence to hold two Ecclesiastical Livings, though having Cure; any Spiritual Person of the Queens Councel, three such Livings; her Chaplains, what number of promotions her self in her own Princely wisedom thinketh good to bestow upon them. But, as it fareth in such cases, the gap which for just considerations we open unto some, letteth in others through corrupt practises, to whom such favours were neither meant, nor should be communicated. The greatness of the Harvest, and the scarcity of able Work-men hath made it necessary, that Law should yield to admit numbers of men but slenderly and meanly qualified. Hereupon, because whom all other worldly hopes have forsaken, they commonly reserve Ministerial Vocation, as their last and surest refuge ever open to forlorn men; the Church that should nourish them, whose service she needeth, hath obtruded upon her their service, that know not otherwise how to live and sustain themselves. These finding nothing more easie than means to procure the writing of a few lines to some one or other which hath authority; and nothing more usual than too much facility in condescending unto such requests; are often received into that Vocation whereunto their unworthiness is no small disgrace. Did any thing more aggravate the crime of *Jeroboams* prophane Apostasie, than that he chose to have his Clergy the scum and reffuse of his whole Land; Let no man spare to tell it them, they are not faithful towards God, that burthen wilfully his Church with such swarms of unworthy Creatures. I will not say of all degrees in the Ministry, that which Saint *Chrysostom* doth of the highest; *He that will undertake so weighty a charge, had need to be a man of great understanding, rarely assisted with Divine grace, for integrity of manners, purity of life, and for all other vertues; to have in him more than a man*; But surely this I will say with *Chrysostom*, *We need not doubt whether God be highly displeased with us, or what the cause of his anger, is, if things of so great fear and holiness as are the least and lowest duties of his service, be thrown wilfully on them whose not onely mean, but bad and scandalous quality doth defile whatsoever they handle.* These eye-sores and blemishes, in continual attendants about the Service of God's Sanctuary, do make them every day fewer that willingly resort unto it, till at length all affection and zeal towards God be extinct in them through a wearisom contempt of their Persons, which for a time onely live by Religion, and are for recompence, in fine, the death of the Nurse that feedeth them. It is not obscure, how incommodious the Church hath found both this abuse of the liberty; which Law is enforced to grant; and not onely this, but the like abuse of that favour also, which Law in other considerations already mentioned, affordeth toucheth Residence and plurality of Spiritual Livings. Now that which is practised corruptly to the detriment and hurt of the Church, against the purpose of those very Laws, which notwithstanding are pretended in defence and justification thereof, we must needs acknowledge no less repugnant to the grounds and principles of Common right, than the fraudulent proceedings of Tyrants, to the principles of just Soveraignty. Howbeit not so those special priviledges which are but instruments wrested and forced to serve malice. There is in the Patriark of Heathen Philosophers this Precept, [a] *Let no Husbandman nor no Handy-craftsman be a Priest.* The reason whereupon he groundeth, is a maxim in the Law of Nature; It importeth greatly the good *of all men that God be reverenced*, with whose honour it standeth not that they which are publickly imployed in his service should live of base and manuary Trades. Now compare herewith the Apostle's words, [b] *Ye know that these hands have ministred to my necessities, and them that are with me.* What think we? Did the Apostle any thing opposite herein, or repugnant to the Rules and Maxims of the Law of Nature? The self-same reasons that accord his actions with the Law of Nature, shall declare our Priviledges and his Laws no less consonant. Thus therefore we see, that although they urge very colourably the Apostle's own Sentences, requiring that a Minister should be able to divide rightly the Word of God, that they who are placed in Charge should attend unto it themselves, which in absence they cannot do; and that they which have divers Cures must of necessity be absent from some, whereby the Law Apostolick seemeth apparently broken, which Law requiring attendance cannot otherwise be understood, than

Chrysost. de Sacerd. l. 3. c. 15.

a οὔτε γεωργὸν οὔτε βάναυσον ἱερεῖν καταστατέον. ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν πολιτικῶν πρέπει τιμᾶσθαι τοὺς θεούς. Arist. Po. 7. c. 6

b Act. 20. 34. 1 Cor. 4. 12. 1 Thess. 2. 9. 2 Thess. 3. 8.

than so as to charge them with perpetual Residence: Again, though in every of these causes, they infinitely heap up the Sentences of Fathers, the Decrees of Popes, the antient Edicts of Imperial authority, our own National Laws and Ordinances prohibiting the same, and grounding evermore their Prohibitions, partly on the Laws of God, and partly on reasons drawn from the light of Nature, yet hereby to gather and inferr contradiction between those Laws which forbid indefinitely, and ours which in certain cases have allowed the ordaining of sundry Ministers, whose sufficiency for Learning is but mean; Again, the licensing of some to be absent from their Flocks, and of others to hold more than one onely Living which hath Cure of Souls, I say, to conclude repugnancy between these especial permissions, and the former general prohibitions, which set not down their own limits, is erroneous, and the manifest cause thereof ignorance in differences of matter which both sorts of Law concern. If then the considerations be reasonable, just and good, whereupon we ground whatsoever our Laws have by special right permitted; if onely the effects of abused Priviledges be repugnant to the Maxims of Common right, this main foundation of repugnancy being broken, whatsoever they have built thereupon falleth necessarily to the ground. Whereas therefore, upon surmise, or vain supposal of opposition between our special, and the principles of Common right, they gather that such as are with us ordained Ministers, before they can Preach, be neither lawfull, because the Laws already mentioned forbid generally to create such, neither are they indeed Ministers, although we commonly so name them, but whatsoever they execute by vertue of such their pretended Vocation is void; that all our grants and tolerations, as well of this as the rest, are frustrate and of no effect; the Persons that enjoy them possess them wrongfully, and are deprivable at all hours; finally, that other just and sufficient remedy of evils there can be none, besides the utter abrogations of these our mitigations, and the strict establishment of former Ordinances to be absolutely executed whatsoever follow: albeit the Answer already made in discovery of the weak and unsound foundation whereupon they have built these erroneous collections may be thought sufficient; yet because our desire is rather to satisfie, if it be possible, than to shake them off, we are with very good will contented to declare the causes of all particulars more formally and largely than the equity of our own defence doth require.

There is crept into the mindes of men, at this day, a secret pernicious and pestilent conceit, that the greatest perfection of a Christian man doth consist in discovery of other mens faults, and in wit to discourse of our own profession. When the World most abounded with just, righteous and perfect men, their chiefest study was the exercise of piety, wherein for their safest direction, they reverently hearkened to the Readings of the Law of God, they kept in minde the Oracles and Aphorismes of wisdom, which tended unto vertuous life; if any scruple of conscience did trouble them for matter of Actions which they took in hand, nothing was attempted before counsel and advice were had, for fear lest rashly they might offend. We are now more confident, not that our knowledge and judgement is riper, but because our desires are another way.

Their scope was obedience, ours is skill; their endeavour was reformation of life, * our vertue nothing but to hear gladly the reproof of vice; they in the practice of their Religion wearied chiefly their knees and hands, we especially our ears and tongues. We are grown, as in many things else, so in this, to a kinde of intemperancy, which (onely Sermons excepted) hath almost brought all other duties of Religion out of taste. At the least they are not in that account and reputation which they should be. Now, because men bring all Religion in a manner to the onely Office of hearing Sermons, if it chance that they who are thus conceited do imbrace any special opinion different from other men, the Sermons that relish not that opinion, can in no wise please their appetite. Such therefore as preach unto them, but hit not the string they look for, are rejected as unprofitable; the rest as unlawful, and indeed no Ministers, if the faculty of Sermons want. For why? A Minister of the Word should, they say, be able rightly to *divide* the Word. Which Apostolick Canon many think they do well observe, when in opening the Sentences of holy Scripture, they draw all things favourably spoken unto one side; but whatsoever

* Ἀλλ' οἱ πολλοὶ ταῦτα μὲν οὐ πράττουσιν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν λόγον καταφεύγοντες οἴονται φιλοσοφεῖν, καὶ οὕτως ἔσεσθαι σπουδαῖοι· ὅμοιον τὶ ποιοῦντες τοῖς κάμνουσιν, οἳ τῶν ἰατρῶν ἀκούουσι μὲν ἐπιμελῶς, ποιοῦσι δὲ οὐδὲν τῶν προσταττομένων· ὥσπερ οὖν οὐδὲ ἐκεῖνοι εὖ ἕξουσι τὸ σῶμα οὕτω θεραπευόμενοι, οὐδὲ οὗτοι τὴν ψυχὴν οὕτω φιλοσοφοῦντες. Arist. Eth. l. 2. c. 5.

ver is reprehenſive, ſevere, and ſharp, they have others on the contrary part whom that muſt always concern, by which their over-partial and un-indifferent proceeding, while they thus labour amongſt the people to divide the Word, they make the Word a mean to divide and diſtract the People. Ορθοτομεῖν *to divide aright*, doth note in the Apoſtle's Writings, ſoundneſs of Doctrine onely; and in meaning ſtandeth oppoſite to καινοτομεῖν *the broaching of new opinions againſt that which is received.* For queſtionleſs the firſt things delivered to the Church of Chriſt, were pure and ſincere Truth. Which whoſoever did afterwards oppugn, could not chuſe but divide the Church into two moyeties; in which diviſion, ſuch as taught what was firſt believed, held the truer part; the contrary ſide, in that they were teachers of novelty, erred. For prevention of which evil there are in this Church many ſingular and well deviſed remedies, as namely the uſe of ſubſcribing to the Articles of Religion before admiſſion of degrees to Learning, or to any Eccleſiaſtical Living, the cuſtom of reading the ſame Articles, and of approving them in publick Aſſemblies whereſoever men have Benefices with Cure of Souls, the order of teſtifying under their hands allowance of the Book of Common-Prayer, and the Book of ordaining Miniſters; finally, the Diſcipline and moderate ſeverity which is uſed either in other wiſe correcting or ſilencing them that trouble and diſturb the Church with Doctrines which tend unto Innovation; it being better that the Church ſhould want altogether the benefit of ſuch mens labours, than endure the miſchief of their inconformity to good Laws; in which caſe, if any repine at the courſe and proceedings of Juſtice, they muſt learn to content themſelves with the anſwer of *M. Curius*, which had ſometime occaſion to cutt off one from the Body of the Common-wealth: in whoſe behalf becauſe it might have been pleaded that the party was a man ſerviceable, he therefore began his judicial ſentence with this preamble, *Non eſſe opus Reip. eo cive qui parere neſciret*; *The Common-wealth needeth men of quality, yet never thoſe men which have not learned how to obey.* But the wayes which the Church of *England* hath taken to provide that they who are Teachers of others may do it ſoundly, that the Purity and Unity as well of antient Diſcipline as Doctrine may be upheld, that avoiding ſingularities, we may all glorifie God with one heart and one tongue, they of all men do leaſt approve, that do moſt urge the Apoſtle's Rule and Canon. For which cauſe they alledge it not ſo much to that purpoſe, as to prove that unpreaching Miniſters (for ſo they term them) can have no true nor lawful calling in the Church of God. Sainſt *Auguſtine* hath ſaid of the will of man, that *ſimply to will proceedeth from Nature, but our well-willing is from Grace.* We ſay as much of the Miniſter of God *publickly to teach and inſtruct the Church, is neceſſary in every Eccleſiaſtical Miniſter; but ability to teach by Sermons is a Grace which God doth beſtow on them whom he maketh ſufficient for the commendable diſcharge of their duty.* That therefore wherein a Miniſter differeth from other Chriſtian men, is not as ſome have childiſhly imagined, the *ſound preaching of the Word of God*, but as they are lawfully and truly Governours to whom authority of Regiment is given in the Common-wealth, according to the order which Polity hath ſet, ſo Canonical Ordination in the Church of Chriſt is that which maketh a lawful Miniſter, *as touching the validity of any Act which appertaineth to that Vocation.* The cauſe why Saint *Paul* willed *Timothy* not to be over-haſty in ordaining Miniſters, was (as we very well may conjecture) becauſe impoſition of hands doth conſecrate and make them Miniſters, whether they have gifts and qualities fit for the laudable diſcharge of their Duties or no. If want of Learning and skill to preach did fruſtrate their Vocation, Miniſters ordained before they be grown unto that maturity ſhould receive new Ordination, whenſoever it chanceth that ſtudy and induſtry doth make them afterwards more able to perform the Office; than which what conceit can be more abſurd? Was not Saint *Auguſtine* himſelf contented to admit an Aſſiſtant in his own Church, a man of ſmall Erudition, conſidering that what he wanted in knowledge was ſupplyed by thoſe vertues which made his life a better Orator, than more Learning could make others whoſe converſation was leſs Holy? Were the Prieſts, ſithence *Moſes*, all able and ſufficient men, learnedly to interpret the Law of God? Or was it ever imagined, that this defect ſhould fruſtrate what they executed, and deprive them of right unto any thing they claimed by vertue of their Prieſthood?

Valer. l. 6. c. 3.

Ox. man. p. 21.

Priesthood? Surely, as in Magistrates, the want of those Gifts which their Office needeth, is cause of just imputation of blame in them that wittingly chuse unsufficient and unfit men when they might do otherwise, and yet therefore is not their choyce void, nor every action of Magistracy frustrate in that respect: So whether it were of necessity, or even of very carelesnesse, that men unable to Preach should be taken in Pastours rooms; nevertheless, it seemeth to be an errour in them which think that the lack of any such perfection defeateth utterly their Calling. To wish that all men were so qualified, as their Places and Dignities require, to hate all sinister and corrupt dealings which hereunto are any lett, to covet speedy redress of those things whatsoever, whereby the Church sustaineth detriment, these good and vertuous desires cannot offend any but ungodly mindes. Notwithstanding; some in the true vehemency, and others under the fair pretence of these desires, have adventured that which is strange, that which is violent and unjust. There are which in confidence of their general allegations concerning the knowledge, the Residence and the single Livings of Ministers, presume not onely to annihilate the solemn Ordinations of such as the Church must of force admit, but also to urge a kinde of universal proscription against them, to set down Articles, to draw Commissions, and almost to name themselves of the *Quorum*, for inquiry into mens estates and dealings, whom at their pleasure they would deprive and make obnoxious to what punishment themselves list, and that not for any violation of Laws, either Spiritual or Civil, but becaus men have trusted the Laws too farr, becaus they have held and enjoyed the liberty which Law granteth, becaus they had not the wit to conceive as these men do, that Laws were made to intrap the simple, by permitting those things in shew and appearance, which indeed should never take effect, for as much as they were but granted with a secret condition to be put in practice, *If they should be profitable and agreeable with the Word of God*: which condition failing in all Ministers that cannot Preach, in all that are absent from their Livings, and in all that have divers Livings (for so it must be presumed, though never as yet proved) therefore as men which have broken the Law of God and Nature, they are depriveable at all hours. Is this the Justice of that Discipline whereunto all Christian Churches must stoop and submit themselves? Is this the equity wherewith they labour to reform the World? I will no way diminish the force of those Arguments whereupon they ground. But if it please them to behold the visage of these Collections in another Glass, there are Civil as well as Ecclesiastical Unsufficiencies, Non residences, and Pluralities; yea, the reasons which Light of Nature hath ministred against both, are of such affinity, that much less they cannot inforce in the one than in the other. When they that bear great Offices be Persons of mean worth, the contempt whereinto their authority groweth [a] weakneth the sinews of the whole State. Notwithstanding, where many Governours are needful, and they not many, whom their quality cannot commend, [b] the penury of worthier must needs make the meaner sort of men capable: Cities, in the absence of their Governours, are as Ships wanting Pilots at Sea. But were it therefore [c] Justice to punish whom Superiour Authority pleaseth to call from home, or alloweth to be employed elsewhere? In committing [d] many Offices to one man, there are apparently these inconveniencies; the Common wealth doth lose the benefit of serviceable men, which might be trained up in those rooms; it is not easie for one man to discharge many mens duties well, in service of Warfare and Navigation, were it not the overthrow of whatsoever is undertaken, if one or two should ingrosse such Offices, as being now divided into many hands, are discharged with admirable both perfection and expedition? Nevertheless, be it farr from the minde of any reasonable man to imagine, that in these considerations Princes either ought of duty to revoke all such kinde of Grants, though made with very special respect to the extraordinary merit of certain men, or might in honour demand of them the resignation of their Offices, with speech to this or the like effect;

The Author of the *Abstract.*

a μεγάλων κύριοι καθιστῶντες ἐν εὐτελεῖς ὥσιμεγαλα βλάπτεσι. Aristot. Polit. 2. c. 11.

b Nec ignoro maximos honores ad parum dignos penuria meliorum solere deferri. *Ammertin.* paneg. ad *Julian.*

c Neque enim æquum visum est absentem Reipub. causa inter reos referri dum Reipub. operatur. *Ulpian.* l. 15. Si maritus ad legem *Julian.* de adulter.

d *Arist.* Polit. l. 2. c. 11. See the like Preamble, framed by the Author of the *Abstract*, where he fancieth a Bishop deposing one unapt to preach, whom himself had before ordained.

effect; *For as much as you* A. B. *by the ſpace of many years, have done us that faithful ſervice in moſt important affairs, for which we alwayes judging you worthy of much honour, have therefore committed unto you from time to time, very great and weighty Offices, which hitherto you quietly enjoy: we are now given to underſtand, that certain grave and learned men have found in the Books of antient Philoſophers, divers Arguments drawn from the common light of Nature; and declaring the wonderful diſcommodities which uſe to grow by Dignities thus heaped together in one; For which cauſe, at this preſent, moved in conſcience and tender care for the Publick good, we have ſummoned you hither, to diſ-poſſeſs you of thoſe Places, and to depoſe you from thoſe rooms, whereof indeed by vertue of our own Grant, yet againſt Reaſon, you are poſſeſſed. Neither ought you, or any other to think us raſh, light, or inconſtant, in ſo doing: For we tell you plain, that herein we will both ſay and do that thing which the noble and wiſe Emperour ſometime both ſaid and did, in a matter of farr leſs weight than this;* Quod inconſultò fecimus, conſultò revocamus, *That which we unadviſedly have done, we adviſedly will revoke and undo.* Now for mine own part, the greateſt harm I would wiſh them who think that this were conſonant with equity and right, is, that they might but live where all things are with ſuch kinde of Juſtice ordered, till experience have taught them to ſee their errour. As for the laſt thing which is incident into the cauſe whereof we ſpeak, namely, what courſe were the beſt and ſafeſt whereby to remedy ſuch evils as the Church of God may ſuſtain, where the preſent liberty of Law is turned to great abuſe, ſome light we may receive from abroad, not unprofitable for direction of God's own ſacred Houſe and Family. The Romans being a People full of generoſity, and by nature courteous, did no way more ſhew their gentle diſpoſition, than by eaſie condeſcending to ſet their Bond-men at liberty. Which benefit in the happier and better times of the Common-wealth, was beſtowed for the moſt part as an ordinary reward of Vertue, ſome few now and then alſo purchaſing freedom with that which their juſt labours could gain, and their honeſt frugality ſave. But as the Empire daily grew up, ſo the manners and conditions of men decayed, Wealth was honoured, and Vertue not cared for, neither did any thing ſeem opprobrious out of which there might ariſe commodity and profit, ſo that it could be no marvel in a State thus far degenerated, if when the more ingenious ſort were become baſe, the baſer laying aſide all ſhame and face of honeſty, did, ſome by Robberies, Burglaries, and proſtitution of their Bodies, gather wherewith to redeem liberty; others obtain the ſame at the hands of their Lords, by ſerving them as vile Inſtruments in thoſe attempts, which had been worthy to be revenged with ten thouſand deaths. A learned, judicious, and polite Hiſtorian, having mentioned ſo foul diſorders, giveth his judgment and cenſure of them in this ſort: *Such eye-ſores in the Common-wealth have occaſioned many vertuous mindes to condemn altogether the cuſtom of granting liberty to any Bond-ſlave, for as much as it ſeemed a thing abſurd, that a People which commands all the World ſhould conſiſt of ſo vile Reffuſe. But neither is this the onely cuſtom wherein the profitable inventions of former are depraved by later Ages; and for my ſelf I am not of their opinion that wiſh the abrogation of ſo groſly uſed Cuſtoms, which abrogation might peradventure be cauſe of greater inconveniencies enſuing: but as much as may be I would rather adviſe that redreſs were ſought, through the careful providence of Chief Rulers and Over-ſeers of the Common-wealth, by whom a yearly ſurvey being made of all that are manumiſſed, they which ſeem worthy might be taken and divided into Tribes with other Citizens, the reſt diſperſed into Colonies abroad, or otherwiſe diſpoſed of, that the Common-wealth might ſuſtain neither harm nor diſgrace by them.* The ways to meet with diſorders growing by abuſe of Laws, are not ſo intricate and ſecret, eſpecially in our caſe, that men ſhould need either much advertiſement or long time for the ſearch thereof. And if counſel to that purpoſe may ſeem needful, this Church (God be thanked) is not deſtitute of men endued with ripe judgment, whenſoever any ſuch thing ſhall be thought neceſſary. For which end, at this preſent, to propoſe any ſpecial inventions of my own, might argue in a man of my Place and Calling more preſumption perhaps than wit. I will therefore leave it intire unto graver conſideration, ending now with requeſt onely and moſt earneſt ſute; firſt, that they which give Ordination, would, as they tender the very honour of Jeſus Chriſt,

Dionyſ. Halicar. Rom. antiq. l. 4.

Chriſt, the ſafety of men, and the endleſs good of their own Souls, take heed, leſt unneceſſarily, and through their default the Church be found worſe, or leſs furniſhed than it might be: Secondly, that they which by right of Patronage have power to preſent unto Spiritual Livings, and may in that reſpect much damnifie the Church of God, would, for the eaſe of their own account in that dreadful day, ſomewhat conſider what it is to betray for gain the Souls which Chriſt hath redeemed with blood, what to violate the ſacred Bond of Fidelity and Solemn promiſe, given at the firſt to God and his Church by them, from whoſe original intereſt together with the ſelf-ſame Title of Right, the ſame Obligation of Duty likewiſe is deſcended: Thirdly, that they unto whom the granting of Diſpenſations is committed, or which otherwiſe have any ſtroke in the diſpoſition of ſuch Preferments as appertain unto Learned men, would bethink themſelves what it is to reſpect any thing either above or beſides Merit, conſidering how hardly the World taketh it, when to men of commendable note and quality there is ſo little reſpect had, or ſo great unto them whoſe deſerts are very mean, that nothing doth ſeem more ſtrange than the one ſort, becauſe they are not accounted of, and the other becauſe they are; it being every man's hope and expectation in the Church of God, eſpecially that the onely purchace of greater rewards ſhould be alwayes greater deſerts, and that nothing ſhould ever be able to plant a Thorn where a Vine ought to grow: Fourthly, that honourable Perſonages, and they, who by vertue of any principal Office in the Common-wealth are inabled to qualifie a certain number, and make them capable of favours or Faculties above others, ſuffer not their names to be abuſed, contrary to the true intent and meaning of wholſom Laws, by men in whom there is nothing notable beſides Covetouſneſs and Ambition: Fifthly, that the graver and wiſer ſort in both Univerſities, or whoſoever they be, with whoſe approbation the marks and recognizances of all Learning are beſtowed, would think the Apoſtle's caution againſt unadviſed Ordinations not impertinent or unneceſſary to be born in minde, even when they grant thoſe degrees of Schools, which degrees are not *gratiæ gratis datæ*, kindneſſes beſtowed by way of humanity, but they are *gratiæ gratum facientes*, favours which always imply a teſtimony given to the Church and Common-wealth, concerning mens ſufficiency for manners and knowledge; a teſtimony, upon the credit whereof ſundry Statutes of the Realm are built; a teſtimony ſo far available, that nothing is more reſpected for the warrant of divers mens abilitie to ſerve in the affairs of the Realm; a teſtimony wherein if they violate that Religion wherewith it ought to be always given, and thereby do induce into errour ſuch as deem it a thing uncivil to call the credit thereof in queſtion, let them look that God ſhall return back upon their heads, and cauſe them in the ſtate of their own Corporations to feel either one way or other the puniſhment of thoſe harms, which the Church through their negligence doth ſuſtain in that behalf: Finally, and to conclude, that they who enjoy the benefit of any ſpecial Indulgence or Favour which the Laws permit, would as well remember what in duty towards the Church, and in conſcience towards God they ought to do, as what they may do by uſing of their own advantage whatſoever they ſee tolerated; no man being ignorant that the cauſe why abſence in ſome caſes hath been yielded unto, and in equity thought ſufferable, is the hope of greater fruit through induſtry elſewhere; the reaſon likewiſe wherefore pluralities are allowed unto men of note, a very ſoveraign and ſpecial care, that as Fathers in the antient World did declare the preheminence of priority in birth, by doubling the worldly portions of their firſt-born; ſo the Church by a courſe not unlike in aſſigning mens rewards, might teſtifie an eſtimation had proportionably of their Vertues, according to the antient Rule Apoſtolick, *They which excel in labour, ought to excel in honour*; and therefore unleſs they anſwer faithfully the expectation of the Church herein, unleſs ſincerely they bend their wits day and night, both to ſow becauſe they reap, and to ſow ſo much more abundantly as they reap more abundantly than other men, whereunto by their very acceptance of ſuch benignities they formally binde themſelves; let them be well aſſured that the honey which they eat with fraud ſhall turn in the end into true gall, for as much as Laws are the ſacred Image of his wiſedom who moſt ſeverely puniſheth thoſe colourable and ſubtile crimes that ſeldome are taken within the walk of human Juſtice: I therefore conclude,

For the main Hypotheſis or foundation of theſe concluſions, let that before ſet down in the 9. be read together with this laſt the 81. Paragraph.

clude, that the grounds and maxims of Common right whereupon Ordinations of Miniſters unable to Preach, tolerations of abſence from their Cures, and the multiplications of their Spiritual Livings are diſproved, do but indefinitely enforce them unlawful, not unlawful univerſally and without exception; that the Laws which indefinitely are againſt all theſe things, and the Priviledges which make for them in certain caſes are not the one repugnant to the other, that the Laws of God and Nature are violated through the effects of abuſed Priviledges; that neither our Ordinations of men unable to make Sermons, nor our diſpenſations for the reſt, can be juſtly proved fruſtrate by vertue of any ſuch ſurmiſed oppoſition between the ſpecial Laws of this Church which have permitted, and thoſe general which are alledged to diſprove the ſame; that when Priviledges by abuſe are grown incommodious, there muſt be redreſs; that for remedy of ſuch evils, there is no neceſſity the Church ſhould abrogate either in whole or in part the ſpecialties before mentioned; and that the moſt to be deſired were a voluntary reformation thereof on all hands which may give paſſage unto any abuſe.

THE

OF THE

LAWS

OF

Eccleſiaſtical Polity.

Book VI.

Containing their Fifth Aſſertion, That our Laws are Corrupt and Repugnant to the Laws of God, in matter belonging to the Power of Eccleſiaſtical Jurisdiction, in that we have not throughout all Churches certain Lay-Elders eſtabliſhed for the Exerciſe of that Power.

THE ſame Men which in heat of Contention, do hardly either ſpeak or give ear to reaſon, being after ſharp and bitter conflicts, retired to a calm remembrance of all their former proceedings; the cauſes that brought them into quarrel, the courſe which their ſtriving affections have followed, and the iſſue whereunto they are come, may peradventure as troubled waters, in ſmall time of their own accord, by certain eaſie degrees ſettle themſelves again; and ſo recover that clearneſs of well adviſed judgment, whereby they ſhall ſtand at the length indifferent, both to yeild and admit any reaſonable ſatisfaction, where before they could not endure with patience to be gain-ſaid. Neither will I deſpair of the like ſucceſs in theſe unpleaſant Controverſies touching Eccleſiaſtical Polity; the time of ſilence, which both parts have willingly taken to breathe, ſeeming now as it were a pledge of all Mens quiet Contentment, to hear with more indifferency, the weightieſt and laſt remains of that Cauſe, Jurisdiction, Dignity, Dominion Eccleſiaſtical. For, let any Man imagin, thar the bare and naked diffe-

The queſtion between us, whether all Congregations, or Pariſhes ought to have Lay-Elders inveſted with power of Juriſdiction in ſpiritual cauſes.

Lib. 6. Lib. 7. Lib. 8.

rence of a few Ceremonies, could either have kindled so much fire, or have caused it to flame so long; but that the parties which herein laboured mightily for change and (as they say) for Reformation, had somewhat more then this mark whereat to aim.

Having therefore drawn out a compleat Form, as they suppose, of publick service to be done to God, and set down their Plot for the Office of the Ministry in that behalf; they very well knew, how little their labours so far forth bestowed, would avail them in the end, without a claim of Jurisdiction to uphold the Fabrick which they had erected; and this neither, likely to be obtained, but by the strong hand of the people, nor the people unlikely to favour it; the more, if overture were made of their own Interest, right, and title thereunto. Whereupon there are many which have conjectured this to be the cause, why in all the projects of their Discipline, (it being manifest that their drift is, to wrest the Key of Spiritual Authority out of the hands of former Governours, and equally to possess therewith the Pastors of all several Congregations) the people first for surer accomplishment, and then for better defence thereof, are pretended necessary Actors in those things, whereunto their ability for the most part is as slender, as their title and challenge unjust.

Notwithstanding (whether they saw it necessary for them to perswade the people, without whose help they could do nothing, or else (which I rather think) the affection which they bear towards this new Form of Government, made them to imagin it Gods own Ordinance,) Their Doctrine is, that, by the Law of God, there must be for ever in all Congregations certain Lay-Elders, Ministers of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, in as much as our Lord and Saviour by Testament (for so they presume) hath left all Ministers or Pastors in the Church Executors equally to the whole power of Spiritual Jurisdiction, and with them hath joyned the people as Colleagues. By maintenance of which Assertion, there is unto that part apparently gained a twofold advantage, both because the people in this respect are much more easily drawn to favour it, as a matter of their own interest; and for that, if they chance to be crossed by such as oppose against them, the colour of Divine Authority, assumed for the Grace and Countenance of that Power in the vulgar sort, furnisheth their Leaders with great abundance of matter behoveful for their encouragement, to proceed alwaies with hope of fortunate success in the end, considering their cause to be as *David's* was, a just defence of power given them from above, and consequently their Adversaries quarrel the same with *Saul's*, by whom the Ordinance of God was withstood.

Now, on the contrary side, if this their surmise prove false; if such, as in Justification whereof no evidence sufficient, either hath been or can be alledged (as I hope it shall clearly appear after due examination and trial) let them then consider whether those words of *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, against *Moses*, and against *Aaron*, *It is too much that ye take upon you, seeing all the Congregation is holy*, be not the very true Abstract and abridgment of all their published Admonitions, Demonstrations, Supplications, and Treatises whatsoever, whereby they have laboured to void the rooms of their Spiritual Superiours before Authorized, and to advance the new fancied Scepter of Lay Presbyterial Power.

Numb. 16.

The Nature of Spiritual Jurisdiction.

BUt before there can be any setled Determination, whether Truth do rest on their part, or on ours, touching Lay-Elders; we are to prepare the way thereunto, by explication of some things requisite and very needful to be considered; as first, how besides that Spiritual Power, which is of Order, and was instituted for performance of those duties, whereof there hath been Speech already had, there is in the Church no less necessary, a second kind, which we call the Power of Jurisdiction. When the Apostle doth speak of ruling the Church of

of God, and of receiving accusations, his words have evident reference to the Power of Jurisdiction. Our Saviours words to the Power of Order, when he giveth his Disciples charge, saying, *Preach, Baptize : Do this in Remembrance of me.* Τιμᾷ μὲν τὸν Θεὸν ὡς ἄιτιον τῶν ὅλων, καὶ κύριον. Ἐπίσκοπον δὲ ὡς ἀρχιερέα Θεοῦ εἰκόνα φορεῦντα κατὰ μὲν τὸ ἄρχειν Θεοῦ, κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἱερατεύειν Χριστοῦ. *Epist. ad Smyrn.* A Bishop saith, (*Ignatius*) doth bear the Image of God and of Christ; of God in ruling, of Christ in administring holy things: By this therefore we see a manifest difference acknowledged between the Power of Ecclesiastical Order, and the power of Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical.

Acts 20. 21. 1 Tim. 5. 19. Marc. 6. 15. Mat. 28. 19. 1 Cor. 11. 24.

The Spiritual Power of the Church, being such as neither can be challenged by right of Nature, nor could by humane Authority be instituted, because the forces and effects thereof are Supernatural and Divine; we are to make no doubt or question, but that from him which is the Head, it hath descended unto us that are the Body now invested therewith. He gave it for the benefit and good of Souls, as a mean to keep them in the path which leadeth unto endless felicity, a bridle to hold them within their due and convenient bounds, and, if they do go astray, a forcible help to reclaim them: Now although there be no kind of Spiritual Power, for which our Lord Jesus Christ did not give both commission to exercise, and direction how to use the same, although his Laws in that behalf recorded by the holy Evangelists be the only ground and foundation, whereupon the practice of the Church must sustain it self: yet, as all multitudes once grown to the form of Societies are even thereby naturally warranted, to enforce upon their own subjects particularly those things, which publick wisdom shall judge expedient for the common good: so it were absurd to imagine the Church it self, the most glorious amongst them, abridged of this liberty, or to think that no Law, Constitution or Canon, can be further made, either for Limitation or Amplification, in the practice of our Saviours Ordinances whatsoever occasion be offered through variety of times, and things, during the state of this inconstant world, which bringeth forth daily such new evills, as must of necessity by new remedies be redrest, did both of old enforce our venerable Predecessor, and will alwaies constrain others, sometime to make, sometime to abrogate, sometime to augment, and again to abridge sometime; in sum, often to vary alter and change Customs, incident unto the manner of exercising that Power which doth it self continue alwaies one and the same: I therefore conclude, that Spiritual Authority is a Power which Christ hath given to be used over them which are subject unto it for the eternal good of their Souls according to his own most Sacred Laws, and the wholsome positive Constitutions of his Church.

In Doctrine referred unto Action and Practice, as this is which concerns Spiritual Jurisdiction, the first sound and perfect understanding is the knowledge of the End, because thereby both Use doth frame, and Contemplation judge all things.

Of Penitency, the chiefest End propounded by Spiritual Jurisdiction. Two kinds of Penitency, the one a Private Duty toward God, the other a Duty of external Discipline. Of the vertue of Repentance from which the former Duty proceedeth: and of Contrition the first part of that Duty.

SEeing that the chiefest cause of Spiritual Jurisdiction is to provide for the health and safety of Mens Souls, by bringing them to see and Repent their grievous offences committed against God, as also to reform all injuries offered with the breach of Christian Love and Charity toward their brethren, in matters of Ecclesiastical Cognizance; the use of this Power, shall by so much the plainlier appear, if first the nature of Repentance it self be known.

We are by Repentance to appeaſe whom we offend by Sin. For which cauſe, whereas all Sin deprives us of the favour of Almighty God, our way of Reconciliation with him, is the inward ſecret Repentance of the heart; which inward Repentance alone ſufficeth, unleſs ſome ſpecial thing, in the quality of Sin committed, or in the Party that hath done amiſs, require more. For beſides our ſubmiſſion in Gods ſight, Repentance muſt not only proceed to the private contentation of Men, if the Sin be a crime injurious; but alſo farther, where the wholſome Diſcipline of Gods Church exacteth a móre exemplary and open ſatisfaction. Now the Church being ſatisfied with outward Repentance, as God is with inward, it ſhall not be amiſs, for more perſpicuity to term this latter alwayes the Vertue, that former the Diſcipline of Repentance; which Diſcipline hath two ſorts of Penitents to work upon, in as much as it hath been accuſtomed to lay the Offices of Repentance on ſome ſeeking, others ſhunning them, on ſome at their own voluntary requeſt, on others altogether againſt their Wills, as ſhall hereafter appear by ſtore of ancient examples. Repentance being therefore either in the ſight of God alone, or elſe with the notice alſo of Men: Without the one, ſometime throughly performed, but alwayes practiſed more or leſs; in our daily devotions and Prayers, we have no remedy for any fault. Whereas the other is only required in Sins of a certain degree and quality; the one neceſſary for ever, the other ſo far forth as the Laws and Orders of Gods Church ſhall make it requiſite. The nature parts, and effects of the one alwaies the ſame; The other limitted, extended, and varied by infinite occaſions.

Pœnitentiæ ſecundæ, & unius, quantò in actu negotium eſt, tantò potior probatio eſt; ut non ſolâ conſcientiâ proferatur, ſed aliquo etiam actu adminiſtretur.

Second Penitency, following that before Baptiſm, and being not more then once admitted in one man, requireth by ſo much the greater labour to make it manifeſt, for that it is not a work which can come again in tryal, but muſt be therefore with ſome open ſolemnity executed, and not left to be diſcharged with the privity of Conſcience alone. *Tertul. de pœ.*

The vertue of Repentance in the heart of Man is Gods handy-work, a fruit or effect of Divine Grace, which Grace continually offereth it ſelf, even unto them that have forſaken it, as may appear by the words of Chriſt in St *Johns* Revelation, *I ſtand at the door and knock:* Nor doth he only knock without, but alſo within aſſiſt to open, whereby acceſs and entrance is given to the heavenly preſence, of that ſaving power, which maketh man a repaired Temple for Gods good Spirit again to inhabit. And albeit the whole train of vertues which are implied in the name of Grace, be infuſed at one inſtant; yet becauſe when they meet and concurr unto any effect in man, they have their diſtinct operations riſing orderly one from another; It is no unneceſſary thing that we note the way or method of the Holy Ghoſt, in framing mans ſinful heart to Repentance: A work, the firſt foundation whereof is laid by opening and illuminating the eye of Faith, becauſe by Faith are diſcovered the Principles of this action, whereunto unleſs the underſtanding do firſt aſſent, there can follow in the Will towards Penitency no inclination at all: Contrariwiſe, the Reſurrection of the dead, the Judgement of the World to come, and the endleſs miſery of ſinners being apprehended, this worketh fear: ſuch as theirs was, who feeling their own diſtreſs and perplexity in that paſſion, beſought our Lords Apoſtles earneſtly to give them counſel what they ſhould do. For, fear is impotent and unable to adviſe it ſelf; yet this good it hath, that men are thereby made deſirous to prevent, if poſſibly they may, whatſoever evil they dread; The firſt thing that wrought the *Ninivites*, Repentance, was fear of deſtruction within fourty daies; ſignes and miraculous works of God, being extraordinary repreſentations of Divine Power, are commonly wont to ſtir any the moſt wicked with terrour, leſt the ſame Power ſhould bend it ſelf againſt them: And becauſe tractable minds, though guilty of much Sin, are hereby moved to forſake thoſe evil waies which make his power in ſuch ſort their aſtoniſhment and fear; therefore our Saviour denounced his curſe againſt *Corazin* and *Bethſaida*, ſaying, that if *Tyre* and *Sidon* had ſeen that which they did, thoſe ſignes which prevailed little with the one, would have brought the others to

Repen-

Repentance. As the like thereunto did in the men given to curious Arts, of whom the Apoſtolick Hiſtory ſaith, that *Fear came upon them, and many which had followed vain ſciences, burnt openly the very books out of which they had learned the ſame*; As fear of contumely and diſgrace amongſt men, together with other civil puniſhments, are a bridle to reſtrain from any hainous Acts, whereinto mens outrage would otherwiſe break; So the fear of Divine Revenge and puniſhment where it takes place, doth make men deſirous to be rid likewiſe from that inward guiltineſs of Sin, wherein they would elſe ſecurely continue. Howbeit, when Faith hath wrought a fear of the event of Sin, yet Repentance hereupon enſueth not, unleſs our belief conceive both the poſſibility and means to avert evil: The poſſibility, in as much as God is merciful, and moſt willing to have Sin cured: The means, becauſe he hath plainly taught what is requiſite, and ſhall ſuffice unto that purpoſe. The nature of all wicked men, is, for fear of revenge to hate whom they moſt wrong? The nature of hatred, to wiſh that deſtroyed which it cannot brook; And from hence ariſeth the furious endeavours of godleſs and obdurate ſinners, to extinguiſh in themſelves the opinion of God, becauſe they would not have him to Be, whom execution of endleſs wo doth not ſuffer them to Love.

Every Sin againſt God abateth, and continuance in Sin extinguiſheth, our love towards him: It was therefore ſaid to the Angel of *Epheſus* having ſinned, *Thou art fallen away from thy firſt love*; ſo that, as we never decay in love till we Sin, in like ſort neither can we poſſibly forſake Sin, unleſs we firſt begin again to love. What is love towards God, but a deſire of union with God? And ſhall we imagine a Sinner converting himſelf to God, in whom there is no deſire of union with God preſuppoſed? I therefore conclude, that fear worketh no mans inclination to Repentance, till ſomewhat elſe have wrought in us love alſo; Our love and deſire of union with God ariſeth from the ſtrong conceipt which we have of his admirable goodneſs: The goodneſs of God, which particularly moveth unto Repentance, is his mercy towards mankind, notwithſtanding Sin: For, let it once ſink deeply into the mind of man, that howſoever we have injuried God, his very nature is averſe from revenge, except unto Sin we add obſtinacy otherwiſe alwaies ready to accept our ſubmiſſion, as a full diſcharge or recompence for all wrongs; and Can we chuſe but begin to Love him whom we have offended, or can we but begin to grieve that we have offended him whom we love? Repentance conſidereth Sin as a breach of the Law of God, an act obnoxious to that revenge, which notwithſtanding may be prevented, if we pacifie God in time.

The root and beginning of Penitency therefore, is the conſideration of our own Sin, as a cauſe which hath procured the wrath, and a ſubject which doth need the mercy of God: For unto mans underſtanding, there being preſented, on the one ſide, tribulation and anguiſh upon every ſoul that doth evil: On the other, eternal life unto them which by continuance in well doing, ſeek Glory, and Honour, and Immortality; On the one hand a curſe to the Children of diſobedience; On the other, to lovers of righteouſneſs; all grace and benediction: Yet between theſe extreams, that eternal God from whoſe unſpotted juſtice and undeſerved mercy, the lot of each inheritance proceedeth, is ſo inclinable, rather to ſhew compaſſion then to take revenge, that all his ſpeeches in holy Scripture are almoſt nothing elſe but entreaties of men to prevent deſtruction by amendment of their wicked lives; All the works of his providence little other then meer allurements of the juſt to continue ſtedfaſt, and of the unrighteous to change their courſe; All his dealings and proceedings towards true Converts, as have even filled the grave writings of holy men, with theſe and the like moſt ſweet ſentences: Repentance (if I may ſo ſpeak) ſtoppeth God in his way, when being provoked by crimes paſt, he cometh to revenge them with moſt juſt puniſhments; Yea, it tyeth, as it were, the hands of the Avenger, and doth not ſuffer him to have his will. Again,

b *Basil.* Epist. *Seleuc.* p. 106. Φιλάνθρωπον βλέμμα προσίεσαν ἀιδεῖται μετάνοιαν. *Marc. Erem.*

The merciful eye of God towards Men, hath no power to withstand Penitency, at what time soever it comes in presence. And again,

Chrys. in 1 Cor. Hom. 8. Ὀυ τὸ τρωθῆναι οὕτω δεινὸν, ὡς τὸ τρωθέντα μὴ βούλεσθαι θεραπεύεσθαι. Ὀυδεὶς κατεκρίθη εἰμὴ μετανοίας κατεφρόνησε, καὶ οὐδεὶς ἐδικαιώθη εἰμὴ ταυτῆς ἐπιμελῆ.

God doth not take it so in evil part, though we wound that which he hath required us to keep whole; as that, after we have taken hurt, there should be in us no desire to receive his help. Finally, lest I be carried too far in so large a Sea, There was never any Man condemned of God, but for neglect; nor justified, except he had care of Repentance.

From these considerations, setting before our eyes our inexcusable, both unthankfulness in disobeying so merciful, foolishness in provoking so powerful a God; there ariseth necessarily a pensive and corrosive desire that we had done otherwise; a desire which suffereth us to foreslow no time, to feel no quietness within our selves, to take neither sleep nor food with contentment, never to give over Supplications Confessions, and other penitent Duties, till the light of Gods reconciled favour shine in our darkned soul.

Ful. de remi. peccat. lib. 2. cap. 15.

Fulgentius asking the question, Why *Davids* confession should be held for effectual Penitence, and not *Saul's*; answereth, that the one hated Sin, the other feared only punishment in this world: *Sauls* acknowledgement of Sin, was Fear; *David's*, both fear and also love.

This was the Fountain of *Peters* Tears, this the Life and Spirit of *Davids* eloquence, in those most admirable Hymns intituled *Penitential*, where the words of sorrow for Sin, do melt the very Bowels of God remitting it; and the Comforts of Grace in remitting Sin, carry him which sorrowed, rapt as it were into Heaven, with extasies of joy and gladness. The first motive of the *Ninevites* unto Repentance; was their belief in a Sermon of Fear, but the next and most immediate, an Axiom of Love; *Who can tell whether God will turn away his fierce wrath, that we perish not?* No conclusion such as theirs, Let every man turn from his evil way, but out of premisses such as theirs were, Fear and Love: Wherefore the Well-spring of Repentance is Faith; first breeding Fear, and then Love, which Love causes hope, hope resolution of Attempt: *I will go to my Father, and say, I have sinned against Heaven and against thee*; that is to say, I will do what the Duty of a Convert requireth.

Jon. c. 3. 9.

Now in a Penitent's or Convert's duty, there are included; first, the aversion of the will from Sin; secondly, the submission of our selves to God, by supplication and Prayer; thirdly, the purpose of a new life, testified with present works of amendment: Which three things do very well seem to be comprised in one definition, by them which handle Repentance, as a vertue that hateth, bewaileth, and sheweth a purpose to amend Sin: We offend God in thought, word, and deed. To the first of which three, they make Contrition; to the second, Confession; and to the last, our works of Satisfaction, answerable.

Contrition doth not here import those sudden Pangs and Convulsions of the mind, which cause sometimes the most forsaken of God, to retract their own doings; it is no Natural passion, or anguish, which riseth in us against our wills; but a deliberate aversion of the Will of Man from Sin, which being alwaies accompanied with grief; and grief oftentimes partly with tears, partly with other external signs; it hath been thought, that in these things, Contrition doth chiefly consist: whereas the chiefest thing in Contrition, is, that alteration whereby the Will which was before delighted with Sin, doth now abhorr and shun nothing more. But forasmuch as we cannot hate Sin in our selves without heaviness and grief, that there should be in us a thing of such hatefull quality, the Will averted from Sin, must needs make the affection suitable; yea, great reason why it should so do: For since the Will by conceiving Sin hath deprived the Soul of Life; and of life there is not recovery without Repentance the death of Sin;

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Repentance not able to kill Sin, but by withdrawing the Will from it, the Will unpossible to be withdrawn, unless it concur with a contrary affection to that which accompanied it before in evill: Is it not clear, that as an inordinate delight did first begin sin, so Repentance must begin with a just sorrow, a sorrow of heart, and such a sorrow as renteth the heart; neither a feigned nor sleight sorrow; not feigned, lest it increase Sin; nor sleight, lest the pleasures of Sin overmatch it. ef

Wherefore of Grace, the highest cause from which Mans Penitency doth proceed; of Faith, Fear, Love, Hope, what force and efficiency they have in Repentance; of Parts and Duties thereunto belonging, comprehended in the Schoolmens definitions; finally, of the first among those Duties, Contrition, which disliketh and bewaileth iniquity, let this suffice.

And because God will have Offences by Repentance, not only abhorred within our selves, but also with humble Supplication displayed before Him; and a testimony of amendment to be given, even by present works, worthy Repentance, in that they are contrary to those we renounce and disclaim: Although the vertue of Repentance do require, that her other two parts, Confession and Satisfaction should here follow; yet seeing they belong as well to the Discipline as to the vertue of Repentance, and only differ for that in the one they are performed to Man, in the other to God alone; I had rather distinguish them in joynt-handling, then handle them apart, because in quality and manner of practise, they are distinct.

Of the Discipline of Repentance instituted by Christ, practised by the Fathers, converted by the School-men into a Sacrament; and of Confession, that which belongeth to the vertue of Repentance, that which was used among the Jews, that which the Papacy imagineth a Sacrament, and that which Antient Discipline practised.

1. OUr Lord and Saviour in the sixteenth of St. *Matthews* Gospel, giveth his Apostles, Regiment in General over Gods Church. For they that have the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, are thereby signified to be Stewards of the House of God, under whom they Guide, Command, Judge, and Correct his Family. The Souls of Men are Gods Treasure, committed to the Trust and Fidelity of such, as must render a strict account for the very least which is under their Custody. God hath not invested them with Power to make a Revenue thereof; but to use it for the good of them whom Jesus Christ hath most dearly bought. Mat. 16. 19.

And because their Office therein consisteth of sundry functions, some belonging to Doctrine, some to Discipline, all contained in the Name of the Keys, they have for matters of Discipline, as well Litigious as Criminal, their Courts and Consistories erected by the heavenly Authority of his most Sacred Voice, who hath said, *Dic Ecclesiæ*, Tell the Church; against rebellious and contumacious Persons, which refuse to obey their Sentence, armed they are with Power to eject such out of the Church, to deprive them of the Honours, Rights, and Priviledges of Christian Men, to make them as Heathens and Publicans, with whom society was hateful. Mat. 18. 17.

Furthermore, lest their Acts should be slenderly accounted of, or had in contempt; whether they admit to the Fellowship of Saints, or seclude from it, whether they bind Offenders, or set them again at liberty, whether they remit, or retain Sins, whatsoever is done by way of orderly and lawfull proceeding, the Lord himself hath promised to ratifie. This is that grand Original Warrant, by force whereof the Guides and Prelates in Gods Church, first his Apostles, and afterwards others following them successively, Mat. 18. 18. Joh. 20. 23. 1 Cor 5. 3. 2 Cor. 2. 6. 1 Tim. 1. 20.

ſucceſſively, did both uſe and uphold that Diſcipline, the end whereof is to heal Mens Conſciences, to cure their Sins, to reclaim Offenders from iniquity, and to make them by Repentance juſt.

Neither hath it of Ancient time, for any other reſpect, been accuſtomed to bind by Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, to retain ſo bound till tokens of manifeſt Repentance appeared, and upon apparent Repentance to Releaſe, ſaving only becauſe this was received as a moſt expedient method for the cure of ſin.

The courſe of Diſcipline in former Ages reformed open Tranſgreſſors, by putting them into Offices of open Penitence, eſpecially Confeſſion, whereby they declared their own crimes in the hearing of the whole Church, and were not from the time of their firſt Convention capable of the holy Myſteries of Chriſt, till they had ſolemnly diſcharged this duty.

Offenders in ſecret knowing themſelves altogether as unworthy to be admitted to the Lords Table, as the other which were with-held; being alſo perſwaded, that if the Church did direct them in the Offices of their Penitency, and aſſiſt them with publique Prayer; they ſhould more eaſily obtain that they ſought, than by truſting wholly to their own endeavours; finally, having no impediment to ſtay them from it but baſhfulneſs, which countervailed not the former inducements; and beſides, was greatly eaſed by the good conſtruction, which the charity of thoſe times gave to ſuch actions, wherein Mens piety and voluntary care to be reconciled to God, did purchaſe them much more love than their faults (the teſtimonies of common frailty) were able to procure diſgrace, they made it not nice to uſe ſome one of the Miniſters of God, by whom the reſt might take notice of their faults, preſcribe them convenient remedies, and in the end after publick Confeſſion, all joyn in Prayer unto God for them.

The firſt beginner of this Cuſtom, had the more followers by means of that ſpecial favour which alwaies was with good conſideration ſhewed towards voluntary Penitents above the reſt.

But as Profeſſors of Chriſtian belief, grew more in number, ſo they waxed worſe; when Kings and Princes had ſubmitted their Dominions unto the Scepter of Jeſus Chriſt, by means whereof Perſecution ceaſing, the Church immediately became ſubject to thoſe evills which peace and ſecurity bringeth forth; there was not now that love which before kept all things in tune, but every where Schiſms, Diſcords, Diſſentions amongſt Men, Conventicles of Hereticks, bent more vehemently againſt the ſounder and better ſort than very Infidels and Heathens themſelves; faults not corrected in Charity, but noted with delight, and kept for malice to uſe when the deadlieſt opportunities ſhould be offered.

Whereupon, foraſmuch as publick Confeſſions became dangerous and prejudicial to the ſafety of well-minded Men, and in divers reſpects advantagions to the Enemies of Gods Church; it ſeemed firſt unto ſome, and afterwards generally requiſite, that voluntary Penitents ſhould ſurceaſe from open Confeſſion.

Inſtead whereof, when once private and ſecret Confeſſion had taken place with the *Latins*; It continued as a profitable Ordinance, till the *Lateran* Council had Decreed, that all Men once in a year at the leaſt, ſhould confeſs themſelves to the Prieſt.

So that being a thing thus made both general and alſo neceſſary, the next degree of eſtimation whereunto it grew, was to be honoured and and lifted up to the Nature of a Sacrament; that as Chriſt did inſtitute Baptiſm to give life, and the Euchariſt to nouriſh life, ſo Penitence might be thought a Sacrament, ordained to recover life, and Confeſſion a part of the Sacrament.

Scoto in 4. ſent d. 14. q. 1. art. 1. In. ead. diſt. q. 2. art. 1.

They define therefore their private Penetency to be a Sacrament of remitting ſins after Baptiſm: The vertue of Repentance, a deteſtation of wickedneſs, with ful purpoſe to amend the ſame, and with hope to obtain pardon at Gods hands.

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Whereſoever the Prophets cry *Repent*, and in the Goſpel Saint *Peter* maketh the ſame Exhortation to the Jews, as yet unbaptized, they would have the vertue of Repentance only to be underſtood, The Sacrament, where he adviſeth *Simon Magus* to repent, becauſe the Sin of *Simon Magus* was after Baptiſm.

Now although they have onely external Repentance for a Sacrament, internal for a Vertue; yet make they Sacramental Repentance nevertheleſs to be compoſed of three parts, Contrition, Confeſſion, and Satisfaction; which is abſurd; becauſe Contrition being an inward thing, belongeth to the Vertue, and not to the Sacrament of Repentance, which muſt conſiſt of external parts, if the nature thereof be external. Beſides, which is more abſurd, they leave out Abſolution, whereas ſome of their School Divines, handling Penance in the nature of a Sacrament, and being not able to eſpie the leaſt reſemblance of a Sacrament, ſave only in Abſolution (for a Sacrament by their doctrine muſt both ſignifie and alſo confer, or beſtow ſome ſpecial Divine Grace) reſolved themſelves, that the duties of the Penitent could be but meer preparations to the Sacrament, and that the Sacrament it ſelf was wholly in Abſolution. And albeit *Thomas* with his Followers have thought it ſafer, to maintain as well the ſervices of the Penitent, as the words of the Miniſter, neceſſary unto the eſſence of their Sacrament; the ſervices of the Penitent, as a cauſe material; the words of Abſolution, as a formal; for that by them all things elſe are perfected to the taking away of Sin: which opinion, now reigneth in all their Schools, ſince the time that the Councel of *Trent* gave it ſolemn approbation, ſeeing they all make Abſolution, if not the whole eſſence, yet the very form whereunto they aſcribe chiefly the whole force and operation of their Sacrament; ſurely to admit the matter as a part, and not to admit the form, hath ſmall congruity with reaſon.

Scot. ſent. l. 4. d. 147. 4.

Sect. 14 c. 3. Docet Sancta Synodus Sacramenti pœnitentiæ formam, in qua præcipue ipſius vis ſita eſt, in illis Miniſtri verbis poſitam eſſe, Ego te abſolvo. Sunt autem quaſi materia hujus Sacramenti ipſius pœnitentis actus, nempe Contritio, Confeſſio, & Satisfactio.

Again, for as much as a Sacrament is compleat, having the matter and form which it ought, what ſhould lead them to ſet down any other parts of Sacramental Repentance, then Confeſſion and Abſolution, as *Durandus* hath done?

For touching Satisfaction, the end thereof, as they underſtand it, is a further matter, which reſteth after the Sacrament adminiſtred, and therefore can be no part of the Sacrament.

Will they draw in Contrition with Satisfaction, which are no parts, and exclude Abſolution (a principal part,) yea, the very complement, form and perfection of the reſt as themſelves account it? But for their breach of precepts in art, it skilleth not, if their Doctrine otherwiſe concerning Penitency, and in Penitency touching Confeſſion might be found true.

We ſay, let no man look for pardon, which doth ſmother and conceal Sin, where, in duty, it ſhould be revealed.

The cauſe why God requireth Confeſſion to be made to him, is, that thereby teſtifying a deep hatred of our own iniquity, the only cauſe of his hatred and wrath towards us, we might becauſe we are humble, be ſo much the more capable of that compaſſion and tender mercy, which knoweth not how to condemn ſinners that condemn themſelves.

If it be our Saviours own principle, that the conceipt we have of our debt forgiven, proportioneth our thankfulneſs and love to him, at whoſe hands we receive pardon; doth not God fore-ſee, that they which with ill-adviſed modeſty ſeek to hide their Sin like *Adam*, that they which rake it up under aſhes, and confeſs it not, are very unlikely to requite with offices of love afterwards, the grace which they ſhew themſelves unwilling to prize at the very time when they ſue for it, in as much as their not confeſſing what crimes they have committed, is a plain ſignification how loth they are that the benefit of Gods moſt gracious pardon ſhould ſeem great. Nothing more true, then that of *Tertullian*: *Confeſſion doth as much abate the weight of mens offences, as Concealment doth make them heavier.* For he which confeſſeth, hath a purpoſe to appeaſe God; he, a determination to perſiſt and continue obſtinate, which keeps them ſecret to himſelf St. *Chryſoſtome* almoſt in the ſame words, *Wickedneſs is, by being acknowledged, leſſened, and doth but grow by being hid.* If men having done amiſs, let it ſlip, as

Luk. 7. 47.

Tantum relevat Confeſſio delictorum, quantum diſſimulatio exaggerat. Confeſſio autem ſatisfactionis conſilium eſt, diſſimulatio contumaciæ. Ter. de pœn. Chry. hom. 30. in Epiſt. ad. Heb.

as though they knew no ſuch matter, what is there to ſtay them from falling into one and the ſame evil? To call our ſelves Sinners availeth nothing, except we lay our faults in the ballance, and take the weight of them one by one. Confeſs thy crimes to God, diſcloſe thy tranſgreſſions before thy Judge by way of humble Supplication and ſuit, if not with tongue, at the leaſt with heart, and in this ſort ſeek mercy. A general perſwaſion that thou art a Sinner, will neither ſo humble, nor bridle thy Soul, as if the Catalogue of thy Sins examined ſeverally, be continually kept in mind.

This ſhall make thee lowly in thine own eyes; this ſhall preſerve thy feet from falling, and ſharpen thy deſires towards all good things. The mind, I know, doth hardly admit ſuch unpleaſant remembrances; but we muſt force it, we muſt conſtrain it thereunto.

It is ſafer now to be bitten with the memory; then hereafter with the torment of Sin.

The Jews with whom no Repentance for Sin is available without Confeſſion, either conceived in mind or uttered) which latter kind they call uſually ודרי Confeſſion delivered by word of mouth) had firſt that general Confeſſion which once every year was made, both ſeverally by each of the people for himſelf, upon the day of expiation, and by the Prieſt for them all, On the day of expiation, the high Prieſt maketh three expreſs Confeſſions, acknowledging unto God the manifold tranſgreſſions of the whole Nation, his own perſonal offences likewiſe, together with the Sins, as well of his Family, as of the reſt of his rank and order.

Levit. 16. 21

All *Iſrael* is bound on the day of expiation to repent and confeſs. R. Moſ. in lib. Mitsworth haggadol. par. 2 præ. 16.

They had again their voluntary Confeſſions, at the times and ſeaſons when men, bethinking themſelves of their wicked converſation paſt, were reſolved to change their courſe, the beginning of which alteration was ſtill Confeſſion of Sins.

Thirdly, over and beſides theſe, the Law impoſed upon them alſo that ſpecial Confeſſion, which they in their book call בויהחד ודרי על עוך Confeſſion of that particular fault, for which we namely ſeek pardon at Gods hands.

Num. 5. 6.

The words of the Law concerning Confeſſion in this kind are as followeth: When a Man or Woman ſhall commit any Sin, that Men commit, and tranſgreſs againſt the Lord, their Sin which they have done (that is to ſay the very deed it ſelf in particular) they ſhall acknowledge.

Lev. 5. 5.

In *Leviticus* after certain tranſgreſſions there mentioned, we read the like: When a Man hath ſinned in any one of theſe things, he ſhall then confeſs, how in that thing he hath offended. For ſuch kind of ſpecial Sins, they had alſo ſpecial Sacrifices, wherein the manner was that the Offender ſhould lay his hands on the head of the Sacrifice which he brought, and ſhould there make Confeſſion to God, ſaying, *Now, O Lord, that I have offended, committed Sin, and done wickedly in thy ſight, this or this being my fault; behold, I repent me, and am utterly aſhamed of my doings; my purpoſe is, never to return more to the ſame crime.*

Miſne Tora Tractatu Teſhuba, cap. 1. & R. M in. lib. Miſnoth. par. 2. chap. 6.

None of them, whom either the houſe of judgement had condemned to die, or of them which are to be puniſhed with ſtripes, can be clear by being executed or ſcourged, till they repent and confeſs their faults.

Moſ. in Miſnoth, par. 2. par. 16.

Finally there was no man amongſt them at any time, either condemned to ſuffer death, or corrected, or chaſtized with ſtripes, none ever ſick and near his end, but they called upon him to repent and confeſs his Sins.

To him which is ſick. and draweth towards death, they ſay, Confeſs. *Idem.*

Of Malefactors convict by witneſſes, and thereupon either adjudged to die, or otherwiſe chaſtized, their cuſtom was to exact, as *Joſhua* did of *Achan*, open confeſſion, *My Son, now give Glory to the Lord God of Iſrael, confeſs unto him, and declare unto me what thou haſt committed, conceal it not from me,* Joſ. 7. 19.

Concerning injuries and treſpaſſes which happen between men, they highly commend ſuch as will acknowledge before many.

It is, in him which repenteth, accepted as an high Sacrifice, if he will confeſs before many, make them acquainted with his over-ſights, and reveal the tranſ-

tranſgreſſions which have paſſed between him and any of his brethren; ſaying, I have verily offended this Man, thus and thus I have done unto him, but behold I do now repent and am ſorry. Contariwiſe, whoſoever is proud, and will not be known of his faults, but cloaketh them, is not yet come to perfect Repentance; for ſo it is written, *He that hides his Sins ſhall not proſper*: which words of *Solomon* they do not further extend, then only to Sins committed againſt Men, which are in that reſpect meet before men to be acknowledged particularly. But in Sins between Man and God, there is no neceſſity that Man ſhould himſelf make any ſuch open and particular recital of them; to God they are known, and of us it is required, that we caſt not the memory of them careleſly and looſly behind our backs, but keep in mind as near as we can, both our own debt, and his grace which remitteth the ſame.

Wherefore to let paſs Jewiſh confeſſion, and to come unto them which hold confeſſion in the ear of the Prieſt commanded; yea, commanded in the nature of a Sacrament, and thereby ſo neceſſary, that Sin without it cannot be pardoned; let them find ſuch a Commandment in holy Scripture, and we ask no more.

Johh the *Baptiſt* was an extraordinary perſon, his Birth, his Actions of Life, his Office extraordinary,

It is therefore Recorded for the ſtrangeneſs of the Act, but not ſet down as an everlaſting Law for the World; *That to him Jeruſalem and all Judea made confeſſion of their Sins*: Beſides, at the time of this confeſſion, their pretended Sacrament of Repentance, as they grant, was not yet inſtituted, neither was it Sin after Baptiſm, which Penitents did there confeſs; When that which befel the ſeven ſons of *Sceva*, for uſing the name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt in their conjurations, was notified to Jews and Grecians in *Epheſus*, it brought an univerſal fear upon them, inſomuch that divers of them which had believed before, but not obeyed the Laws of Chriſt, as they ſhould have done, being terrified by this example, came to the Apoſtle, and confeſſed their wicked deeds. Mat. 3. 6. Act. 19. 18.

Which good and vertuous act, no wiſe man, as I ſuppoſe, will diſallow, but commend highly in them, whom Gods good Spirit ſhall move to do the like when need requireth.

Yet neither hath this example the force of any general Commandment, or Law to make it neceſſary for every man, to pour into the ears of the Prieſt whatſoever hath been done amiſs, or elſe to remain everlaſtingly culpable and guilty of Sin; in a word, it proveth Confeſſion practized as a vertuous act, but not commanded as a Sacrament.

Now concerning St. *James* his Exhortation, whether the former branch be conſidered, which ſaith, *Is any ſick among you; let him call for the Ancients of the Church, and let them make their prayers for him*; or the latter, which ſtirreth up all Chriſtian Men unto mutual acknowledment of faults amongſt themſelves; *Lay open your minds, make your confeſſions one to another*; is it not plain, that the one hath relation to that gift of healing, which our Saviour promiſed his Church, ſaying, *They ſhall lay their hands on the ſick, and the ſick ſhall recover health*: relation to that gift of healing, whereby the Apoſtle impoſed his hands on the Father of *Publius*, and made him miraculouſly a ſound man; relation finally to that gift of healing, which ſo long continued in practice after the Apoſtles times, that whereas the *Novatianiſts* denyed the power of the Church of God, in curing Sin after Baptiſm, St. *Ambroſe* asked them again, *Why it might not as well prevail with God for ſpiritual, as for corporal and bodily health yea, wherefore* (ſaith he) *do ye your ſelves lay hands on the diſeaſed and believe it to be a work of benediction or prayer, if haply the ſick perſon be reſtored to his former ſafety*; And of the other member which toucheth mutual confeſſion, do not ſome of themſelves, as namely *Cajetan*, deny, that any other Confeſsion is meant, then only that, *which ſeeketh either aſſociation of Prayers, or reconciliation, or pardon of wrongs*: is it not confeſſed by the greateſt part of their own retinue, Jam. 5. 16. Mar. 6. 18. Act. 18. 8. Amb. de pœn. l. 1. c. 7. Auro. Rhem. in Jac. 5.

nue, that we cannot certainly affirm Sacramental Confeſſion to have been meant or ſpoken of in this place? Howbeit *Bellarmine*, delighted to run a courſe by himſelf where colourable ſhifts of wit will but make the way paſſable, ſtandeth as formally for this place, and not leſs for that in St. *John*, than for this: St. *John* ſaith *If we confeſs our Sins, God is faithful and juſt to forgive our Sins, and to cleanſe us from all unrighteouſneſs*; doth St. *John* ſay, If we confeſs to the Prieſt, God is righteous to forgive; and if not, that our Sins are unpardonable? No, but the titles of God *juſt* and *righteous* do import, that he pardoneth Sin only for his promiſe ſake; *And there is not* (they ſay) *any promiſe of forgiveneſs upon confeſſion made to God without the Prieſt*; Not any promiſe, but with this condition, and yet this condition no where expreſt.

John 1. 19.

Is it not ſtrange that the Scripture ſpeaking ſo much of Repentance, and of the ſeveral duties which appertain thereunto, ſhould ever mean, and no where mention that one condition, without which all the reſt is utterly of none effect; or will they ſay, becauſe our Saviour hath ſaid to his Miniſters, *Whoſe Sins ye retain, &c.* and becauſe they can remit no more, than what the offenders have confeſt, that therefore by vertue of his promiſe, it ſtandeth with the Righteouſneſs of God, to take away no mans Sins, until by auricular confeſſion they be opened unto the Prieſt?

They are men that would ſeem to honour Antiquity, and none more to depend upon the reverend judgement thereof. I dare boldly affirm, that for many hundred years after Chriſt, the Fathers held no ſuch opinion; they did not gather by our Saviours words, any ſuch neceſſity of ſeeking the Prieſts Abſolution from Sin, by ſecret and (as they now term it) ſacramental confeſſion: Publick confeſſion they thought neceſſary by way of Diſcipline not private confeſſion, as in the nature of a Sacrament, neceſſary.

For to begin with the pureſt times it is unto them which read and judge without partiality a thing moſt clear, that the ancient ἐξομολόγησις or Confeſſion, defined by *Tertullian* to be a Diſcipline of humiliation, and ſubmiſſion, framing mens behaviour in ſuch ſort as may be fitteſt to move pity; the confeſſion which they uſe to ſpeak of in the exerciſe of Repentance, was made openly in the hearing of the whole both Eccleſiaſtical Conſiſtory and Aſſembly.

This is the reaſon wherefore he perceiving, that divers were better content their ſores ſhould ſecretly feſter, and eat inward, then be laid ſo open to the eyes of many, blameth greatly their unwiſe baſhfulneſs, and to reform the ſame, perſwadeth with them ſaying, *Amongſt thy brethren and fellow ſervants, which are partakers with thee of one and the ſame nature, fear, joy, grief, ſufferings, (for of one common Lord and Father, we have all received one ſpirit) why ſhouldeſt thou not think with thy ſelf, that they are but thine own ſelf? wherefore doſt thou avoid them, as likely to inſult over thee, whom thou knoweſt ſubject to the ſame haps? At that which grieveth any one part, the whole body cannot rejoyce, it muſt needs be that the whole will labour and ſtrive to help that wherewith a part of it ſelf is moleſted.*

Plerosq; hoc opus ut publicationem ſui aut ſuffugere, aut de die in diem differre, præſumo pudoris magis memores quam ſalutis, velut illi qui in partibus verecundioribus corporis Pœn.

contracta vexatione conſcientia medentium vitant, & ita cum erubeſcentia ſua pereunt. Tert. de

St. *Cyprian* being grieved with the dealings of them, who in time of perſecution had through fear betrayed their faith, and notwithſtanding thought by ſhift to avoid in that caſe the neceſſary Diſcipline of the Church, wrote for their better inſtruction the book intituled *De lapſis*; a Treatiſe concerning ſuch as had openly forſaken their Religion; and yet were loth openly to confeſs their fault, in ſuch manner as they ſhould have done: In which book he compareth with this ſort of men, certain others which had but a purpoſe only to have departed from the Faith; and yet could not quiet their minds, till this very ſecret and hidden fault was confeſt, *How much both greater in faith* (ſaith St. *Cyprian*) *and alſo as touching their fear, better, are thoſe men who although neither ſacrifice, nor libel could be objected againſt them, yet becauſe they thought to have done that which they ſhould not, even this their intent they dolefully open unto Gods Prieſts? They confeſs that whereof their conſcience accuſeth them, the burthen that preſſeth their minds they diſcover; they foreſlow not of ſmaller and ſlighter evils, to ſeek remedy*: He ſaith they declared

Qui neceſſitatem ſacrificandi pecunia apud Magiſtra cum redimebant accepta ſecuritatis Syngrapha libellatici dicebantur.

their

their fault, not to one only man in private, but revealed it to Gods Priests; they confest it before the whole Consistory of Gods Ministers.

Salvianus (for I willingly embrace their conjecture, who ascribe those Homilies to him which have hitherto by common error past under the counterfeit name of *Eusebius Emesenus*,) I say, *Salvianus* though coming long after *Cyprian* in time, giveth nevertheless the same evidence for his truth, in a case very little different from that before alleadged; his words are these, *Whereas (most dearly beloved) we see that pennance oftentimes is sought and sued for by holy souls, which even from their youth have bequeathed themselves a precious treasure unto God, let us know that the inspiration of Gods good Spirit moveth them so to do for the benefit of his Church, and let such as are wounded, learn to enquire for that remedy, whereunto the very soundest do thus offer and obtrude as it were themselves, that if the vertuous do bewaile small offences, the others cease not to lament great.* And surely, when a man that hath less need, performeth, *sub oculis Ecclesiæ*, in the view, sight, and beholding of the whole Church, an office worthy of his faith and compunction for Sin, the good which others thereby reap is his own harvest, the heap of his rewards groweth by that which another gaineth, and through a kind of spiritual usury from that amendment of life which others learn by him, there returneth lucre into his coffers. Hom. 1. de nitio quadragesimæ.

The same *Salvianus* in another of his Homilies, *If faults haply be not great and grievous (for example, if a man have offended in word, or in desire, worthy of reproof, if in the wantonness of his eye, or the vanity of his heart) the stains of words and thoughts are by daily prayer to be cleansed, and by private compunction to be scoured out: But if any man examining inwardly his own Conscience, have committed some high and capital offence, as if by bearing false witness, he have quelled and betrayed his faith, and by rashness of perjury have violated the sacred name of Truth, if with the mire of lustful uncleanness he have sullied the veil of Baptism, and the gorgeous robe of Virginity; if by being the cause of any mans death, he have been the death of the new man within himself, if by conference with Southsayers, Wizards, and Charmers, he hath enthralled himself to Satan; These and such like committed crimes, cannot throughly be taken away with ordinary, moderate, and secret satisfaction; but greater causes do require greater and sharper remedies, they need such remedies as are not only sharp, but solemn, open, and publick,* Again, *Let that soul (saith he) answer me, which through pernicious shamefastness is now so abasht to acknowledge his Sin in* conspectu fratrum, *before his brethren, as he should have been abasht to commit the same, What will he do in the presence of that Divine Tribunal where he is to stand arraigned in the Assembly of a glorious and celestial host?* I will hereunto adde but St. *Ambrose's* testimony: For the places which I might alledge, are more then the cause it self needeth; *There are many (saith he) who, fearing the judgement that is to come, and feeling inward remorse of conscience, when they have offered themselves unto penitency, and are enjoyned what they shall do, give back for the only skar which they think that publick supplication will put them unto.* Hom. 10. ad Monachos. Graviores & acriores, & publicas curas requirunt. Hom. 8. ad Monach.

He speaketh of them which sought voluntarily to be penanced, and yet withdrew themselves from open confession, which they that were penitents for publick crimes could not possibly have done, and therefore it cannot be said, he meaneth any other then secret Sinners in that place. *Gennadius* a Presbyter of *Marsiles* in his book touching Ecclesiastical assertions, maketh but two kinds of confession necessary, the one in private to God alone for smaller offences; the other open, when crimes committed are hainous and great; *Although (saith he) a man be bitten with conscience of Sin, let his will be from thenceforward to Sin no more; let him before he communicate, satisfie with tears and prayers, and then putting his trust in the mercy of Almighty God (whose wont is, to yield godly confession) let him boldly receive the Sacrament. But I speak this of such as have not burthened themselves with capital Sins. Them I exhort to satisfie, first by publick penance, that so being reconciled by the sentence of the Priest, they may communicate safely with others.* Thus still we hear of publick confessions, although the crimes themselves discovered were not publick; we hear that the cause of such confessions was not the openness, but the greatLib. 2. de pœn. cap. 9.

ness

neſs of mens offences; finally, we hear that the ſame being now held by the Church of *Rome* to be Sacramental, were the onely penitential Confeſsions uſed in the Church for a long time, and eſteemed as neceſſary remedies againſt Sin.

Cypr. Epiſt. 12.

Inſpecta vita ejus qui agit pœnitentiam.

They which will find Auricular Confeſsions in St. *Cyprian*, therefore, muſt ſeek out ſome other paſſage, then that which *Bellarmine* alledgeth, *Whereas in ſmaller faults which are not committed againſt the Lord himſelf, there is a competent time aſsigned unto Penitency; and that confeſsion is made, after that obſervation and tryal had been had of the Penitents behaviour, neither may any communicate till the Biſhop and Clergy have laid their hands upon him; how much more ought all things to be warily and ſtayedly obſerved, according to the Diſcipline of the Lord, in theſe moſt grievous, and extream crimes?* S. *Cyprians* ſpeech is againſt raſhneſs in admitting Idolaters to the holy Communion, before they had ſhewed ſufficient Repentance, conſidering that other offenders were forced to ſtay out their time, and that they made not their publick confeſsion, which was the laſt act of Penitency, till their Life and Converſation had been ſeen into, not with the eye of Auricular Scrutiny, but of Paſtoral Obſervation, according to that in the Councel of *Nice*, where thirteen years, being ſet for the Penitency of certain offenders; the ſeverity of this Degree is mitigated with ſpecial caution: *That in all ſuch caſes, the mind of the Penitent and the manner of his Repentance is to be noted, that as many as with fear and tears, and meekneſs, and the exerciſe of good works, declared themſelves to be Converts indeed, and not in outward appearance only, towards them the Biſhop at his diſcretion might uſe more lenity.* If the Councel of *Nice* ſuffice not, let *Gratian* the Founder of the Canon Law expound *Cyprian*, who ſheweth that the ſtint of time in Penitency, is either to be abridged, or enlarged, as the Penitents Faith and behaviour ſhall give occaſion; *I have eaſilier found out men* (Saith S. *Ambroſe*) *able to keep themſelves free from crimes, then conformable to the rules which in Penitency they ſhould obſerve.* S. *Gregory* Biſhop of *Niſſe* complaineth and enveigheth bitterly againſt them, who in the time of their Penitency, lived even as they had done alwaies before; *Their countenance as chearful, their attire is neat, their dyet as coſtly, and their ſleep as ſecure as ever, their worldly buſineſs purpoſely followed, to exile penſive thoughts for their minds, repentance pretended but indeed nothing leſs expreſt*; Theſe were the inſpections of life, whereunto St. *Cyprian* alludeth; as for Auricular Examinations he knew them not.

Con. Nic. par. 2. c. 12. Pro fide & converſatione Pœnitentium.

De pœn. diſt. 1 cap. menſuaram Ambr. de pœn. lib. 2. c. 10.

Greg. Niſſ. orat. In eos qui alios acerbe judicant.

Were the Fathers then without uſe of private Confeſſion as long as publick was in uſe? I affirm no ſuch thing. The firſt and ancienteſt that mentioneth this Confeſſion, is *Origen*, by whom it may ſeem that men being loth to preſent raſhly themſelves and their faults unto the view of the whole Church, thought it beſt to unfold firſt their minds to ſome one ſpecial man of the Clergy, which might either help them himſelf, or referre them to an higher Court if need were; *Be therefore circumſpect* (ſaith *Origen*) *in making choice of the party, to whom thou meaneſt to confeſs thy Sin; know thy Phyſitian before thou uſe him; If he find thy malady, ſuch as needeth to be made publick, that other may be the better by it, and thy ſelf ſooner helpt, his counſel muſt be obeyed.* That which moved ſinners thus voluntarily to detect themſelves both in private and in publick, was fear to receive with other Chriſtian men, the myſteries of heavenly grace, till Gods appointed Stewards and Miniſters did judge them worthy: It is in this reſpect that St. *Ambroſe* findeth fault with certain men, which ſought impoſition of Penance, and were not willing to wait their time, but would be preſently admitted Communicants. *Such people* (ſaith he) *do ſeek by ſo raſh and prepoſterous deſires, rather to bring the Prieſt into bonds then to looſe themſelves*: In this reſpect it is that S. *Auguſtine* hath likewiſe ſaid, *When the wound of Sin is ſo wide, and the diſeaſe ſo far gone that the medicinable body and blood of our Lord may not be touched, men are by the Biſhops authority to ſequeſter themſelves from the Altar, till ſuch time as they have repented, and be after reconciled by the ſame authority.*

Orig. in Pſal. 37.

Amb. l. 2. de pœn. c. 9.

Si non tam ſe ſolvere cupiunt quam Sacerdotem ligare. Aug. in hom. de pœn.

Furthermore, becauſe the knowledge how to handle our own ſores, is no vulgar and common art, but we either carry towards our ſelves for the moſt part an over-ſoft and gentle hand, fearful of touching too near the quick; or elſe, endeavouring not to be partial, we fall into timerous ſcrupuloſities, and ſometime into thoſe extream diſcomforts of mind, from which we hardly do ever lift up our heads

again

again, men thought it the safest way to disclose their secret faults, and to crave imposition of Penance from them whom our Lord Jesus Christ hath left in his Church to be Spiritual and Ghostly Physitians, the Guides and Pastors of redeemed Souls; whose Office doth not onely consist in generall perswasions unto amendment of life, but also in the private particular cure of diseased minds.

Howsoever the *Novatianists* presume to plead against the Church (saith *Salvianus*) *that every man ought to be his own Penitentiary, and that it is a part of our duty to exercise, but not of the Churches Authority to impose or prescribe Repentance*; the truth is otherwise, the best and strongest of us may need in such cases direction: *What doth the Church in giving Penance, but shew the remedies which Sin requireth? or what do we in receiving the same but fulfill her precept? what else but sue unto God with tears, and fasts, that his merciful ears may be opened?* St. *Augustines* exhortation is directly to the same purpose; *Let every man whilst he hath time judge himself, and change his life of his own accord, and when this is resolved, Let him from the disposers of the holy Sacraments, learn in what manner he is to pacifie Gods displeasure:* But the greatest thing which made men forward and willing upon their knees to confess whatsoever they had committed against God, and in no wise to be with-held from the same, with any fear of disgrace, contempt, or obloquy, which might ensue, was, their fervent desire to be helped and assisted with the Prayers of Gods Saints. Wherein, as St. *James* doth exhort unto mutual confession, alledging this onely for a reason, *that just mens devout prayers are of great avail with God*; so it hath been heretofore the use of Penitents for that intent to unburthen their minds, even to private persons; and to crave their Prayers. Whereunto, *Cassianus* alluding, counselleth, That *if men possest with dulness of spirit be themselves unapt to do that which is required, they should in meek affection seek health at the least by good and vertuous mens prayers unto God for them.* And to the same effect *Gregory* Bishop of *Nisse*, *Humble thy self, and take unto thee such of thy brethren as are of one mind, and do bear kind affection towards thee, that they may together mourn and labour for thy deliverance. Show me thy bitter and abundant tears, that I may blend mine own with them.*

Hom. de pæn. Niniv.

Aug. hom de pœn. citatur a Grat. dist. 2. c. judices. V præpositis Sacramentorum accipiat satisfactionis suæ modum.

Jam. 5 26.

Cassia. col. 2 c. c. 8. Greg. Niss. oratione in eos qui alios acerbe judicant.

But because of all men there is or should be none in that respect more fit for troubled and distressed minds to repair unto, then Gods Ministers, he proceedeth further, *Make the Priest, as a Father, partaker of thine affliction and grief; be bold to impart unto him the things that are most secret, he will have care both of thy safety, and of thy credit.*

Confession (saith *Leo*) *is first to be offered to God, and then to the Priest, as to one which maketh supplication for the sins of Penitent offenders.* Suppose we, that men would ever have been easily drawn, much less of their own accord have come unto publick Confession, whereby they know they should sound the trumpet of their own disgrace; would they willingly have done this, which naturally all men are loth to do, but for the singular trust and confidence which they had in the publick prayers of Gods Church? *Let thy Mother the Church weep for thee* (saith *Ambrose*,) *let her wash and bathe thy faults with her tears: Our Lord doth love that many should become suppliant for one*; In like sort long before him, *Tertullian*, *Some few assembled make a Church; and the Church is as Christ himself; When thou dost therefore put forth thy hands to the knees of thy brethren, thou toucheſt Christ; it is Christ unto whom thou art a supplicant; so when they pour out tears over them, it is even Christ that taketh compassion; Christ which prayeth when they pray: Neither can that easily be denyed, for which the Son is himself contented to become a suitor.*

Leo 1. Ep 77. ad Epis. Campan. citat. a Grat. de pœn. d. 1. c. sufficit.

Ambr. l. 2. de pœn. c. 10.

Tertul. de pœn.

Whereas in these considerations therefore, voluntary Penitents, had been long accustomed for great and grievous crimes, though secret, yet openly both to repent and confess as the Canons of Antient Discipline required; the Greek Church first, and in processe of time the Latine altered this order, judging it sufficient and more convenient that such offenders should do Penance and make confession

Leo 1. Ep. 78. confeſſion in private onely. The cauſe why the Latins did, *Leo* declareth, ſaying, *Although that ripeneſs of faith be commendable, which for the fear of God doth not fear to incur ſhame before all men, yet becauſe every ones crimes are not ſuch, that it can be free and ſafe for them to make publication of all things, wherein repentance is neceſſary; let a cuſtome, ſo unfit to be kept, be abrogated, leſt many forbear to uſe remedies of penitency, whilſt they either bluſh or are afraid to acquaint their enemies with thoſe acts for which the Laws may take hold upon them. Beſides, it ſhall win the more Repentance, if the Conſciences of Sinners be not emptied into the peoples ears*; And to this only cauſe doth *Sozomen* impute the change, which the *Grecians* made, by ordaining throughout all Churches certain *Penitentiaries* to take the Confeſſions, and appoint the Penances of ſecret offenders. *Socrates*, (for this alſo may be true that more inducements then one, did ſet forward an alteration ſo generally made) affirmeth the *Grecians* (and not unlikely) to have ſpecially reſpected therein the occaſion, which the *Novatianiſts* took at the multitude of publick Penitents, to inſult over the Diſcipline of the Church, againſt which they ſtill cryed out, whereſoever they had time and place, *He that ſheweth Sinners favour, doth but teach the innocent to Sin*: And therefore they themſelves admitted no man to their Communion upon any Repentance, which once was known to have offended after Baptiſm, making Sinners thereby not the fewer, but the cloſer, and the more obdurate, how fair ſoever their pretence might ſeem.

The *Grecians* Canon, for ſome one Presbyter in every Church to undertake the charge of Penitency, and to receive their voluntary Confeſſions, which had ſinned after Baptiſm, continued in force for the ſpace of above ſome hundred years, till *Nectarius*, and the Biſhops of Churches under him begun a ſecond alteration, aboliſhing even that Confeſſion which their *Penitentiaries* took in private. There came to the *Penitentiary* of the Church of *Conſtantinople*, a certain Gentlewoman, and to him ſhe made particular Confeſſion of her faults committed after Baptiſm, whom thereupon he adviſed to continue in Faſting and Prayer, that as with tongue ſhe had acknowledged her Sins, ſo there might appear likewiſe in her ſome work worthy of Repentance: But the Gentlewoman goeth forward, and detecteth her ſelf of a crime, whereby they were forced to diſ-robe an Eccleſiaſtical perſon, that is, to degrade a Deacon of the ſame Church. When the matter by this mean came to publick notice, the people were in a kind of tumult offended, not onely at that which was done, but much more, becauſe the Church ſhould thereby endure open infamy and ſcorn. The Clergy was perplexed and altogether doubtfull what way to take, till one *Eudemon* born in *Alexandria*, but at that time a Prieſt in the Church of *Conſtantinople*, conſidering that the cauſes of voluntary Confeſſion whether publick or private, was, eſpecially to ſeek the Churches ayd as hath been before declared, leſt men ſhould either not communicate with others, or wittingly hazard their Souls, if ſo be they did communicate, and that the inconvenience which grew to the whole Church was otherwiſe exceeding great, but eſpecially grievous by means of ſo manifold offenſive detections, which muſt needs be continually more, as the world did it ſelf wax continually worſe, for Antiquity together with the gravity and ſeverity thereof (ſaith *Sozomen*) had already begun by little and little to degenerate into looſe and careleſs living, whereas before offences were leſs, partly through baſhfulneſs in them which open their own faults, and partly by means of their great auſterity, which ſate as judges in this buſineſs; theſe things *Eudæmon* having weighed with himſelf, reſolved eaſily the mind of *Nectarius*, that the *Penitentiaries* office muſt be taken away, and for participation in Gods holy myſteries every man be left to his own Conſcience, which was, as he thought, the onely means to free the Church from danger of Obloquie and Diſgrace. *Thus much* (ſaith *Socrates*) *I am the bolder to relate, becauſe I received it from* Eudæmons *own mouth, to whom mine anſwer was at that time; Whether your counſel, Sir, have been for the Churches good, or otherwiſe, God knoweth. But I ſee, you have given occaſion, whereby we ſhall not now any more reprehend one anothers faults, nor obſerve that Apoſtolick precept, which ſaith, Have*

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no fellowſhip with the unfruitful works of Darkneſſe; but rather be ye alſo Reprovers of them. With *Socrates*, *Sozomen* both agreeth in the occaſion of aboliſhing *Penitentiaries*; and moreover teſtifieth alſo, that in his time living with the younger *Theodoſius*, the ſame Abolition did ſtill continue, and that the Biſhops had in a manner every where followed the example given them by *Nectarius*.

Wherefore to implead the truth of this Hiſtory, Cardinal *Baronius* alledgeth, that *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and *Eudæmon* were all *Novatianiſts*, and that they falſifie in ſaying, (for ſo they report) that as many as held the Conſubſtantial Being of Chriſt, gave their aſſent to the abrogation of the forehearſed Canon. The ſumme is, he would have it taken for a Fable, and the World to be perſwaded, that *Nectarius* did never any ſuch thing. Why then ſhould *Socrates* firſt, and afterwards *Sozomen*, publiſh it? To pleaſe their Pew-fellows, the Diſciples of *Novatian*. A poor gratification, and they very ſilly Friends, that would take Lyes for Good-turns: For the more acceptable the Matter was, being deemed true, the leſſe they muſt needs (when they found the contrary) either credit, or affect him which had deceived them. Notwithſtanding, we know that joy and gladneſs riſing from falſe information, do not onely make men ſo forward to believe that which they firſt hear, but alſo apt to ſcholie upon it, and to report as true whatſoever they wiſh were true. But, ſo farr is *Socrates* from any ſuch purpoſe, that the Fact of *Nectarius*, which others did both like and follow, he doth diſallow and reprove. His ſpeech to *Eudæmon* before ſet down, is proof ſufficient that he writeth nothing, but what was famouſly known to all, and what himſelf did wiſh had been otherwiſe. As for *Sozomen* his correſpondency with Hereticks; having ſhewed to what end the Church did firſt ordain *Penitentiaries*, he addeth immediately, that *Novatianiſts*, which had no care of Repentance, could have no need of this Office. Are theſe the words of a Friend or Enemy? Beſides, in the entrance of that whole Narration: *Not to ſinne* (ſaith he) *at all, would require a Nature more divine than ours is*: *But, God hath commanded to pardon Sinners; yea, although they tranſgreſſe and offend often.* Could there be any thing ſpoken more directly oppoſite to the Doctrine of *Novatian*? *Eudæmon* was Presbyter under *Nectarius*.

Tanta hæc Socrati teſtanti præſtanda eſt fides, quanta cæteris hæreticis de ſuis dogmatibus tractantibus; quippe Novatianus, ſectiſta cum fuerit, quam vere ac ſyncere hæc ſcripſerit adverſus pœnitentiam in Eccleſia adminiſtrari ſolitam, quemlibet credo poſſe facile judicare, *Baron.* 1. ann. Chr. 56.

Sozomenum eandem prorſus cauſam foviſſe certum eſt. Nec Eudæmonem illum alium quam Novatianæ ſectæ hominem fuiſſe credendum eſt. *Ibidem.*

Sacerdos ille merito à Nectario eſt gradu amotus officioque depoſitus, quo facto Novatiani (ut mos eſt hæreticorum) quamcunque licet levem, ut ſynceris dogmatibus detrahant, accipere auſi occaſionem, non tantum Presbyterum Pœnitentiarium in ordinem redactum, ſed & Pœnitentiam ipſam unà cum eo fuiſſe proſcriptam, calumnioſe admodum conclamarunt, cum tamen illa potius Theatralis fieri interdum ſolita peccatorum ſuerit abrogata. *Ibidem.*

To *Novatianiſts* the Emperour gave liberty of uſing their Religion quietly by themſelves, under a Biſhop of their own, even within the City, for that they ſtood with the Church in defence of the Catholick Faith againſt all other Hereticks beſides. Had therefore *Eudæmon* favoured their hereſie, their Camps were not pitched ſo farr off, but he might at all times have found eaſie acceſſe unto them. Is there any man that hath lived with him, and hath touched him that way? if not, why ſuſpect we him more than *Nectarius*? Their report touching Grecian Catholick Biſhops, who gave approbation to that which was done, and did alſo the like themſelves in their own Churches, we have no reaſon to diſcredit without ſome manifeſt and clear evidence brought againſt it. For of Catholick Biſhops, no likelihood but that their greateſt reſpect to *Nectarius*, a man honored in thoſe parts no leſſe than the Biſhop of *Rome* himſelf in the Weſtern Churches, brought them both eaſily and ſpeedily unto conformity with him, *Arrians*, *Eunomians*, *Apollinarians*, and the reſt that ſtood divided from the Church, held their *Penitentiaries* as before. *Novatianiſts* from the beginning had never any, becauſe their opinion touching Penitency, was againſt the practice of the Church therein, and a cauſe why they ſevered themſelves from the Church; ſo that the very ſtate of things, as they then ſtood, giveth great ſhew of probabi-

lity to his ſpeech, who hath affirmed, *That they onely which held the Sonne conſubſtantial with the Father, and Novatianiſts which joyned with them in the ſame Opinion, had no Penitentiaries in their Churches, the reſt retained them.* By this it appeareth therefore how *Baronius* finding the Relation plain, that *Nectarius* did aboliſh even thoſe private ſecret Confeſſions which the People had been before accuſtomed to make to him that was *Penitentiary*, laboureth what he may to diſcredit the Authors of the Report, and to leave it imprinted in mens mindes, that whereas *Nectarius* did but abrogate publick Confeſſion, *Novatianiſts* have maliciouſly forged the abolition of Private, as if the oddes between theſe two were ſo great in the ballance of their Judgement, which equally hated or contemned both; or, as if it were not more clear than light, that the firſt alteration which eſtabliſhed *Penitentiaries*, took away the burthen of Publick Confeſſion in that kinde of Penitents; and therefore the ſecond muſt either abrogate Private, or nothing.

Cardinal *Bellarmine* therefore finding that againſt the Writers of the Hiſtory, it is but in vain to ſtand upon ſo doubtful terms, and exceptions, endeavoureth mightily to prove, even by their report, no other Confeſsion taken away then Publick which *Penitentiaries* uſed in Private, to impoſe upon Publick Offenders; *For why? It is* (ſaith he) *very certain that the Name of Penitents in the Fathers Writings ſignifieth onely Publick Penitents; certain, that to hear the Confeſsions of the reſt was more than one could poſsibly have done; certain, that* Sozomen, *to ſhew how the Latine Church retained in his time what the Greek had clean caſt off, declareth the whole Order of Publick Penitency uſed in the Church of* Rome, *but of Private he maketh no mention.* And, in theſe Conſiderations, *Bellarmine* will have it the meaning both of *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, that the former Epiſcopal Conſtitution, which firſt did erect *Penitentiaries*, could not concern any other Offenders, than ſuch as Publickly had ſinned after Baptiſme. That onely they, were prohibited to come to the Holy Communion, except they did firſt in ſecret confeſſe all their Sinnes to the *Penitentiary*, by his appointment openly acknowledge their open Crimes, and doe publick Penance for them: That whereas before *Novatian*'s upriſing, no man was conſtrainable to confeſſe publickly any Sinne, this Canon enforced Publick Offenders thereunto, till ſuch time as *Nectarius* thought good to extinguiſh the Practice thereof.

Τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς μετανοίας περιελεῖν πρεσβυτέρους.

Let us examine therefore theſe ſubtile and fine Conjectures, whether they be able to hold the touch, *It ſeemeth good* (ſaith *Socrates*) *to put down the Office of theſe Prieſts which had charge of Penitency; what charge that was, the kindes of Penitency then uſual muſt make manifeſt.* There is often ſpeech in the Fathers Writings, in their Books frequent mention of Penitency; exerciſed within the Chambers of our Heart, and ſeen of God, and not communicated to any other, the whole charge of which Penitency is impoſed of God, and doth reſt upon the Sinner himſelf. But if Penitents in ſecret, being guilty of Crimes whereby they knew they had made themſelves unfit Gueſts for the Table of our Lord, did ſeek direction for their better performance of that which ſhould ſet them clear; it was in this caſe the *Penitentiaries* Office to take their Confeſsions, to adviſe them the beſt way he could for their Souls good, to admoniſh them, to counſel them, but not to lay upon them more than private Penance. As for notorious wicked Perſons, whoſe Crimes were known, to convict, judge, and puniſh them, was the Office of the Eccleſiaſtical Conſiſtory; *Penitentiaries* had their Inſtitution to another end: But unleſſe we imagine that the antient time knew no other Repentance then publick, or that they had little occaſion to ſpeak of any other Repentance, or elſe that in ſpeaking thereof they uſed continually ſome other Name, and not the name of Repentance whereby to expreſs private Penitency, how ſtandeth it with reaſon, that whenſoever they write of Penitents, it ſhould be thought they meant only Publick Penitents? The truth is, they handle all three kindes, but private and voluntary Repentance much oftner, as being of farr more general uſe, whereas Publick was but incident unto few, and not oftner than once incident unto any. Howbeit, becauſe they do not diſtinguiſh

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one kinde of Penitency from another by difference of Names, our safest way for Construction, is, to follow circumstance of Matter, which in this Narration will not yield it self applyable onely unto Publick penance, do what they can, that would so expound it.

They boldly and confidently affirm, That, no man being compellable to confesse publickly any Sinne before *Novatius* time, the end of instituting *Penitentiaries* afterwards in the Church, was, that by them, men might be constrained unto publick Confession. Is there any Record in the World which doth testifie this to be true? There is that testifie the plain contrary; For *Sozomen*, declaring purposely the cause of their Institution, saith, *That whereas men openly craving Pardon at God's hands (for Publick Confession, the last act of Penitency, was alwayes made in the form of a contrite Prayer unto God,) it could not be avoided, but they must withall confesse what their Offences were*; This, in the opinion of their Prelate, seemed, from the first beginning (as we may probably think) to be somewhat burthensome, that men, whose Crimes were unknown, should blaze their own Faults, as it were on the Stage, acquainting all the People with whatsoever they had done amisse. And therefore to remedy this Inconvenience, they laid the charge upon one onely Priest, chosen out of such as were of best Conversation, a silent and a discreet man, to whom they which had offended might resort, and lay open their Lives. He, according to the quality of every one's Transgressions, appointed what they should do or suffer, and left them to execute it upon themselves. Can we wish a more direct and evident testimonie, that the Office here spoken of, was to ease voluntary Penitents from the burthen of publick Confessions, and not to constrain notorious Offenders thereunto? That such Offenders were not compellable to open Confesions till *Novatian*'s time, that is to say, till after the dayes of Persecution under *Decius* the Emperour, they, of all men, should not so peremptorily avouch; which whom, if *Fabian* Bishop of *Rome*, who suffered Martyrdom in the first year of *Decius*, be of any authority and credit, it must inforce them to reverse their Sentence; his words are so plain and clear against them. *For such as commit those Crimes, whereof the Apostle hath said, They that do them shall never inherit the Kingdom of Heaven, must* (saith he) *be forced unto amendment, because they slipp down to Hell, if Ecclesiastical Authority stay them not.* Their conceit of Impossibility that one man should suffice to take the general charge of Penitency in such a Church as *Constantinople*, hath risen from a meer erroneous supposal, that the Antient manner of private Confesion was like the Shrift at this day usual in the Church of *Rome*, which tyeth all men at one certain time to make Confesion, whereas Confesion was then neither looked for, till men did offer it, nor offered for the most part by any other, than such as were guilty of haynous Transgresions, nor to them any time appointed for that purpose. Finally, The drift which *Sozomen* had in relating the Discipline of *Rome*, and the Form of publick Penitency there retained even till his time, is not to signifie that onely publick Confesion was abrogated by *Nectarius*, but that the West or Latin Church held still one and the same Order from the very beginning, and had not, as the Greek, first cut off publick voluntary Confesion, by ordaining, and then private by removing *Penitentiaries*. Wherefore, to conclude, It standeth, I hope, very plain and clear, first against the one Cardinal, that *Nectarius* did truly abrogate Confesion in such sort as the Ecclesiastical History hath reported; and, secondly, as clear against them both, that it was not publick Confesion onely which *Nectarius* did abolish.

Fab. Decret. Ep. 2. Tom. 1. Conc. p. 358.

The Paradox in maintenance whereof *Hessels* wrote purposely a Book touching this Argument, to shew that *Nectarius* did but put the *Penitentiary* from his Office, and not take away the Office it self, is repugnant to the whole advice which *Eudæmon* gave, of leaving the People from that time forward to their own Consciences, repugnant to the Conference between *Socrates* and *Eudæmon*,

Nec est quod sibi blandiantur illi de facto Nectarii cum id potius secretorum peccatorum confessionem comprobet, & non aliud quam Presbyterum pœnitentialem illo officio suo moverit, uti ampliſſime deducit D. Johannes Hasselius Paniel. in Cypr. lib. de annot. 98. & in lib. Tertul. de pœn. annot. 1.

mon, wherein complaint is made of ſome inconvenience, which the want of the Office would breed; Finally, repugnant to that which the Hiſtory declareth concerning other Churches which did as *Nectarius* had done before them, not in depoſing the ſame man (for that was impoſſible) but in removing the ſame Office out of their Churches, which *Nectarius* had baniſhed from his. For which cauſe, *Bellarmin* doth well reject the opinion of *Heſſels*, howſoever it pleaſe *Pamelius* to admire it as a wonderful happy Invention. But in ſum, they are all gravelled, no one of them able to go ſmoothly away, and to ſatisfie either others or himſelf, with his own conceit concerning *Nectarius*.

Only in this they are ſtiff, that Auricular Confeſſion *Nectarius* did not abrogate, leſt if ſo much ſhould be acknowledged, it might enforce them to grant, that the Greek Church at that time held not Confeſſion, as the Latin now doth, to be the part of a Sacrament inſtituted by our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, which therefore the Church till the Worlds end hath no power to alter. Yet ſeeing that as long as publick voluntary Confeſſion of private Crimes did continue in either Church (as in the one it remained not much above 200. years, in the other about 400.) the only acts of ſuch Repentance were; firſt, the Offender's intimation of thoſe Crimes to ſome one Presbyter, for which impoſition of Penance was ſought; Secondly, the undertaking of Penance impoſed by the Biſhop; Thirdly, after the ſame performed and ended, open Confeſſion to God in the hearing of the whole Church; Whereupon, Fourthly, enſued the Prayer of the Church; Fifthly, then the Biſhop's impoſition of hands; and ſo, Sixthly, the Parties reconciliation or reſtitution to his former right in the holy Sacrament. I would gladly know of them which make onely private Confeſſion a part of their Sacrament of Penance, how it could be ſo in thoſe times: For where the Sacrament of Penance is miniſtred, they hold that Confeſſion to be Sacramental which he receiveth who muſt abſolve; whereas during the fore-rehearſed manner of Penance, it can no where be ſhewed, that the Prieſt to whom ſecret information was given, did reconcile, or abſolve any: For, how could he? when Publick Confeſſion was to goe before Reconciliation, and Reconciliation likewiſe in publick thereupon to enſue? So, that if they did account any Confeſſion Sacramental, it was ſurely publicke, which is now aboliſh'd in the Church of *Rome*; and as for that which the Church of *Rome* doth ſo eſteem, the Ancient neither had it in ſuch eſtimation, nor thought it to be of ſo abſolute neceſſity for the taking away of Sinne: But, (for any thing that I could ever obſerve out of them) although not onely in Crimes open and notorious, which made men unworthy and uncapable of holy Myſteries, their Diſcipline required, firſt publicke Penance, and then granted that which Saint *Hierom* mentioneth, ſaying, *The Prieſt layeth his hand upon the Penitent, and by invocation intreateth that the holy Ghoſt may return to him again, and ſo after having enjoyned ſolemnly all the People to pray for him, reconcileth to the Altar him who was delivered to Satan for the deſtruction of his Fleſh, that his Spirit might be ſafe in the day of the Lord.* Although I ſay not onely in ſuch Offences being famouſly known to the World, but alſo if the ſame were committed ſecretly, it was the cuſtom of thoſe times, both that private Intimation ſhould be given, and publick Confeſſion made thereof; in which reſpect whereas all men did willingly the one, but would as willingly have withdrawn themſelves from the other, had they known how; *Is it tolerable*, (ſaith Saint *Ambroſe*) *that to ſue to God thou ſhouldſt be aſhamed, which bluſheſt not to ſeek and ſue unto Man? ſhould it grieve thee to be a Suppliant to him, from whom thou canſt not poſſibly hide thy ſelf; when to open thy ſinnes to him, from whom, if thou wouldſt, thou mighteſt conceal them, it doth not any thing at all trouble thee? This thou art loath to do in the Church, where all being Sinners, nothing is more opprobrious indeed than concealment of ſinne, the moſt humble the beſt thought of, and the lowlieſt accounted the juſteſt.* All this notwithſtanding, we ſhould do them very great wrong, to father any ſuch Opinion upon them, as if they did teach it a thing impoſſible for any Sinner to reconcile himſelf unto God, without confeſſion unto the Prieſt.

Sacerdos imponit manum ſubjecto, reditum ſpiritus Sancti invocat, atque ita eum qui traditus fuerat Satanæ in interitum carnis, ut ſpiritus ſalvus fieret indicta in populum oratione, altari reconciliat. *Hier.* adverſ. Lucif. *Ambr.* de pœn. l. 2. c. 10.

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Would *Chryſoſtom* thus perſwaded have ſaid, *Let the enquiry and puniſhment of thy Offences be made in thine own thoughts, Let the Tribunal whereat thou arraigneſt thy ſelf be without witneſs, Let God, and only God, ſee thee and thy Confeſſion.* Chryſt. hom. Περὶ μετανοίας καὶ ἐξομολογήσεως πρὸς τοὺς λογισμοῦς

γενέσθω τῶν πεπλημμεληκότων ἡ ἐξέτασις, ἀμάρτυρον ἔστω τὸ δικαστήριον, ὁ Θεὸς ἑνὸς μόνου ἐξομολογουμένου.

Would *Caſſianus* ſo believing have given counſel, *That if any were withheld with baſhfulneſs from diſcovering their Faults to men, they ſhould be ſo much the more inſtant and conſtant in opening them by ſupplication to God himſelf, whoſe wont is to help without publication of mens ſhame, and not to upbraid them when he pardoneth?* Caſſian. Collat. 20. c. 8.

Finally, would *Proſper* ſettled in this Opinion have made it, as touching Reconciliation to God, a matter indifferent, *Whether men of Eccleſiaſtical Order did detect their crimes by confeſſion, or leaving the World ignorant thereof, would ſeparate voluntarily themſelves for a time from the Altar, though not in affection, yet in execution of their Miniſtry, and ſo bewaile their corrupt life? Would he have willed them as he doth, to make bold of it, that the favour of God being either way recovered by fruits of forcible repentance, they ſhould not only receive whatſoever they had loſt by ſinne, but alſo after this their new enfranchiſement, aſpire to the endleſs joyes of that ſupernal City?* To conclude, We every where finde the uſe of Confeſſion, eſpecially publick, allowed of, and commended by the Fathers; but that extream and rigorous neceſſity of Auricular and private Confeſſion, which is at this day ſo mightily upheld by the Church of *Rome*, we finde nor. Firſt, it was not then the Faith and Doctrine of God's Church, as of the Papacy at this preſent. Secondly, That the onely remedy for Sinne after Baptiſme, is Sacramental Penitency. Thirdly, That Confeſſion in ſecret, is an eſſential part thereof. Fourthly, That God himſelf cannot now forgive Sin without the Prieſt. That, becauſe Forgiveneſſe at the hands of the Prieſt muſt ariſe from Confeſſion in the Offenders; Therefore to confeſſe unto him, is a matter of ſuch neceſſity, as being not either in deed, or at the leaſt in deſire performed, excludeth utterly from all pardon, and muſt conſequently in Scripture be commanded, whereſoever any Promiſe or Forgiveneſſe is made. No, no; theſe Opinions have Youth in their countenance, Antiquity knew them not, it never thought nor dreamed of them. Proſper de vita contempl. l. 2. c. 7.

But to let paſſe the Papacy. For as much as Repentance doth import alteration within the minde of a ſinful man, whereby, through the power of God's moſt gracious and bleſſed Spirit, he ſeeth, and with unfeigned ſorrow acknowledgeth former Offences committed againſt God, hath them in utter deteſtation, ſeeketh pardon for them in ſuch ſort as a Chriſtian ſhould doe, and with a reſolute purpoſe ſettleth himſelf to avoid them, leading, as near as God ſhall aſſiſt him, for ever after an unſpotted life; And in the Order (which Chriſtian Religion hath taught for procurement of God's mercy towards Sinners) Confeſſion is acknowledged a principal duty; Yea, in ſome caſes, Confeſion to man, not to God onely; It is not in Reformed Churches denied by the Learneder ſort of Divines, but that even this Confeſſion, cleared from all Errors, is both lawful and behoveful for Gods people. Calv. Inſt. l. 3. c. 4. ſect. 7.

Confeſſion by man being either Private or Publick, Private Confeſſion to the Miniſter alone touching ſecret Crimes, or Abſolution thereupon enſuing, as the one, ſo the other is neither practiſed by the French Diſcipline, nor uſed in any of thoſe Churches, which have been caſt by the French mould. Open Confeſſion to be made in the face of the whole Congregation by notorious Malefactors, they hold neceſſary; Howbeit not neceſſary towards the remiſſion of Sinnes: But only in ſome ſort to content the Church, and that one man's repentance may ſeem to ſtrengthen many, which before have been weakned by one man's fall. Sed tantum ut Eccleſiæ fit aliqua ratione ſatisfactum, & omnes unius pœnentia confirmentur, qui fuerant unius peccatis & ſcandalis vulnerati. Sadeel. in Pſal. 32. v. 5.

Saxonians and *Bohemians* in their Diſcipline conſtrain no man to open Confeſſion: Their Doctrine is, That whoſe Faults have been Publick, and thereby ſcandalous unto the World, ſuch, when God giveth them the Spirit of Repentance, ought as ſolemnly to return, as they have openly gone aſtray. Firſt, for the better teſtimony of their own unfeigned Converſion unto God. Secondly, the more to notifie their Reconcilement unto the Church. And Laſtly, that others may make benefit of their Example.

Harm. Confeſſ. Sect. 8. ex. 5. cap. confeſſ. Bohem.

But concerning Confeſsion in private, the Churches of *Germany*, as well the reſt as *Lutherans*, agree, that all men ſhould at certain times confeſſe their Offences to God in the hearing of Gods Miniſters, thereby to ſhew how their Sinnes diſpleaſe them, to receive inſtruction for the warier carriage of themſelves hereafter, to be ſoundly reſolved, if any ſcruple or ſnare of Conſcience do entangle their mindes, and which is moſt material, to the end that men may at Gods hands ſeek every one his own particular pardon, through the power of thoſe Keys, which the Miniſter of God uſing according to our bleſſed Saviours Inſtitution in that caſe, it is their part to accept the benefit thereof, as Gods moſt merciful Ordinance for their good, and, without any diſtruſt or doubt, to embrace joyfully his Grace ſo given them, according to the Word of our Lord, which hath ſaid, *Whoſe Sinnes ye remit they are remitted.* So that grounding upon this aſſured Belief, they

Cap. 5. Confeſ. Bohem.

are to reſt with mindes encouraged and perſwaded concerning the forgiveneſs of all their Sinnes, as out of Chriſt's own Word and Power by the Miniſtry of the Keyes.

It ſtandeth with us in the Church of *England*, as touching Publick Confeſsion, thus:

Firſt, ſeeing day by day we in our Church begin our Publick Prayers to Almighty God, with Publick acknowledgement of our Sinnes, in which Confeſſion every man, proſtrate as it were before his glorious Majeſty, cryeth againſt himſelf, and the Miniſter with one Sentence pronounceth univerſally all clear, whoſe acknowledgement ſo made hath proceeded from a true penitent minde; What reaſon is there, every man ſhould not, under the general terms of Confeſsion, repreſent to himſelf his own Particulars whatſoever, and adjoyning thereunto that affection which a contrite ſpirit worketh, embrace to as full effect the words of Divine Grace, as if the ſame were ſeverally and particularly uttered with addition of Prayers, impoſition of hands, or all the Ceremonies and Solemnities that might be uſed for the ſtrengthening of men's affiance in God's peculiar mercy towards them? Such Complements are helps to ſupport our Weakneſſe, and not Cauſes that ſerve to procure or produce his Gifts, as *David* ſpeaketh. The difference of general and particular Formes in Confeſsion and Abſolution, is not ſo material, that any man's ſafety or ghoſtly good ſhould depend upon it. And for private Confeſsion and Abſolution, it ſtandeth thus with us:

As for private Confeſſion, Abuſes and Errors ſet apart, we condemn it not, but leave it at liberty. *Jewel* defen. part 156.

The Miniſter's power to abſolve is publickly taught and profeſſed, the Church not denyed to have Authority either of abridging, or enlarging the uſe and exerciſe of that Power; upon the People no ſuch neceſsity impoſed of opening their Trangreſsion unto men, as if Remiſsion of Sinnes otherwiſe were impoſsible, neither any ſuch opinion had of the thing it ſelf, as though it were either unlawfull or unprofitable, ſaving onely for theſe inconveniences, which the World hath by experience obſerved in it heretofore. And in regard thereof, the Church of *England* hitherto hath thought it the ſafer way to referre men's hidden Crimes unto God and themſelves onely; Howbeit, not without ſpecial caution for the Admonition of ſuch as come to the Holy Sacrament, and for the comfort of ſuch as are ready to depart the World. Firſt, becauſe there are but few that conſider how much that part of Divine Service, which conſiſts in partaking the Holy Euchariſt, doth import their Souls; what they loſe by neglect thereof, and what by devout Practiſe they might attain unto: therefore, leſt careleſneſſe of general Confeſsion ſhould, as commonly it doth, extinguiſh all remorſe of mens particular enormous Crimes, our Cuſtome (whenſoever men preſent themſelves at the Lords Table) is, ſolemnly to give themſelves fearfull Admonition, what woes

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are perpendicularly hanging over the heads of such as dare adventure to put forth their unworthy hands to those admirable Mysteries of Life, which have, by rare Examples, been proved Conduits of irremediable Death to impenitent Receivers; whom therefore, as we repel being known, so being not known we cannot but terrifie. Yet, with us, the Ministers of God's most Holy Word and Sacraments, being all put in trust with the custody and dispensation of those Mysteries, wherein our Communion is, and hath been ever, accounted the highest Grace that men on earth are admitted unto; have therefore all equally the same power to with-hold that sacred Mystical Food from notorious Evil-Livers, from such as have any way wronged their Neighbours, and from Parties, between whom there doth open hatred and malice appear, till the first sort have reformed their wicked Lives, the second recompensed them unto whom they were injurious, and the last condescended unto some course of Christian Reconciliation, whereupon their mutual accord may ensue. In which cases for the first branch of wicked Life; and the last, which is open Enmity; there can arise no great difficultie about the exercise of his Power: In the second, concerning Wrongs, there may, if men shall presume to define or measure Injuries, according to their own Conceits, depraved oftentimes, as well by Errour, as Partialitie, and that no lesse to the Minister himself, then in another of the People under him.

The knowledge therefore which he taketh of Wrongs must rise, as it doth in the other two, not from his own Opinion, or Conscience, but from the evidence of the Fact which is committed; Yea, from such evidence as neither doth admit Denyal nor Defence. For if the Offender, having either colour of Law to uphold, or any other pretence, to excuse his own uncharitable and wrongful Dealings, shall wilfully stand in defence thereof, it serveth as barr to the power of the Minister in this kinde. Because (as it is observed by men of very good Judgment in these Affairs) although in this sort our separating of them be not to strike them with the mortal wound of Excommunication, but to stay them rather from running desperately head-long into their own harm; yet it is not in us, to sever from the Holy Communion, but such as are either found culpable by their own Confession, or have been convicted in some Publick, Secular or Eccleſiastical Court. For, who is he, that dares take upon him to be any man's both Accuser and Judge? Evil Persons are not rashly, and (as we list) to be thrust from Communion with the Church: insomuch that if we cannot proceed against them by any orderly course of Judgement, they rather are to be suffered for the time then molested. Many there are reclaimed, as *Peter*; Many, as *Judas* known well enough, and yet tolerated; Many which must remain un-descryed till the day of appearance, by whom the secret corners of Darkness shall be brought into open Light.

Nos à communione quenquam prohibere non possumus, quamvis hæc prohibitio nondum sit mortalis, sed medicinalis, nisi aut sponte confessum, aut aliquo sive seculari, sive Eccleſiastico judicio accusatum atque convictum. Quis enim sibi utrumque audet assumere, ut cuiquam ipse sit & accusator & judex.

Non enim temere, & quodammodo libet, sed propter judicium, ab Eccleſiæ communione separandi sunt mali, ut si propter judicium auferri non possint, tolerentur potiùs, velut paleæ cum tritico. Multi corriguntur, ut Petrus; multi tolerantur, ut Judas; multi nesciuntur, donec veniat Dominus, & illuminabit abscondita tenebrarum. Rhenan. admonit de dogmat. Tertul.

Leaving therefore unto his Judgement, them, whom we cannot stay from casting their own Souls into so great hazard, we have in the other part of Penitential Jurisdiction, in our Power and Authoritie to release Sinne, joy on all sides, without trouble or molestation unto any. And, if to give, be a thing more blessed than to receive, are we not infinitely happyer in being authorized to bestow the Treasure of God, than when Necessitie doth constrain to with-draw the same?

They which, during Life and Health, are never destitute of wayes to delude Repentance, do notwithstanding oftentimes, when their last hour draweth on, both feel that sting, which before lay dead in them, and also thirst after such helps as have been alwayes, till then, unsavoury; Saint *Ambrose* his words touch-

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Lib. 3. de Pœn.

ing late Repentance are somewhat hard., *If a man be penitent, and receive Absolution (which cannot in that case be denyed him) even at the very point of death, and so depart, I dare not affirm he goeth out of the world well; I will counsel no man to trust to this, because I am loath to deceive any man, seeing I know not what to think of it. Shall I Judge such a one a Cast-away? Neither will I avouch him safe: All I am able to say, is, Let his Estate be left to the will and pleasure of Almighty God: Wilt thou be therefore delivered of all doubt? Repent while yet thou art healthy and strong: If thou deferr it till time give no longer possibility of sinning, thou canst not be thought to have left Sinne, but rather Sinne to have forsaken thee.* Such admonitions may in their time and place be necessary, but in no wise prejudicial to the generality of God's own high and heavenly promise, *Whensoever a Sinner doth repent from the bottom of his heart, I will put out all his iniquity.* And of this, although it have pleased God not to leave to the world any multitude of Examples, lest the careless should too farr presume, yet one he hath given, and that most memorable, to withhold from despair in the mercies of God; at what instant so ever man's unfeigned conversion be wrought. Yea, because to countervail the fault of delay, there are in the latest Repentance oftentimes the surest tokens of sincere dealing; Therefore upon special Confession made to the Minister of God, he presently absolveth in this case the sick Party from all Sinnes by that Authority which Jesus Christ hath committed unto him, knowing that God respecteth not so much what time is spent, as what truth is shewed in Repentance.

In summe, when the Offence doth stand onely between God and Man's Conscience, the Counsel is good, which Saint *Chrysostom* giveth, *I wish thee not to bewray thy self publickly, nor to accuse thy self before others, I wish thee to obey the Prophet who saith, Disclose thy way unto the Lord, confesse thy sins before him; Tell thy sins to him that he may blot them out. If thou be abashed to tell unto any other, wherein thou hast offended, rehearse them every day between thee and thy Soul. I wish thee not to confesse them to thy fellow-servant, who may upbraid thee with them; Tell them to God, who will cure them; There is no need for thee in the presence of Witnesses to acknowledge them; Let God alone see thee at thy Confession; I pray and beseech you, that you would more often than you do, confesse to God eternal, and reckoning up your Trespasses, desire his Pardon. I carry you not into a Theatre or open Court of many your Fellow-servants, I seek not to detect your crimes before men; Disclose your Conscience before God, unfold your selves to him, lay forth your wounds before him the best Physician that is, and desire of him salve for them.* If hereupon it follow, as it did with *David*, *I thought, I will confesse against my self my wickedness unto thee O Lord, and thou forgavest me the plague of my Sinne*, we have our desire, and there remaineth only thankfulnesse, accompanied with perpetuity of care to avoid that, which being not avoided, we know we cannot remedy without new perplexity and grief. Contrariwise, if peace with God do not follow the pains we have taken in seeking after it, if we continue disquieted, and not delivered from anguish, mistrusting whether that we do be sufficient; it argueth that our Soar doth exceed the power of our own skill, and that the wisedom of the Pastor must binde up those parts, which being bruised, are not able to be recured of themselves.

Non dico tibi, ut te prodas in publicum, neque ut te apud alios accuses, sed obedire te volo Prophetæ dicenti, Revela Domino viam tuam. Ante Deum confitere peccata tua; Peccata tua dicito ut ea deleat; Si confunderis alicui dicere quæ peccasti, dicito ea quotidie in anima: Non dico ut confitearis conservo qui exprobret; Deo dicito qui ea curat; Non necesse est præsentibus testibus confiteri, solus te Deus confitentem videat. Rogo & oro ut crebrius Deo immortali confiteamini, & enumeratis vestris delictis veniam petatis. Non te in Theatrum conservorum duco, non hominibus peccata tua conor detegere. Repete coram Deo conscientiam tuam, te explica, ostende medico præstantissimo vulnera tua, & pete ab eo medicamentum, *Chrysost.* hom. 31. ad Hebr. & in Psal. 59. Hom. de pœn. & confess. & hom. 5. de incarn. Dei natura, homil. itemque de Lazaro.

of Satisfaction.

THere resteth now Satisfaction only to be considered; A point which the Fathers do often touch, albeit they never aspire to such Mysteries as the Papacy hath found enwrapped within the folds, and plaits thereof. And it is happy for the Church of God that we have the Writings of the Fathers, to shew what their meaning was. The name of Satisfaction, as the Antient Fathers meant it, containeth whatsoever a Penitent should do in the humbling himself unto God, and testifying by deeds of Contrition, the same which Confession in words pretendeth; *He which by Repentance for Sins* (saith *Tertullian*, speaking of fickle-minded-men) *had a purpose to satisfie the Lord, will now, by repenting his Repentance, make Satan satisfaction; and be so much more hateful to God, as he is unto Gods enemy more acceptable.* Is it not plain, that Satisfaction doth here include the whole work of Penitency, and that God is satisfied, when men are restored through Sin into favour by Repentance? *How canst thou* (saith Chrysostom) *move God to pity thee, when thou wilt not seem as much as to know that thou hast offended?* By appeasing, pacifying, and moving God to pity, Saint *Chrysostom* meaneth the very same with the Latin Fathers, when they speak of satisfying God. *We feel* (saith Cyprian) *the bitter smart of his rod and scourge, because there is in us neither care to please him with our good deeds, nor to satisfie him for our evil.* Again, *Let the eyes which have looked on Idols, spunge out their unlawful acts with those sorrowful tears, which have power to satisfie God.* The Master of Sentences alledgeth out of Saint *Augustine*, that which is plain enough to this purpose: *Three things there are in perfect Penitency, Compunction, Confession, and Satisfaction; that as we three wayes offend God, namely in Heart, Word, and Deed; so by three Duties we may satisfie God.*

Tertul. de Pœnit.

Chrysost. in 1 Cor. hom. 8. τὴν Θεὸν ἐξιλεώσασθαι.

Cypr. Ep. 8. & Ep. 26. Sent. l. 4. dis. 16.

Satisfaction, as a part, comprehendeth only that which the Papists meant by *worthy of Repentance*; and if we speak of the whole work of Repentance it self, we may, in the phrase of Antiquity, term it very well *Satisfaction.*

Satisfaction is a work which Justice requireth to be done for contentment of Persons injured: Neither is it in the eye of Justice a sufficient satisfaction, unless it fully equal the Injury for which we satisfie. Seeing then that sin against God Eternal and Infinite, must needs be an infinite wrong: Justice, in regard thereof, doth necessarily exact an infinite recompence, or else inflict upon the Offender infinite punishment. Now, because God was thus to be satisfied, and man not able to make satisfaction, in such sort his unspeakable love and inclination to save mankinde from eternal death ordained in our behalf a Mediatour to do that which had been for any other impossible: Wherefore all sin is remitted in the only faith of Christ's passion, and no man without belief thereof justified; *Bonavent. in Sentent. 4. dist. 15. 9. 9.* Faith alone maketh Christ's satisfaction ours, howbeit that Faith alone which after sinne maketh us by Conversion his.

For in as much as God will have the benefit of Christ's satisfaction, both thankfully acknowledged, and duly esteemed, of all such as enjoy the same, he therefore imparteth so high a treasure unto no man, whose Faith hath not made him willing, by Repentance, to do even that which of it self, how unavailable soever, yet being required, and accepted with God, we are, in Christ, thereby made capable, and fit Vessels to receive the fruits of his Satisfaction: Yea, we so farr please and content God, that because when we have offended, he looketh but for Repentance at our hands; our Repentance, and the works thereof, are therefore termed satisfactory, not for that so much is thereby done as the Justice of God can exact, but because such actions of grief and humility in man after sinne, are *illices divinæ misericordiæ* (as *Tertullian* speaketh of them) they draw that pity of God's towards us, wherein he is for Christ's

ſake contented, upon our ſubmiſſion, to pardon our rebellion againſt him; and when that little which his Law appointeth is faithfully executed, it pleaſeth him in tender compaſſion and mercy to require no more.

Repentance is a name which noteth the habit and operation of a certain grace, or vertue in us: Satisfaction, the effect which it hath, either with God or man. And it is not in this reſpect ſaid amiſs, that Satisfaction importeth Acceptation, Reconciliation, and Amity; becauſe that, through Satisfaction on the one part made, and allowed on the other, they which before did reject are now content to receive, they to be won again which were loſt, and they to love unto whom juſt cauſe of hatred was given. We ſatisfie therefore in doing that which is ſufficient to this effect; and they towards whom we do it are ſatisfied, if they accept it as ſufficient, and require no more: Otherwiſe we ſatisfie not, although we do ſatisfie: For ſo between man and man it oftentimes falleth out, but between man and God, never; It is therefore true, that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt by one moſt precious and propitiatory Sacrifice, which was his Body, a Gift of infinite worth, offered for the Sins of the whole World, hath thereby once reconciled us to God, purchaſed his general free pardon, and turned Divine indignation from mankinde. But we are not for that cauſe to think, any office of Penitence, either needleſs or fruitleſs, on our own behalf. For then would not God require any ſuch Duties at our hands; Chriſt doth remain everlaſtingly a gracious Interceſſour, even for every particular Penitent. Let this aſſure us, that God, how highly ſoever diſpleaſed and incenſed with our Sins, is notwithſtanding, for his ſake, by our Tears, pacified, taking that for Satisfaction, which is due by us, becauſe Chriſt hath by his Satisfaction made it acceptable. For, as he is the High Prieſt of our Salvation, ſo he hath made us Prieſts likewiſe under him, to the end we might offer unto God praiſe and thankfulneſs while we continue in the way of life; and when we ſin, the ſatisfactory or propitiatory ſacrifice of a broken and a contrite Heart. There is not any thing that we do that could pacifie God, and clear us in his ſight from ſin, if the goodneſs and mercy of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt were not, whereas now beholding the poor offer of our religions endeavours, meekly to ſubmit our ſelves as often as we have offended, he regardeth with infinite mercy thoſe ſervices which are as nothing, and with words of comfort reviveth our afflicted mindes, ſaying, *It is I, even I that taketh away thine Iniquities for mine own ſake.* Thus doth Repentance ſatisfie God, changing his wrath and indignation unto mercy.

Apoc. 1. 6.

Caſſia. Col. 20. c. 8.

Anger and mercy are in us, Paſſions; but in him, not ſo.

God (ſaith Saint Baſil) *is no wayes paſsionate, but becauſe the puniſhments which his judgment doth inflict, are like effects of indignation ſevere and grievous to ſuch as ſuffer them, therefore we term the revenge which he taketh upon Sinners anger, and the withdrawing of his plagues, mercy. His wrath* (ſaith St. Auguſtin) *is not as ours, the trouble of a minde diſturbed and diſquieted with things amiſs, but a calm, unpaſſionate, and juſt aſsignation of dreadful puniſhment to be their portion which have diſobeyed; his mercy a free determination of all felicity and happineſs unto men, except their ſins remain as a bar between it and them.* So that when God doth ceaſe to be angry with ſinful men, when he receiveth them into favour, when he pardoneth their offences, and remembreth their iniquities no more, (for all theſe ſignifie but one thing) it muſt needs follow, that all puniſhments before due in revenge of ſinne, whether they be Temporal or Eternal, are remitted.

Baſil. hom. in Pſalmo 37. Πάντος γὰρ παθοῦς ἀλλότριον τὸ Θεῖον. Cum Deus iraſcitur non ejus ſignificatur perturbatio qualis eſt in animo iraſcentis hominis; ſed ex humanis motibus tranſlato vocabulo, vindicta ejus, quæ non niſi juſta eſt, iræ nomen accepit. *Auguſtin.* tom. 3. Ench. cap. 33. Pœnitentiæ compenſatione redimendam proponit impunitatem Deus, *Tertullian.* de Pœnitentia.

For how ſhould God's indignation import only man's puniſhment, and yet ſome puniſhment remain unto them towards whom there is now in God no indignation remaining? *God* (ſaith Tertullian) *takes Penitency at mens hands; and men at his, in lieu thereof, receive impunity;* which notwithſtanding doth not prejudice the chaſtiſements which God, after pardon, hath laid upon ſome Of-

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fenders, as on [a] the people of *Israel*, on [b] *Moses*, on [c] *Miriam*, on [d] *David*, either for their own [e] more sound amendment, or for [f] example unto others in this present world (for in the World to come, punishments have unto these intents no use, the dead being not in case to be better by correction, nor to take warning by executions of God's Justice there seen) but assuredly to whomsoever he remitteth sinne, their very pardon is in it self a full, absolute, and perfect discharge for revengeful punishment, which God doth now here threaten, but with purpose of revocation if men repent, no where inflict but on them whom impenitency maketh obdurate.

[a] Numb. 14. 28.
[b] Numb. 10. 12.
[c] Num. 12 14.
[d] 2 Sam. 12. 14.
[e] Cui Deus verè propitius est non solum condonando peccata ne nocerent ad futurum seculum, sed etiam castigat, ne semper peccare delectet. *Aug.* in Psal. 98.
[f] Plectuntur quidam quo cæteri corrigantur; exempla sunt omnium, tormenta paucorum. *Cypr.* de lapsis. Ezech. 33. 14. Rom. 2. 5. Esay 1. 18.

Of the one therefore it is said, *Though I tell the wicked, Thou shalt dye the death, yet if he turneth from his sinne, and do that which is lawful and right, he shall surely live and not dye.* Of the other, *Thou according to thine hardness, and heart that will not repent, treasurest up to thy self wrath against the day of wrath, and evident appearance of the judgement of God.* If God be satisfied and do pardon sinne, our justification restored is as perfect as it was at the first bestowed: For so the Prophet *Isaiah* witnesseth, *Though your sinnes were as crimson, they shall be made as white as snow; though they were as scarlet, they shall be as white as wool.* And can we doubt concerning the punishment of Revenge, which was due to sinne, but that if God be satisfied and have forgotten his wrath, it must be, even as Saint *Augustine* reasoneth, [g] *What God hath covered, he will not observe, and what he observeth not, he will not punish.* The truth of which Doctrine is not to be shifted off by restraining it unto eternal punishment alone: For then would not *David* have said, *They are blessed to whom God imputeth not sinne*; Blessednesse having no part or fellowship at all with malediction: Whereas to be subject to Revenge for Sinne, although the punishment be but temporal, is to be under the curse of the Law; wherefore, as one and the same Fire consumeth Stubble and refineth Gold, so if it please God to lay punishment on them whose sinnes he hath forgiven; yet is not this done for any destructive end of wasting and eating them out, as in plagues inflicted upon the Impenitent, neither is the punishment of the one as of the other proportioned by the greatness of sinne past, but according to that future purpose, whereunto the goodness of God referreth it, and wherein there is nothing meant to the Sufferer, but furtherance of all happiness, now in grace, and hereafter in glory; Saint *Augustin*, to stop the mouths of *Pelagians*, arguing, *That if God had imposed death upon* Adam, *and* Adam's *posterity, as a punishment of sinne, death should have ceased when God procured Sinners their pardon*; Answereth, first, *It is no marvel, either that bodily death should not have hapned to the first man, unlesse he had first sinned, (death as punishment following his sinne) or that after sinne is forgiven, death notwithstanding befalleth the Faithful; to the end that the strength of righteousnes might be exercised, by overcoming the fear thereof.* So that justly God did inflict bodily death on man for committing Sinne, and yet after Sinne forgiven, took it not away, that his Righteousnes might still have whereby to be exercised. He fortifieth this with *David*'s example, whose sinne he forgave, and yet afflicted him for exercise and tryal of his humility. Briefly, a general axiome he hath for all such chastisements, *Before forgiveness, they are the punishment of Sinners; and after forgiveness, they are exercises and tryals of Righteous men.* Which kinde of proceeding is so agreeable with God's nature and man's comfort, that it seemeth even injurious to both, if we should admit those surmised reservations of temporal wrath, in God appeased towards reconciled Sinners. As a Father he delights in his Childrens conversion, neither doth he threaten the Penitent with wrath, or them with punishment which already mourn; but by promise assureth such of indulgence and mercy, yea, even of plenary Pardon, which taketh away all, both Faults and Penalties: There being no reason, why we should think him the lesse just, because he sheweth him thus mercifull, when they, which before were obstinate, labour to appease his wrath with the pensive meditation of Contrition, the meek humility which Confession expresseth,

[g] Si texit Deus peccata, noluit advertere; si noluit advertere, noluit animadvertere. *Aug.* de pecc. mer. & rem. lib. 2. cap. 34. Mirandum non est, & mortem corporis non fuisse eventuram homini, nisi præcessisset peccatum, cujus etiam talis pœna consequeretur, & post remissionem peccatorum eam fidelibus evenire, ut ejus timore vincendo exerceretur fortitudo justitiæ. Sic & mortem corporis propter hoc peccatum Deus homini inflixit, & post peccatorum remissionem propter exercendam justitiam non ademit. Ante remissionem esse illa supplicia peccatorum, post remissionem autem certamina exercitationesque justorum. *Cypr.* Epist. 58.

and the deeds wherewith Repentance declareth it self to be an amendment as well of the rotten fruit, as the dryed leaves, and withered root of the tree. For with these duties by us performed, and presented unto God in Heaven by Jesus Christ, whose blood is a continual sacrifice of propitiation for us, we content, please, and satisfie God. Repentance therefore, even the sole vertue of Repentance, without either purpose of shrift or desire of absolution from the Priest; Repentance the secret Conversion of the heart, in that it consisteth of these three, and doth by these three pacifie God; may be without hyperbolical terms most truly magnified, as a recovery of the Soul of man from deadly sickness, a restitution of glorious light to his darkned minde, a comfortable reconciliation with God, a spiritual nativity, a rising from the dead, a day-spring from out the depth of obscurity, a redemption from more than the *Ægyptian* thraldom, a grinding of the old *Adam* even into dust and powder, a deliverance out of the prisons hell, a full restauration of the Seat of Grace, and Throne of Glory, a triumph over Sin, and a saving Victory.

Amongst the works of Satisfaction, the most respected have been alwayes these three, Prayers, Fasts, and Alms-deeds; by Prayers, we lift up our Souls to him from whom sinne and iniquity hath withdrawn them; by Fasting, we reduce the body from thraldom under vain delights, and make it serviceable for parts of vertuous conversation; by Alms, we dedicate to Charity those worldly Goods and Possessions, which unrighteousness doth neither get, nor bestow well: The first, a token of piety intended towards God; the second, a pledge of moderation and sobriety in the carriage of our own Persons; the last, a testimony of our meaning to do good to all men. In which three, the Apostle, by way of abridgement, comprehendeth whatsoever may appertain to sanctimony, holyness, and good life: as contrariwise, the very masse of general corruption throughout the world, what is it but only forgetfulness of God, carnal pleasure, immoderate desire after worldly things, prophaness, licentiousness, covetousness? All offices to Repentance have these two Properties; there is in performance of them painfulness, and in their nature a contrarietie unto sinne. The one Consideration, causeth them both in holy Scripture and elsewhere to be termed Judgement or Revenges, taken voluntarily on our selves, and to be furthermore also Preservatives from future Evils, in as much as we commonly use to keep with the greater care that which with pain we have recovered. And they are in the other respect contrary to sinne committed: Contrition, contrary to the pleasure; Confession, to the errour, which is the mother of Sinne: and to the deeds of Sinne, the works of Satisfaction contrary; therefore they are the more effectual to cure the evil habit thereof: Hereunto it was that Saint *Cyprian* referred his earnest and vehement Exhortation, *That they which had fallen, should be instant in Prayer, reject bodily Ornaments when once they had stripped themselves out of Christ's Attire, abhorr all Food after Satan's morsels tasted, follow works of Righteousnesse, which wash away Sinne; and be plentiful in Alms-deeds, wherewith Souls are delivered from death. Not, as if God did, according to the manner of corrupt Judges, take some money to abate so much in the punishment of Malefactors. These duties must be offered* (saith Salvianus) *not in confidence to redeem or buy out Sinne, but as tokens of meek submission; neither are they with God accepted, because of their value, but for the affections sake, which doth thereby shew it self.* Wherefore, concerning Satisfaction made to God by Christ onely, and of the manner how Repentance generally, particularly also, how certain special works of Penitency, both are by the Fathers, in their ordinary phrase of speech, called Satisfactory, and may be by us very well so acknowledged, enough hath been spoken.

2 Cor. 7. 11. Τὰρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν δίκην λάβωμεν, ἡμῶν αὐτῶν κατηγορήσωμεν ὅτως ἐξιλεωσόμεθα τὸν κείτην.

Chryſ. hom. 30. in Ep. ad. Heb.

Cypr. de lapſis.

Salv. ad Eccl. Cath. lib. 1.

Our offences sometimes are of such nature as requireth that particular men be satisfied, or else Repentance to be utterly void, and of none effect. For, if either through open repine, or crooked fraud; if through injurious, or unconscionable dealing a man have wittingly wronged others to enrich himself; the first thing evermore in this Case required (ability serving) is Restitution. For

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let no man deceive himself, from such Offences we are not discharged, neither can be, till recompence and restitution to man, accompany the penitent Confession we have made to Almighty God. In which case, the Law of *Moses* was direct and plain: *If any sinne and commit a Trespasse against the Lord, and deny unto his Neighbour that which was given him to keep, or that which was put unto him of trust; or doth by robbery, or by violence oppress his Neighbour; or hath found that which was lost, and denyeth it, and swears falsly: for any of these things that a man doth wherein he sinneth, he that doth thus offend and trespasse, shall restore the robbery that he hath taken, or the thing he hath got by violence, or that which was delivered him to keep, or the lost thing which he found; and for whatsoever he hath sworn falsly, adding perjury to injury, he shall both restore the whole sum, and shall adde thereunto a fift part more, and deliver it unto him, unto whom it belongeth, the same day wherein he offereth for his Trespasse.* Now, because men are commonly over-slack to perform this Duty, and do therefore deferr it sometime, till God have taken the Party wronged out of the World; the Law providing that Trespassers might not under such pretence gain the Restitution which they ought to make, appointeth the Kindred surviving to receive what the Dead should, if they had continued. *But* (saith Moses) *if the Party wronged have no Kinsman to whom this dammage may be restored, it shall then be rendered to the Lord himself for the Priest's use.* The whole order of proceeding herein, is in sundry traditional Writings set down by their great Interpreters and Scribes, which taught them that a Trespasse between a man and his Neighbour, can never be forgiven till the Offender have by Restitution made recompence for wrongs done; yea, they hold it necessary that he appease the Party grieved by submitting himself unto him; or, if that will not serve, by using the help and mediation of others; *In this case* (say they) *for any man to shew himself unappeasable and cruel, were a sinne most grievous, considering that the people of God should be easie to relent, as* Joseph *was towards his Brethren*; Finally, if so it fall out that the death of him which was injured, prevent his submission which did offend; let him then (for so they determine that he ought) goe accompanied with ten others unto the Sepulchre of the Dead, and there make confession of the Fault, saying, *I have sinned against the Lord God of Israel, and against this man, to whom I have done such or such injury; and if Money be due, let it be restored to his Heirs, or in case he have none known, leave it with the house of Judgement.* That is to say, with the Senators, Ancients, and Guides of *Israel*. We hold not Christian people tyed unto Jewish Orders, for the manner of Restitution; but surely, Restitution we must hold necessary as well in our own Repentance as theirs, for Sinnes of wilful oppression and wrong.

Levit. 5. 2.

Numb. 5. 8.

Quamdiu enim res propter quam peccatum est, non redditur, si reddi potest, non agitur pœnitentia, sed fingitur. Sent. 4, d. 15.

Now, although it suffices, that the Offices wherewith we pacifie God or private men, be secretly done; yet in Cases where the Church must be also satisfied; it was not to this end and purpose unnecessary, that the antient Discipline did farther require outward signes of Contrition to be shewed, Confession of Sinnes to be made openly, and those Works to be apparent which served as Testimonies for Conversion before men. Wherein, if either Hypocrisie did at any time delude their Judgment, they knew, that God is he whom Maskes and Mockeryes cannot blinde, that he which seeth mens hearts would judge them according unto his own evidence, and, as Lord, correct the Sentence of his Servants, concerning matters beyond their reach; Or, if such as ought to have kept the Rules of Canonical Satisfaction, would by sinister means and practises undermine the same, obtruding presumptuously themselves to the participation of Christ's most sacred Mysteries, before they were orderly re-admitted thereunto, the Church for contempt of holy things, held them incapable of that Grace, which God in the Sacrament doth impart to devout Communicants; and no doubt but he himself did retain bound, whom the Church in those cases refused to loose.

Cypr. Ep. l. 5.

The Fathers, as may appear by sundry Decrees and Canons of the Primitive Church, were (in matter specially of publick Scandal) provident, that

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Basil. Ep. ad Amphi. c. 26.

too much facility of pardoning might not be shewed. *He that casteth off his lawful wife* (saith Saint *Basil*) *and doth take another, is adjudged an Adulterer by the verdict of our Lord himself; and by our Fathers it is Canonically ordained, that such for the space of a year shall mourn, for two years space hear, three years be prostrate, the seventh year assemble with the faithful in Prayer, and after that be admitted to communicate, if with tears they bewail their fault.*

Concil. *Nycen.* can. 11.

Of them which had fallen from their faith in the time of Emperour *Licinius*, and were not thereunto forced by any extream usage, the *Nicene* Synod, under *Constantine* ordained, *that earnestly repenting, they should continue three years Hearers, seven years be prostrate, and two years communicate with the people in prayer, before they came to receive the oblation.* Which rigour sometimes they tempered nevertheless with lenity, the self-same Synod having likewise defined, *That whatsoever the cause were, any man desirous at the time of departure out of this life to receive the Eucharist, might (with examination and tryal) have it granted him by the Bishop.* Yea, besides this case of special commiseration, there is a Canon more large which giveth always liberty to abridge, or extend out the time, as the Parties meek, or sturdy, disposition should require.

Καθόλου καὶ περὶ πάντος τοῦ τινὸς ἐξοδεύοντος αἰτοῦντος μετέχειν Εὐχαριστίας, ὁ ἐπίσκοπος μετὰ δοκιμασίας μεταδιδότω τῆς προσφορᾶς. Can. 13.

μετὰ δοκιμασίας, id est, manifestis indiciis deprehensa peccatoris seria conversione ad Deum. Can. 12.

By means of which Discipline, the Church having power to hold them many years in suspence, there was bred in the mindes of the Penitents, through long and daily practise of submission, a contrary habit unto that which before had been their ruine, and for ever afterwards wariness not to fall into those snares, out of which they knew they could not easily winde themselves. Notwithstanding, because there was likewise hope, and possibility of shortning the time, this made them in all the Parts and Offices of their Repentance the more fervent. In the first station, while they onely beheld others passing towards the Temple of God, whereunto for themselves to approach it was not lawful, they stood as miserable forlorn men, the very patterns of perplexity and woe. In the second, when they had the favour to wait at the doors of God, where the sound of his comfortable word might be heard, non e received it with attention like to theirs: Thirdly, being taken and admitted to the next degree of Prostrates, at the feet, yet behinde the back of that Angel representing God, whom the rest saw face to face; their tears, and entreaties both of Pastour and People were such as no man could resist. After the fourth step, which gave them liberty to hear and pray with the rest of the People, being so near the haven, no diligence was then slacked which might hasten admission to the Heavenly Table of Christ, their last desire. It is not therefore a thing to be marvelled at, though Saint *Cyprian* took it in very ill part, when open Back-sliders from the faith and sacred Religion of Christ, laboured by sinister practise to procure from imprisoned Saints, those requests for present absolution, which the Church could neither yield unto with safety of Discipline, nor in honour of Martyrdom easily deny. For, what would thereby ensue, they needed not to conjecture, when they saw how every man which came so commended to the Church by Letters, thought that now he needed not to crave, but might challenge of duty his peace; taking the matter very highly, if but any little forbearance, or small delay was used.

Jacens stantibus, & integris vulneratus, minatur. Ex. 12. 3. Jer. 7. 15. Ezech. 14. 14.

He which is overthrown (saith *Cyprian*) *menaceth them that stand, the wounded them that were never toucht; and because presently he hath not the body of our Lord, in his foul imbrued hands, nor the blood within his polluted lips, the miscreant fumeth at God's Priests; Such is thy madness, O thou furious man, thou art angry with him, which laboureth to turn away God's anger from thee; him thou threatnest, which sueth unto God for grace, and mercy on thy behalf.*

Touching Martyrs, he answereth, *That it ought not in this case to seem offensive, though they were denied, seeing God himself did refuse to yield to the piety of his own righteous Saints, making suit for obdurate Jews.*

As for the Parties, in whose behalf such shifts were used, to have their desire, was, in very truth, the way to make them the more guilty: Such peace granted contrary to the rigour of the Gospel, contrary to the Law of our Lord and God, doth but under colour of merciful relaxation deceive Sinners, and by soft handling

handling destroy them, a grace dangerous for the Giver; and to him which receiveth it, nothing at all available. The patient expectation that bringeth health, is, by this means, not regarded; recovery of soundness not sought for by the only medicine available, which is Satisfaction, Penitency thrown out of men's hearts, the remembrance of that heaviest and last Judgement clean banish'd; the wounds of dying men, which should be healed, are covered; the stroke of death, which hath gone as deep as any bowels are to receive it, is over-cast with the sleight shew of a cloudy look. From the Altar of Satan to the holy Table of the Lord, men are not afraid to come, even belching in a manner the sacrificed morsels they have eaten; yea, their jaws yet breathing out the irksome savour of their former contagious wickedness, they seize upon the blessed body of our Lord, nothing terrified with that dreadful commination, which saith, *Whosoever eateth and drinketh unworthily, is guilty of the body and blood of Christ.* 1 Cor. 11. 27. They vainly think it to be peace which is gotten before they be purged of their faults, before their crime be solemnly confest, before their Conscience be cleared by the sacrifice and imposition of the Priest's hands, and before they have pacified the indignation of God. Why term they that a Favour, which is an Injury? Wherefore cloak they Impiety with the name of charitable Indulgence? Such facility giveth not, but rather taketh away peace; and is it self another fresh Persecution or tryal, whereby that fraudulent Enemy maketh a secret havock of such as before he had overthrown; and now, to the end that he may clean swallow them, he casteth Sorrow into a dead sleep, putteth Grief to silence, wipeth away the memory of Faults newly done, smothereth the sighs that should rise from a contrite Spirit, dryeth up Eyes which ought to send forth rivers of Tears, and permitteth not God to be pacified with full repentance, whom haynous and enormous crimes have displeased.

By this then we see, that, in Saint *Cyprian*'s judgement, all Absolutions are void, frustrate, and of no effect, without sufficient Repentance first shewed; Whereas contrariwise, if true and full Satisfaction have gone before, the sentence of man here given is ratified of God in Heaven, according to our Saviours own sacred Testimony, *Whose sins ye remit, they are remitted.* The end of Satisfaction.

By what works in the Vertue, and by what in the Discipline of Repentance, we are said to satisfie either God or men, cannot now be thought obscure. As for the Inventors of Sacramental Satisfaction, they have both altered the natural order heretofore kept in the Church, by bringing in a strange preposterous course, to absolve before Satisfaction be made, and moreover by this their misordered practise, are grown into sundry errours concerning the end whereunto it is referred.

They imagine, beyond all conceit of Antiquity, that when God doth remit Sin, and the punishment eternal thereunto belonging, he reserveth the torments of hell-fire to be nevertheless endured for a time, either shorter or longer, according to the quality of men's Crimes. Yet so, that there is between God and man, a certain Composition (as it were) or Contract, by vertue whereof works assigned by the Priest to be done after Absolution shall satisfie God, as touching the punishment, which he otherwise would inflict for sin, pardoned and forgiven.

Now, because they cannot assure any man, that, if he performeth what the Priest appointeth, it shall suffice; This (I say) because they cannot do, in as much as the Priest hath no power to determine or define of equivalency between Sins and Satisfactions; And yet if a Penitent depart this life, the debt of Satisfaction being either in whole or in part un-discharged, they stedfastly hold, that the Soul must remain in unspeakable torment till all be paid: Therefore, for help and mittigation in this Case, they advise men to set certain Copes-mates on work, whose Prayers and Sacrifices may satisfie God for such Souls as depart in debt. Hence have arisen the infinite Pensions of their Priests, the building of so many Altars and Tombs, the enriching of so many Churches with so many glorious costly Gifts, the bequeathing of Lands, and ample Posses- The way of satisfying by others.

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sions to Religious Companies, even with utter forgetfulness of Friends, Parents, Wife and Children, all natural affection giving place unto that desire, which men, doubtful of their own estate, have to deliver their Souls from torment after death.

Yet, behold even this being done, how farr forth it shall avail, they are not sure; And therefore the last upshot unto all their former Inventions, is, that as every action of Christ, did both merit for himself, and satisfie partly for the eternal, and partly for the temporal punishment, due unto men for sin; So his Saints have obtained the like priviledge of Grace, making every good work they do, not only meritorious in their own behalf, but satisfactory too for the benefit of others: Or if, having at any time grievously sinned; they do more to satisfie God, then he in justice can exact, or look for at their hands; the surplusage runneth to a common stock, out of which treasury, containing whatsoever Christ did by way of Satisfaction for temporal punishment, together with the satisfactory force which resideth in all the vertuous works of Saints; and in their Satisfactions whatsoever doth abound, (I say) *From hence they hold God satisfied for such arrerages as men behinde in accompt discharge not by other means; and for disposition hereof, as it is their Doctrine, that Christ remitteth not eternal death without the Priests Absolution, so, without the grant of the Pope, they cannot but teach it alike unpossible, that Souls in Hell should receive any temporal release of pain. The Sacrament of Pardon from him being to this effect no lesse necessary, than the Priests Absolution to the other.* So that by this Postern-gate commeth in the whole mark of Papal Indulgences, a Gain unestimable to him, to others a Spoyl, a scorn both to God and Man. So many works of satisfaction pretended to be done by Christ, by Saints, and Martyrs; so many vertuous acts possessed with satisfactory force and vertue; so many supererogations in satisfying beyond the exigence of their own necessity; And this that the Pope might make a Monopoly of all, turning all to his own gain, or at least to the gain of those which are his own. Such facilitie they have to convert a pretended Sacrament into a Revenue.

Of Absolution of Penitents.

SIn is not helped but by being assecured of Pardon: It resteth therefore to be considered what warrant we have concerning Forgivenesse, when the Sentence of man absolveth us from Sinne committed against God. At the words of our Saviour, saying to the sick of the Palsey, *Son, thy Sins are forgiven thee*, Exception was taken by the Scribes, who secretly reasoned against him, *Is any able to forgive Sins, but only God?* Whereupon they condemned his speech as blasphemy; the rest which believed him to be a Prophet sent from God, saw no cause wherefore he might not as lawfully say, and as truly, to whomsoever amongst them, *God hath taken away thy Sins*, as *Nathan* (they all knew) had used the very like speech; to whom *David* did not therefore impute blasphemy, but imbraced, as became him, the words of truth, with joy and reverence.

Mat 9. 2.
Mark 5. 22.
Luc. 5. 25.

Now there is no Controversie, but, as God in that special Case did authorize *Nathan*, so Christ more generally his Apostles, and the Ministers of his Word, in his Name to absolve Sinners. Their power being equal, all the difference between them can be but only in this, that whereas the one had prophetical evidence, the other have the certainty, partly of Faith, and partly of Human experience, whereupon to ground their Sentence; Faith, to assure them of God's most graous Pardon in Heaven unto all Penitents, and touching the sincerity of each particular Parties repentance as much, as outward sensible tokens or signes can warrant.

It is not to be marvelled that so great a difference appeareth between the Doctrine of *Rome* and Ours, when we teach Repentance. They imply in the Name of Repentance much more than we do; We stand chiefly upon the due inward Conversion of the Heart, They more upon Works of external shew; We teach, above all things, that Repentance which is one and the same from the beginning to the World's end; They a Sacramental Penance, of their own devising and shaping: We labour to instruct men in such sort, that every Soul which is wounded with sin, may learn the way how to cure it self; They clean contrary would make all Soars seem incurable, unless the Priests have a hand in them.

Touching the force of whose Absolution they strangely hold, that whatsoever the Penitent doth, his Contrition, Confession, and Satisfaction have no place of right to stand, as material parts in this Sacrament, nor consequently any such force as to make them available for the taking away of Sin, in that they proceed from the Penitent himself, without the privity of the Minister, but only, as they are enjoyned by the Minister's Authority and Power. So that no contrition or grief of heart, till the Priest exact it; no acknowledgement of Sins, but that which he doth demand; no Praying, no Fasting, no Alms, no Recompence or Restitution for whatsoever we have done, can help, except by him, it be first imposed. It is the Chain of their own Doctrine, No remedy for mortal sin committed after Baptism, but the Sacrament of Penance only; No Sacrament of Penance, if either matter or form be wanting; No wayes to make those Duties a material part of the Sacrament, unless we consider them, as required and exacted by the Priest. Our Lord and Saviour, they say, hath ordained his Priests, Judges in such sort, that no man which sinneth after Baptisme, can be reconciled unto God, but by their Sentence. For why? If there were any other way of Reconciliation, the very promise of Christ should be false in saying, *Whatsoever ye binde on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven, and whose sins soever ye retain, are retained.* Except therefore the Priest be willing, God hath by promise hampred himself so, that it is not now in his own power to pardon any man. Let him which is offended crave as the Publican did, *Lord be thou merciful unto me a sinner*; Let him, as *David*, make a thousand times his supplication, *Have mercy upon me, O God, according to thy loving kindness; according to the multitude of thy compassions, put away mine iniquities.* All this doth not help till such time as the pleasure of the Priest be known, till he have signed us a pardon, and given us, our *quietus est.* God himself hath no Answer to make but such as that of his Angel unto *Lot*, I can do nothing.

Ipsus pœnitentis actio non est pars Sacramenti, nisi quatenus potestati Sacerdotali subjicitur, & à Sacerdote dirigitur vel jubetur. *Bell.* de Pœn. l. 1. c. 16. Christus instituit Sacerdotes Judices super rerram cum ea potestate, ut sine ipsorum sententia, nemo post Baptismum lapsus reconciliari possit. *Bell.* l. 3. c. 1. De Pœnit. Quod si possent ii sine Sacerdotum sententia absolvi, non esset vera Christi promissio. Quæcunque, &c. *Bellarm.* ibid.

It is true, that our Saviour by these words, *Whose Sins ye remit, they are remitted*, did ordain Judges over our sinful Souls, gave them Authority to absolve from sin, and promise to ratifie in Heaven whatsoever they should do on Earth, in execution of this their Office; to the end that hereby, as well his Ministers might take encouragement to do their Duty with all Faithfulness, as also his People admonition, gladly, with all reverence, to be ordered by them; both parts knowing that the Functions of the one towards the other have his perpetual assistance and approbation. Howbeit all this, with two Restraints, which every Jurisdiction in the World hath; the one, that the practice thereof proceed in due order; the other, that it do not extend it self beyond due bounds, which bounds or limits have so confined penitential Jurisdiction, that, although there be given unto it power of remitting sinne; yet not such Soveraignty of Power, that no sin should be pardonable in man without it: Thus to enforce our Saviour's words, is as though we should gather, that because, Whatsoever *Joseph* did command in the Land of *Egypt*, *Pharaoh*'s grant is, it should be done; therefore, he granteth that nothing should be done in the Land of *Egypt*, but what *Joseph* did command, and so consequently, by enabling his Servant *Joseph*, to command under him, disableth himself to command any thing without *Joseph*.

Christus ordinariam suam potestatem in Apostolos transtulit, extraordinariam sibi reservavit.

But by this we ſee how the Papacy maketh all Sin unpardonable, which hath not the Prieſts Abſolution; except peradventure in ſome extraordinary caſe, where albeit Abſolution be not had, yet it muſt be deſired.

Ordinaria enim remedia in Eccleſia ad remittenda peccata ſunt ab eo inſtituta, Sacramenta: ſine quibus peccata remittere Chriſtus poteſt, ſed extraordinarie & multo rarius hoc facit, quam per Sacramenta. Noluit igitur eos extraordinariis remiſſionis peccatorum confidere, quæ, & rara ſunt & incerta, ſed ordinaria, ut ita dicam, viſibilia Sacramentorum quærere remedia. *Maldon.* in Mat. 16. 19.

What is then the force of Abſolution? What is it which the act of Abſolution worketh in a ſinful man? doth it by any operation derived from it ſelf alter the ſtate of the Soul? Doth it really take away ſin, or but aſcertain us of God's moſt gracious and merciful pardon? The latter of which two is our aſſertion, the former theirs.

Mat. 9. 2. Mar. 2. 7. Luc. 5. 21.

At the words of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, ſaying unto the ſick of the Palſie, *Son, thy ſins are forgiven thee*, the Phariſees which knew him not to be *Son of the living God*, took ſecret exception, and fell to reaſoning with themſelves againſt him: *Is any able to forgive Sin but God only? The Sins* (ſaith St. Cyprian) *that are committed againſt him, he alone hath power to forgive, which took upon him our ſins, he which ſorrowed and ſuffered for us, he whom the Father delivered unto death for our Offences.* Whereunto may be added that which *Clemens Alexandrinus* hath, *Our Lord is profitable every way, every way beneficial, whether we reſpect him as Man, or as God: as God forgiving, as Man inſtructing and learning how to avoid Sin.* * *For it is I, even I that putteth away thine Iniquities for mine own ſake, and will not remember thy ſins, ſaith the Lord.*

Cypr. de lapſ. c. 4.

Clem. Alex. Pædag. li. 1. Παίνλα ὀνίνησιν ὁ Κύριος ϗ παίνλα ὠφελεῖ, ϗ ὡς ἄνθρωπος, ϗ ὡς Θεὸς. τὰ μὲν ἁμαρτήματα ὡς Θεὸς ἀφιεὶς, εἰς ὃ τὸ μὴ ἐξαμαρτάνειν παιδαγωγῶν ὡς ἄνθρωπος. * Eſa. 43. 25.

Veniam peccatis quæ in ipſum commiſſa ſunt ſolus poteſt Ille largiri, qui peccata noſtra portavit, qui pro nobis doluit, quem Deus tradidit pro peccatis noſtris.

Now, albeit we willingly confeſs with Saint *Cyprian*, *The Sinnes which are committed againſt him, he only hath power to forgive, who hath taken upon him our Sinnes, he which hath ſorrowed and ſuffered for us, he, whom God hath given for our Offences.* Yet neither did Saint *Cyprian* intend to deny the power of the Miniſter, otherwiſe then if he preſume beyond his Commiſſion to remit Sinne, where God's own will is it ſhould be retained; For, againſt ſuch Ablutions he ſpeaketh, (which being granted to whom they ought to have been denyed, are of no validity;) and, if rightly it be conſidered, how higher cauſes in operation uſe to concur with inferiour means, his Grace with our Miniſterie, God really performing the ſame, which Man is authorized to act as in his Name, there ſhall need for deciſion of this point no great labour.

To Remiſſion of Sins, there are two things neceſſary; Grace, as the only cauſe which taketh away Iniquity, and Repentance as a Duty or Condition required in us. To make Repentance ſuch as it ſhould be, what doth God demand but inward ſincerity, joyned with fit and convenient Offices for that purpoſe, the one referred wholly to our own Conſciences, the other beſt diſcerned by them whom God hath appointed Judges in this Court. So that having firſt the promiſes of God for pardon generally unto all Offenders penitent; and particularly for our own unfeigned meaning, the unfallible teſtimony of a good Conſcience, the ſentence of God's appointed Officer and Vicegerent to approve with unpartial Judgement the quality of that we have done, and, as from his Tribunal in that reſpect, to abſoil us of any Crime: I ſee no cauſe but that by the Rules of our Faith and Religion we may reſt our ſelves very well aſſured touching God's moſt merciful Pardon and Grace, who, eſpecially for the ſtrengthening of weak, timerous and fearful mindes, hath ſo farr indued his Church with Power to abſolve Sinners. It pleaſeth God that men ſometimes ſhould, by miſſing this help, perceive how much they ſtand bound to him for ſo precious a Benefit enjoyed. And ſurely, ſo long as the World lived in any awe or fear of falling away from God, ſo dear were his Miniſters to the People, chiefly in this reſpect, that being through tyranny, and perſecu-

Victor. de perſecut. Vandal.

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tion deprived of Paſtors, the doleful rehearſal of their loſt felicities hath not any one thing more eminent, than that Sinners diſtreſt ſhould not now know, how or where to unlade their Burthens. Strange it were unto me, that the Fathers, who ſo much every where extol the Grace of Jeſus Chriſt, in leaving unto his Church this Heavenly and Divine power, ſhould as men, whoſe ſimplicity had univerſally been abuſed, agree all to admire and magnifie a needleſs Office.

The Sentence therefore of Miniſterial Abſolution hath two effects: touching ſin, it only declareth us freed from the guiltineſs thereof, and reſtored into God's favour; but concerning right in Sacred and Divine Myſteries, whereof, through Sin we were made unworthy, as the power of the Church did before effectually binde and retain us from acceſs unto them, ſo, upon our apparent repentance, it truly reſtoreth our Liberty, looſeth the Chains wherewith we were tyed, remitteth all whatſoever is paſt, and accepteth us no leſs returned than if we never had gone aſtray.

For, in as much as the Power which our Saviour gave to his Church, is of two kindes; the one to be exerciſed over voluntary Penitents only, the other over ſuch as are to be brought to Amendment by Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, the words wherein he hath given this Authority, muſt be ſo underſtood as the Subject or Matter whereupon it worketh, will permit. It doth not permit that in the former kinde, (that is to ſay, in the uſe of Power over voluntarie Converts) to binde or looſe, remit or retain, ſhould ſignifie any other, than only to pronounce of Sinners according to that which may be gathered by outward ſignes; becauſe really to effect the removal or continuance of Sinne in the Soul of any Offender, is no Prieſtly act, but a Work which farr exceedeth their Ability. Contrariwiſe, in the latter kinde of Spiritual Juriſdiction, which, by Cenſures, conſtraineth men to amend their Lives; It is is true, that the Miniſter of God doth then more declare and ſignifie what God hath wrought. And this Power, true it is, that the Church hath inveſted in it.

Howbeit, as other truths, ſo this hath by errour been oppugned and depraved, through abuſe. The firſt of Name, that openly in Writing withſtood the Churches Authority and Power to remit Sinne, was *Tertullian*, after he had combined himſelf with *Montaniſts*, drawn to the liking of their Hereſie, through the very ſowreneſs of his own nature, which neither his incredible skill and knowledge otherwiſe, nor the Doctrine of the Goſpel it ſelf, could but ſo much alter, as to make him ſavour any thing, which carried with it the taſte of lenity. A Spunge ſteeped in Worm-wood and Gall, a Man through too much ſeverity mercileſs, and neither able to endure, nor to be endured of any. His Book entituled concerning Chaſtity, and written profeſſedly againſt the Diſcipline of the Church, hath many fretful and angry Sentences, declaring a minde very much offended with ſuch as would not perſwade themſelves, that, of Sins, ſome be pardonable by the Keyes of the Church, ſome uncapable of Forgiveneſs; That middle aud moderate Offences having received chaſtiſement, may, by Spiritual Authority afterwards be remitted: but, greater Tranſgreſſions muſt (as touching Indulgence) be left to the only pleaſure of Almighty God in the World to come: That as Idolatry and Bloodſhed, ſo likewiſe Fornication and ſinful Luſt, are of this nature; that they, which ſo farr have fallen from God, ought to continue for ever after barred from acceſs unto his Sanctuary, condemned to perpetual profuſion of Tears, deprived of all expectation and hope to receive any thing at the Churches hands, but publication of their ſhame. *For*, (ſaith he) *who will fear to waſte out that which he hopeth he may recover? Who will be careful for ever to hold that, which he knoweth cannot for ever be withheld from him? He which ſlackneth the Bridle to ſinne, doth thereby give it even the ſpurr alſo.* Take away fear, and that which preſently ſucceedeth in ſtead thereof, is Licencious deſire. Greater Offences therefore are puniſhable, but not pardonable by the Church. If any Prophet or Apoſtle be found to have remitted ſuch

Securitas delicti, etiam libido eſt ejus.

Transgressions, they did it, not by the ordinary course of Discipline, but by extraordinary power. For they also raised the Dead, which none but God is able to do; they restored the Impotent and Lame men, a work peculiar to Jesus Christ; Yea, that which Christ would not do, because executions of such severity beseemed not him, who came to save and redeem the World by his sufferings, they, by their power, strook *Elymas* and *Ananias*, the one blinde, and the other dead. Approve first your selves to be, as they were, Apostles or Prophets, and then take upon you to pardon all men. But, if the Authority you have be only Ministerial, and no way Soveraign, over-reach not the limits which God hath set you; know, that to pardon capital Sin, is beyond your Commission.

Howbeit, as oftentimes the vices of wicked men do cause other their commendable qualities to be abhorred, so the honour of great mens vertues is easily a Cloak of their Errours: In which respect, *Tertullian* hath past with much less obloquy and reprehension than *Novatian*; who, broaching afterwards the same opinion, had not otherwise wherewith to countervail the Offence he gave, and to procure it the like toleration. *Novatian*, at the first, a Stoical Phylosopher (which kinde of men hath alwayes accounted Stupidity the highest top of Wisdom, and Commiseration the deadlyest sin) became by Institution and Study the very same which the other had been before through a secret natural Distemper upon his Conversion to the Christian Faith, and recovery from Sickness, which moved him to receive the Sacrament of Baptisme in his Bed. The Bishops, contrary to the Canons of the Church, would needs, in special love towards him, ordain him Presbyter, which favour satisfied not him, who thought himself worthy of greater Place aud Dignity. He closed therefore with a number of well-minded men, and not suspicious what his secret purposes were, and having made them sure unto him by fraud, procureth his own Consecration to be their Bishop. His Prelacy now was able, as he thought, to countenance what he intended to publish, and therefore his Letters went presently abroad to sundry Churches, advising them never to admit to the Fellowship of Holy Mysteryes, such as had, after Baptisme, offered Sacrifice to Idols.

Concil. *Neocæsar.* c. 12.

Socrat. l. 4. c. 23

There was present at the Council of *Nice*, together with other Bishops, one *Acesius* a *Novatianist*, touching whose diversity in opinion from the Church, the Emperour desirous to hear some reason, asked of him certain Questions: for Answer whereunto, *Acesius* weaveth out a long History of things that happened in the Persecution under *Decius*; And of men, which to save life, forsook Faith. But in the end was a certain bitter Canon, framed in their own School, *That men which fall into deadly sin after holy Baptism, ought never to be again admitted to the Communion of Divine Mysteries: That they are to be exhorted unto Repentance; howbeit not to be put in hope that Pardon can be had at the Priest's hands; but with God, which hath Soveraign Power and Authority in himself to remit sins, it may be in the end they shall finde Mercy.* These Followers of *Novatian*, which gave themselves the Title of Καθαροὶ, Clean, pure and unspotted men, had one point of *Montanism* more than their Master did professe; for amongst Sinnes unpardonable, they reckoned second Marriages, of which opinion *Tertullian* making (as his usual manner was) a salt Apology, *Such is* (saith he) *our stony hardness, that defaming our Comforter with a kinde of enormity in Discipline, we dam up the doors of the Church, no less against twice-married men, then against Adulterers, and Fornicators.* Of this sort therefore it was ordained by the *Nycene* Synod, that, if any such did return to the Catholick and Apostolick unity, they should in Writing binde themselves to observe the Orders of the Church, and Communicate as well with them, which had been often married, or had fallen in time of Persecution, as with other sort of Christian people. But further to relate, or, at all to refel the errour of mis-believing men, concerning this point, is not now to our present purpose greatly necessary.

Concil. *Nicen.* c. 3°.
Socrat. l. 1. c. 7.

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The Church may receive no small detriment by corrupt practice, even there where Doctrine concerning the substance of things practised is free from any great or dangerous corruption. If therefore that which the Papacy doth in matter of Confessions and Absolution, be offensive, if it palpably serve in the use of the Keyes, howsoever, that, which it teacheth in general concerning the Churches power to retain and forgive sinnes be admitted true, have they not on the one side as much whereat to be abasht, as on the other wherein to rejoyce?

They binde all men upon pain of everlasting condemnation and death, to make Confessions to their Ghostly Fathers of every great offence they know, and can remember that they have committed against God. Hath Christ in his Gospel so delivered the Doctrine of Repentance unto the World? Did his Apostles so preach it to Nations? Have the Fathers so believed, or so taught? Surely *Novatian* was not so mercileſs in depriving the Church of power to Absolve some certain Offenders, as they in imposing upon all a necessity thus to confess. *Novatian* would not deny but God might remit that which the Church could not, whereas in the Papacy it is maintained, that what we conceal from men, God himself shall never pardon. By which over-sight, as they have here surcharged the World with multitude, but much abated the weight of Confessions, so the careless manner of their Absolution, hath made Discipline, for the most part, amongst them a bare Formality: Yea, rather a mean of emboldening unto vicious and wicked life, then either any help to prevent future, or medicine to remedy present evils in the Soul of man. The Fathers were slow, and alwayes fearful to absolve any before very manifest tokens given of a true Penitent and Contrite spirit. It was not their custom to remit sin first, and then to impose works of satisfaction, as the fashion of *Rome* is now, in so much that this their prepostrous course, and mis-ordered practises hath bred also in them an errour concerning the end and purpose of these works. For against the guiltiness of sin, and the danger of everlasting condemnation thereby incurred, Confession and Absolution succeeding the same, are, as they take it, a remedy sufficient: and therefore what their Penitentiaries do think to enjoyn farther, whether it be a number of *Ave-Maries* dayly to be scored up, a Journey of Pilgrimage to be undertaken, some few Dishes of ordinary Diet to be exchanged, Offerings to be made at the shrines of Saints, or a little to be scraped off from Mens superfluities for relief of poor People, all is in lieu or exchange with God, whose Justice, notwithstanding our Pardon, yet oweth us still some Temporal punishment, either in this or in the life to come, except we quit it our selves here with works of the former kinde, and continued till the ballance of God's most strict severity shall finde the pains we have taken equivalent with the plagues which we should endure, or else the mercy of the Pope relieve us. And at this Postern-gate cometh in the whole Mart of Papal Indulgences so infinitely strewed, that the pardon of Sinne, which heretofore was obtained hardly, and by much suit, is, with them become now almost impossible to be escaped.

To set down then the force of this Sentence in Absolving Penitents; There are in Sinne these three things: The Act which passeth away and vanisheth: The Pollution wherewith it leaveth the Soul defiled; And the Punishment whereunto they are made subject that have committed it. The act of Sin, is every deed, word, and thought against the Law of God. *For Sinne is the transgression of the Law*, and although the deed it self do not continue, yet is that bad quality permanent, whereby it maketh the Soul unrighteous and deformed in God's sight. *From the Heart, come evil Cogitations, Murthers, Adulteries, Fornications, Thefts, false Testimonies, Slanders; These are things which defile a man.* They do not only, as effects of impurity, argue the Nest no be unclean, out of which they came, but as causes they strengthen that disposition unto Wickedness, which brought them forth; They are both fruits and seeds of uncleanness, they nourish the root out of which they grow, they

In peccato, tria sunt; actio mala, interior macula, & sequela. *Bon.* sent. l. 4. d. 17. q. 3.

1 Joh. 3. 4. Mat. 15. 19.

they breed that iniquity, which bred them. The blot therefore of Sin abideth, though the act be tranſitory. And out of both ariſeth a preſent debt, to endure what puniſhment ſoever the evil which we have done deſerveth; an Obligation, in the Chains whereof Sinners, by the Juſtice of Almighty God, continue bound till Repentance looſe them. *Repent this thy Wickedneſs* (ſaith *Peter*) unto *Simon Magus*; beſeech God, that, if it be poſſible, the thought of thine heart may be pardoned; for I ſee thou art in the gall of bitterneſs, and in the bond of Iniquity. In like manner *Solomon*: *The Wicked ſhall be held faſt in the cords of his own ſin.*

Acts 8. 23.

Prov. 5. 22.

Sacerdotes opus Juſtitiæ exercent in peccatores cum eos juſta pœna ligant; opus miſericordiæ cum de ea aliquod relaxant, vel Sacramentorum communioni conciliant; alia opera in peccatores exercere nequeunt. Sent. l. 4. diſ. 18.

Nor doth God only binde Sinners hand and foot by the dreadful determination of his own unſearchable Judgment againſt them; but ſometime alſo the Church bindeth by the Cenſures of her Diſcipline: So that when Offenders upon their Repentance are, by the ſame Diſcipline, abſolved, the Church looſeth but her own Bonds, the Chains wherein ſhe had tyed them before.

Acts 7. 60. Mich. 7. 19. 1 Cor. 6. 11. Tit. 3. 5. Luc. 12. 5. Mat. 10. 28.

The act of Sin God alone remitteth in that his purpoſe is never to call it to account, *or to lay it unto mens charge*; *The ſtain he waſheth out by the ſanctifying Grace of his Spirit*; And concerning the puniſhment of Sinne, as none elſe hath power to caſt Body and Soul into Hell fire, ſo none power to deliver either beſides him.

As for the Miniſterial Sentence of private Abſolution, it can be no more than a Declaration what God hath done; It hath but the force of the Prophet *Nathan*'s Abſolution, *God hath taken away thy Sin*: Than which conſtruction, eſpecially of words judicial, there is not any thing more vulgar. For example, the Publicans are ſaid in the Goſpel to have juſtified God, The Jews in *Malachi* to have bleſſed Proud men, which ſinne and proſper; not that the one did make God righteous, or the other the wicked happy: But to bleſs, to Juſtifie, and to Abſolve, are as commonly uſed for words of Judgement, or Declaration, as of true and real efficacy; Yea, even by the opinion of the Maſter of Sentences; It may be ſoundly affirmed and thought that God alone doth remit and retain Sinnes, although he have given Power to the Church to do both; But he one way, and the Church another. He only by himſelf forgiveth Sinne, who cleanſeth the Soul from inward blemiſh, and looſeth the Debt of Eternal death: So great a Priviledge he hath not given unto his Prieſts, who notwithſtanding are authorized to looſe and binde, that is to ſay, declare who are bound, and who are looſed. For albeit a man be already cleared before God, yet he is not in the Church of God ſo taken, but by the vertue of the Prieſts Sentence; who likewiſe may be ſaid to binde by impoſing Satisfaction, and to looſe by admitting to the Holy Communion.

2 Sam. 12. 13. Luc. 7. 17 Malach. 3. 15.

Sent. l. 4. diſ. 18.

Saint *Hierom* alſo, whom the Maſter of the Sentences alledgeth for more countenance of his own opinion, doth no leſs plainly and directly affirm; *That as the Prieſts of the Law could only diſcern, and neither cauſe nor remove Leproſies; So the Miniſters of the Goſpel, when they retain or remit Sin, do but in the one judge how long we continue guilty, and in the other declare when we are clear or free.* For there is nothing more apparent, than that the Diſcipline of Repentance, both Publick and Private, was ordained as an outward mean to bring men to the vertue of inward Converſion: So that when this by manifeſt tokens did ſeem effected, Abſolution enſuing (which could not make) ſerved only to declare men innocent.

Hier. tom. 6. comment. in 16. Mat.

But the cauſe wherefore they are ſo ſtiff, and have forſaken their own Maſter in this point, is, for that they hold the private Diſcipline of Penitency to be a Sacrament: Abſolution an external ſign in this Sacrament; the ſigns external of all Sacraments in the New Teſtament, to be both cauſes of that which they ſignifie, and ſigns of that which they truly cauſe.

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To this opinion concerning Sacraments, they are now tyed by expounding a Canon in the *Florentine* Council, according to the former Ecclesiastical invention received from *Thomas*. For his device it was, that the mercy of God, which useth Sacraments as Instruments whereby to work, indueth them at the time of their Administration with supernatural force and ability to induce Grace into the Souls of men; Even as the Axe and Saw doth seem to bring Timber into that fashion which the minde of the Artificer intendeth. His Conceipt, *Scotus*, *Occam*, *Petrus Alliacensis*, with sundry others, do most earnestly and strongly impugn, shewing very good reason wherefore no Sacrament of the new Law can either by vertue which it self hath, or by force supernatural given it, be properly a cause to work Grace; but Sacraments are therefore said to work or conferr Grace, becaus the will of Almighty God is, although not to give them such efficacy, yet himself to be present in the Ministry of the working that effect, which proceedeth wholly from him, without any real operation of theirs such as can enter into men's Souls.

Scot. sent. l. 4. solut. ad 4. quæst. & quintam. *Occam* in 1. qu. quant. *Alliac.* quæst. 1. in 4. sent.

In which construction, seeing that our Books and Writings have made it known to the World how we joyn with them, it seemeth very hard and injurious Dealing, that *Bellarmine* throughout the whole course of his second Book [a] *De Sacramentis in genere*, should so boldly face down his Adversaries, as if their opinion were, that Sacraments are naked, empty, and ineffectual signes; whererein there is no other force than only such, as in Pictures to stir up the minde, that so by theory and speculation of things represented, Faith may grow; Finally, That all the operations which Sacraments have, is a sensible and divine Instruction. But had it pleased him, not to hud-wink his own knowledge, I nothing doubt but he fully saw how to answer himself; it being a matter very strange and incredible, that one which with so great diligence hath winowed [b] his Adversarys Writings, should be ignorant of their minds. For, even as in the Person of our Lord Jesus Christ, both God and Man, when his human nature is by it self considered, we may not attribute that unto him, which we do and must ascribe as oft as respect is had unto both natures combined; so becaus in Sacraments there are two things distinctly to be considered, the outward sign, and the secret concurrence of Gods most blessed Spirit, in which respect our Saviour hath taught that Water and the Holy Ghost are combined, to work the mysterie of new birth; Sacraments therefore, as signs, have only those effects before mentioned: but of Sacraments, in that by God's own Will and Ordinance they are signs assisted alwayes with the power of the Holy Ghost, we acknowledge whatsoever either the places of the Scripture, or the Authority of Councels and Fathers, or the proofs and arguments of reason which he alledgeth, can shew to be wrought by them. The Elements and words have power of infallible signification, for which they are called Seals of God's Truth; The Spirit affixed unto those Elements and Words, power of operation within the Soul, most admirable, divine, and impossible to be expresst. For so God hath instituted and ordained that, together with due administration and receit of Sacramental signs, there shall proceed from himself, Grace effectual, to Sanctifie, to Cure, to Comfort, and whatsoever else is for the good of the Souls of Men. Howbeit this opinion [c] *Thomas* rejecteth, under pretence that it maketh Sacramental Words

a Lutherani de hac re interdum ita scribunt, ut videantur à Catholicis non dissentire; interdum autem apertissime scribunt contraria: at semper in eadem sententia manent, Sacramenta non habere immediate illam efficientiam respectu gratiæ, sed esse nuda signa, tamen mediate aliquid efficere quatenus excitant & alunt fidem, quod ipsum non faciunt nisi repræsentando, ut Sacramenta per visum excitent fidem, quemadmodum prædicatio Verbi per auditum. *Bellarm.* de Sacr. in genere, l. 2. c. 2.

Quædam signa sunt Theorica, non ad alium finem instituta, quam ad significandum; alia ad significandum & efficiendum, quæ ob id Practica dici possunt. Controversia est inter nos & hæreticos, quod illi faciunt Sacramenta signa prioris generis. Quare si ostendere poterimus esse signa posterioris generis, obtinuimns causam, cap. 8.

b Semper memoria repetendum est Sacramenta nihil aliud quam instrumentales esse conferendæ nobis gratiæ causas. *Calv.* in Ant. con. Frid. sc. 7. c. 5. Si qui sint qui negent Sacramentis contineri gratiam quam figurant, illos improbamus, *ibid.* can. 6.

c Iste modus non transcendit rationem signi, cum Sacramentum novæ legis non solum significent, sed causent gratiam. part. 3. q. 61. act. 1. Alexan. part. 4. q. 8. memb. 3. act. 15. 5. 1. & 2. Th. de verit. q. 27. act. 3. Alliac. in quant. sent. 9. 1. Capr. in 4. d. 1. q. 1. Paludan. tom. Ferrar. lib. 4. cont. Gent. c. 57. Necesse est ponere aliquam virtutem supernaturalem in Sacramentis. *Sent.* 4. d. 1. q. 1. act. 4. Sacramentum consequitur spiritualem virtutem cum benedictione Christi, & applicatione Ministri ad usum Sacramenti. par. 3. q. 62. art. 4. Concil. Victus Sacramentalis habet esse transiens ex uno in aliud & incompletum. *Ibidem.* Ex Sacramentis duo consequuntur in anima, unum est character, sive aliquis ornatus; aliud, est gratia. Respectu primo, Sacramenta sunt causæ aliquo modo efficientes; respectu secundo, sunt disponentes. Sacramenta causant dispositionem ad formam ultimam, sed ultimam perfectionem non inducunt. *Sent.* 4. d. 1. art. 4.

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and Elements to be in themſelves no more than ſignes, whereas they ought to be held, as cauſes of that they ſignifie. He therefore reformeth it with this addition, that the very ſenſible parts of the Sacraments do Inſtrumentally effect and produce, not Grace, (for the Schoolmen both of theſe times, and long after, did, for the moſt part, maintain it untrue, and ſome of them unpoſſible, that ſanctifying Grace ſhould efficiently proceed but from God alone, and that by immediate creation, as the ſubſtance of the Soul doth) but the phantaſie which *Thomas* had, was, that ſenſible things, through Chriſt's and the Prieſt's Benediction, receive a certain ſupernatural tranſitory force, which leaveth behinde it a kinde of preparative quality or beauty within the Soul, whereupon immediately from God doth enſue the Grace that juſtifieth.

Now they which pretend to follow *Thomas*, differ from him in two points: For firſt, they make Grace an immediate effect of the outward ſigne, which he for the dignity and excellency thereof was afraid to do. Secondly, Whereas he, to produce but a preparative quality in the Soul, did imagine God to create in the Inſtrument, a ſupernatural Gift, or hability; They confeſſe, that nothing is created, infuſed, or any way inherent, either in the Word, or in the Elements; nothing that giveth them Inſtrumental efficacy, but Gods mere motion, or application. Are they able to explain unto us, or themſelves to conceive, what they mean when they thus ſpeak? For example, let them teach us, in the Sacrament of Baptiſme, what it is for Water to be moved, till it bring forth Grace. The application thereof by the Miniſter is plain to ſenſe; The force which it hath in the minde, as a moral inſtrument of Information, or Inſtruction, we know by reaſon; and by Faith, we underſtand how God doth aſſiſt it with his Spirit; Whereupon enſueth the Grace which Saint *Cyprian* did in himſelf obſerve, ſaying, *After the bathe of Regeneration, having ſcowred out the ſtained foulneſſe of former life, ſupernatural light had entrance into the Breaſt which was purified and cleanſed for it: After that a ſecond nativity had made another man, by inward receipt of the Spirit from Heaven; things doubtful began in marvellous manner to appear certain, that to be open which lay hid, Darkneſſe to ſhine like the clear light, former hardneſſe to be made facility, impoſſibility eaſineſſe: Inſomuch as it might be diſcerned how that was earthly, which before had been carnally bred and lived, given over unto Sinnes; That now God's own, which the Holy Ghoſt did quicken.*

Solus Deus efficit gratiam adeò quod nec Angelis, qui ſunt nobiliores ſenſibilibus creaturis, hoc communicetur. *Sent.* 4. d. 1. q. 1. art. 4. Eph. 2.

Our Opinion is therefore plain unto every man's underſtanding. We take it for a very good ſpeech which *Bonaventure* hath uttered in ſaying: *Heed muſt be taken that while we aſſigne too much to the bodily ſignes in way of their Commendation, we withdraw not the honour which is due to the Cauſe which worketh in them, and the Soul which receiveth them: Whereunto we conformably teach, that the outward ſigne applyed, hath of it ſelf no natural efficacy towards Grace, neither doth God put into it any ſupernatural inherent Vertue:* And, as I think, we thus farre avouch no more than they themſelves confeſſe to be very true.

Cavendum enim ne dum nimis damus corporalibus ſignis ad laudem, ſubtrahamus honorem Cauſæ curanti & animæ ſuſcipienti.

If any thing diſpleaſe them, it is becauſe we adde to theſe Premiſes another aſſertion; That, with the outward ſigne, God joyneth his Holy Spirit; and ſo the whole Inſtrument of God bringeth that to paſſe, whereunto the baſer and meaner part could not extend. As for operations through the motions of ſignes, they are dark, intricate and obſcure; perhaps poſſible, howbeit, not proved either true or likely, by alledging that the touch of our Saviour's Garment reſtored Health, Clay Sight when he applyed it. Although ten thouſand ſuch Examples ſhould be brought, they overthrow not this one Principle; That, where the Inſtrument is without inherent, the Effect muſt neceſſarily proceed from the onely Agents adherent power.

Luk. 18. *Jo.* 9.

It paſſeth a man's conceit how water ſhould be carried into the Soul with

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any force of Divine motion, or Grace proceed but merely from the influence of God's Spirit: Notwithstanding, if God himself teach his Church in this case to believe that which he hath not given us capacity to comprehend, how incredible soever it may seem, yet our Wits should submit themselves, and Reason give place unto Faith therein. But they yield it, to be no question of Faith, how Grace doth proceed from Sacraments; if in general they be acknowledged true instrumental Causes, by the Ministry whereof men receive Divine Grace: And that they which impute Grace to the onely operation of God himself, concurring with the external sign, do no lesse acknowledge the true efficacy of the Sacrament, then they that ascribe the same to the quality of the sign applyed, or to the motion of God applying, and so farr carrying it, till Grace be not created but extracted, out of the natural possibility of the Soul. Nevertheless this last Philosophical imagination (if I may call it Philosophical, which useth the terms, but overthroweth the rules of Philosophy, and hath no Article of Faith to support it; but whatsoever it be) they follow it in a manner all, they cast off the first opinion, wherein is most perspicuity and strongest evidence of certain truth.

Bel. de Sacr. in gen. l. 2. c. 1.

Dicimus gratiam non creari à Deo, sed produci ex aptitudine & potentia naturali animæ, sicut cætera omnia quæ producuntur in subjectis talibus quæ sunt apta nata ad suscipiendum accidentia. Allen de Sacr. in gen. c. 37.

The Councel of *Florence* and *Trent* defining, that Sacraments contain and conferr Grace, the sense whereof (if it liked them) might so easily conform it self with the same opinion which they drew without any just cause quite and clean the other way, making Grace the issue of bare words, in such Sacraments as they have framed destitute of any visible Element, and holding it the off-spring as well of Elements as of Words, in those Sacraments where both are; but in no Sacrament acknowledging Grace to be the fruit of the Holy Ghost working with the outward signe, and not by it, in such sort, as *Thomas* himself teacheth; That the Apostles Imposition of Hands caused not the comming of the Holy Ghost, which notwithstanding was bestowed together with the exercise of that Ceremony; Yea, by it, (saith the Evangelist) to wit, as by a mean, which came between the true Agent and the Effect, but not otherwise.

Tho. de Verit. q. 27. art. 3. resp. ad 16. Acts 8. 18.

Many of the Antient Fathers, presupposing that the Faithful before Christ had not till the time of his comming, that perfect Life and Salvation which they looked for, and we possesse, thought likewise their Sacraments to be but prefigurations of that which ours, in present, do exhibit: For which cause the *Florentine* Councel, comparing the one with the other, saith, *That the old did onely shadow Grace, which was afterward to be given through the passion of Jesus Christ.* But the after-wit of latter daies hath found out another more exquisite distinction, That Evangelical Sacraments are causes to effect Grace, through motions of signes legal, according to the same signification and sense wherein Evangelical Sacraments are held by us to be God's Instruments for that purpose. For howsoever *Bellarmine* hath shrunk up the *Lutherans* sinews, and cut off our Doctrine by the skirts; *Allen*, although he terms us Hereticks, according to the usual bitter venom of his first style, doth yet ingenuously confess, That the old School-mens Doctrine and ours is one concerning Sacramental efficacy, derived from God himself assisting by promise those outward signes of Elements and Words, out of which their School-men of the newer mint, are so desirous to hatch Grace. Where God doth work and use these outward means, wherein he neither findeth nor planteth force and aptnesse towards his intended purpose; such means are but signes to bring men to the consideration of

Quod ad circumcisionem sequebatur remissio, fiebat ratione rei adjunctæ, & ratione pacti divini, eodem plane modo quo non solum hæretici, sed etiam aliquot vetustiores Scholastici voluerunt nova Sacramenta conferre gratiam. Allen de

Sacr. in gen. c. 39. Bonaventura, Scotus, Durandus, Richardus, Occamus, Marcilius, Gabriel, volunt solum Deum producere gratiam ad præsentiam Sacramentorum. *Bellarm.* de Sacr. in gen. lib. 2. cap. 11. Puto longe probatiorem & tutiorem sententiam quæ dat Sacramentis veram efficientiam. Primò, quia doctores passim docent, Sacramenta non agere nisi priùs à Deo virtutem seu benedictionem seu sanctificationem accipiant, & referunt effectum Sacramentorum ad omnipotentiam Dei, & conferunt cum veris causis efficientibus. Secundò, quia non esset differentia inter modum agendi Sacramentorum, & signorum Magicorum. Tertiò, quia tunc non esset homo Dei Minister in ipsa actione Sacramenti, sed homo præberet signum actione sua, & Deus sua actione viso eo signo infunderet gratiam, ut cum unus ostendit syngrapham Mercatori, & ille dat pecunias. At Scripturæ docent, quod Deus baptizat per hominem. *Bellarm.* lib. 2. cap. 11.

his Omnipotent Power, which, without the use of things sensible, would not be marked.

At the time therefore when he giveth his Heavenly Grace, he applyeth, by the hands of his Ministers, that which betokeneth the same; nor only betokeneth, but, being also accompanied for ever with such Power as doth truly work, is in that respect, termed God's Instrument, a true efficient cause of Grace; a cause not in it self, but onely by connexion of that which is in it self a cause, namely, God's own Strength and Power. Sacraments, that is to say, the outward signes in Sacraments, work nothing till they be blessed and sanctified by God.

But what is God's Heavenly Benediction and Sanctification, saving onely the association of his Spirit? Shall we say that Sacraments are like Magical signes, if thus they have their effect? Is it Magick for God to manifest by things sensible what he doth, and to do by his most glorious Spirit really what he manifesteth in his Sacraments? The delivery and administration whereof, remaineth in the hands of mortal men, by whom, as by personal Instruments, God doth apply signes, and with signes inseparably joyn his Spirit, and through the power of his Spirit work Grace. The first is by way of concomitance and consequence to deliver the rest also that either accompany, or ensue.

It is not here, as in Cases of mutual Commerce, where divers Persons have divers acts to be performed in their own behalf; a Creditor to shew his Bill, and a Debtor to pay his Money. But God and Man doe here meet in one Action upon a Third, in whom; as it is the work of God to create Grace, so it is his work by the hand of the Ministry to apply a sign which should betoken, and his work to annex that Spirit which shall effect it. The Action therefore is but one, God the Author thereof, and Man a Co-partner, by him assigned to work for, with, and under him. God the Giver of Grace, by the outward Ministery of man, so farr forth as he authorizeth man to apply the Sacraments of Grace in the Soul, which he alone worketh, without either Instrument or Co-agent.

Whereas therefore with us the remission of Sinne is ascribed unto God, as a thing which proceedeth from him only, and presently followeth upon the vertue of true Repentance appearing in man; that which we attribute to the vertue, they do not only impute to the Sacrament of Repentance; but, having made Repentance a Sacrament, and thinking of Sacraments as they do, they are enforced to make the Ministry of the Priest, and their Absolution a cause of that which the sole Omnipotency of God worketh.

And yet for my own part, I am not able well to conceive how their Doctrine, That human Absolution is really a cause out of which our Deliverance from Sinne doth ensue, can cleave with the Council of *Trent*, defining, *That Contrition perfected with Charity doth at all times it self reconcile offenders to God, before they come to receive actually the Sacrament of Penance.* How it can stand with those Discourses of the learned Rabbies, which grant, *That whosoever turneth unto God with his whole heart, hath immediately his Sinnes taken away; That if a man be truly converted, his Pardon can neither be denyed nor delayed;* It doth not stay for the Priest's Absolution, but presently followeth: *Surely, if every contrite Sinner, in whom there is Charity, and a sincere conversion of Heart, have Remission of Sinnes given him, before he seek it at the Priest's hands; if reconciliation to God be a present and immediate sequel upon every such Conversion or Change: It must of necessity follow, seeing no man can be a true Penitent or Contrite, which doth not both love God, and sincerely abhor Sinne, that therefore they all before Absolution attain Forgivenesse; whereunto notwithstanding Absolution is pretended a Cause so necessary, that Sinne, without it, except in some rare extraordinary Case, cannot possibly be remitted.* Shall Absolution be a Cause producing and working that Effect, which is alwayes brought forth without it, and had before Absolution be thought of? But when they which are thus before-

Conc. Trid. Sess. 14. c. 4.

Bellarm. de Pœnit. l. 2. c. 13.

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hand pardoned of God, shall come to be also assoiled by the Priest, I would know what force his Absolution hath in this case? Are they able to say here that the Priest doth remit any thing? Yet, when any of ours ascribeth the Work of Remission to God, and interpreteth the Priests Sentence to be but a solemn Declaration of that which God himself hath already performed, they scorn at it; they urge against it, that, if this were true, our Saviour Christ should rather have said, *What is loosed in Heaven, ye shall loose on Earth*, then as he doth, *Whatsoever ye loose on Earth, shall in Heaven be loosed.* As if he were to learn of us how to place his words, and not we to crave rather of him a sound and right understanding, lest to his dishonour and our own hurt we mis-expound them. It sufficeth, I think, both against their constructions to have proved that they ground an untruth on his speech; and, in behalf of our own, that his words without any such transposition, do very well admit the sense we give them; which is, that he taketh to himself the lawfull proceedings of Authority in his Name, and that the Act of Spiritual Authority in this case, is by Sentence to acquit or pronounce them free from sinne, whom they judge to be sincerely and truly penitent; which Interpretation they themselves do acknowledge, though not sufficient, yet very true.

Hæc expositio, Ego te absolvo, id est Absolutum ostendo, partim quidem vera est, non tamen perfecta. Sacramenta quippe novæ legis non solum significant, sed efficiunt quod significant. *Soto.* sent. l. 4. dist 14. q. 1. art. 3.

Absolution, they say, declareth indeed; but this is not all, for it likewise maketh innocent; which addition, being an untruth proved, our truth granted, hath, I hope, sufficiency without it; and consequently our opinion therein, neither to be challenged as untrue, nor as unsufficient.

To rid themselves out of these Bryars, and to make Remission of Sinnes an effect of Absolution, notwithstanding that which hitherto hath been said, they have two shifts: At first, that in many Penitents, there is but Attrition of heart, which Attrition they define to be Grief proceeding from Fear without Love; and to these, they say, Absolution doth give that Contrition whereby men are really purged from Sinne. Secondly, that even where Contrition or Inward Repentance doth cleanse without Absolution; the reason why it commeth so to passe, is, Because such Contrites intend and desire Absolution, though they have it not. Which two things granted: The one, that Absolution given, maketh them contrite that are not; the other, even in them which are contrite, the cause why God remitteth Sinne, is the purpose or desire they have to receive Absolution: we are not to stand against a sequel so clear and manifest as this, that alwayes remission of Sinne proceedeth from Absolution either had or desired.

Attritio solum dicit dolorem propter pœnas inferni; dum quis accedit attritus per gratiam Sacramentalem, fit contritus. *Soto.* sent. 4. dist. 14. q. 1. art. 1.

Dum accedit vere contritus propter Deum, illa etiam contritio non est contritio, nisi quatenus prius natura informetur gratia per Sacramentum in voto. *Soto.* sent. 4. dist. 14. q. 1. art. 1.

Legitima contritio votum Sacramenti pro suo tempore debet inducere, atque adeò in virtute futuri Sacramenti peccata remittit. *Id.* art. 3.

But should a reasonable man give credit to their bare Conceit, and because their Positions have driven them to imagine Absolving of unsufficiently-disposed Penitents, to be a real creating of further vertue in them, must all other men think it due? Let them cancel hence forward and blot out of all their Books, those old Cautions touching Necessity of Wisdome, lest Priests should inconsiderately absolve any man, in whom there were not apparent tokens of true Repentance; which to do, was, in Saint *Cyprians* Judgement, *Pestilent Deceit and Flattery, not only not available, but hurtful to them that had transgrest; a frivolous, frustrate, and false peace, such as caused the unrighteous to trust to a lye, and destroyed them unto whom it promised safety.* What needeth Observation, whether Penitents have Worthiness, and bring Contrition,

Tunc sententia Sacerdotis judicio Dei & totius cœlestis Curiæ approbatur, & confirmatur, cum ita ex discretione procedit, ut reorum merita non contradicant. Sent. l. 4. d. 18.

Non est periculosum sacerdoti dicere, Ego te absolvo, illis in quibus signa contritionis videt, quæ sunt dolor de præteritis, & propositum de cætero non peccandi; aliàs, absolvere non debet. *Tho. Opusc.* 22. *Cypr.* de lapsis.

trition, if the words of Abſolution do infuſe Contrition? Have they born us all this while in hand, that Contrition is a part of the matter of their Sacrament; a Condition or Preparation of the Minde towards Grace to be received by Abſolution in the form of their Sacrament? And muſt we now believe, That the Form doth give the Matter? That Abſolution beſtoweth Contrition, and that the words do make preſently of *Saul*, *David*; of *Judas*, *Peter*? For what was the Penitency of *Saul* and *Judas*, but plain Attrition; horrour of Sinne through fear of puniſhment, without any long ſenſe, or taſte of God's Mercy?

Their other Fiction, imputing remiſſion of Sinne to deſire of Abſolution from the Prieſt, even in them which are truly contrite, is an evaſion ſomewhat more witty, but no whit more poſſible for them to prove. Belief of the World and Judgement to come, Faith in the Promiſes, and Sufferings of Chriſt for Mankinde, Fear of his Majeſtie, Love of his Mercy, Grief for Sin, Hope for Pardon, Suit for Grace; Theſe we know to be the Elements of true Contrition: ſuppoſe that, beſides all this, God did alſo command that every Penitent ſhould ſeek his Abſolution at the Prieſts hands; where ſo many Cauſes are concurring unto one effect, have they any reaſon to impute the whole effect unto one; any reaſon in the choyſe of that one to paſs by Faith, Fear, Love, Humility, Hope, Prayer, whatſoever elſe, and to enthronize above them all, A deſire of Abſolution from the Prieſt, as if in the whole work of Man's Repentance, God did regard and accept nothing but for and in conſideration of this? Why do the *Tridentine* Council impute it to Charity, *That Contrites are reconciled in Gods ſight, before they receive the Sacrament of Penance, if deſired Abſolution be the true Cauſe?*

But let this paſſe how it will; ſeeing the Queſtion is not, What vertue God may accept in penitent Sinners, but what Grace Abſolution actually given doth really beſtow upon them.

If it were, as they would have it, That God regarding the Humiliation of a Contrite Spirit, becauſe there is joyned therewith a lowly deſire of the Sacrament of Prieſtly Abſolution, pardoneth immediately, and forgiveth all Offences: Doth this any thing help to prove, that Abſolution received afterward from the Prieſt, can more than declare him already pardoned which did deſire it? To deſire Abſolution, preſuppoſing it commanded, is Obedience: and Obedience in that Caſe is a Branch of the vertue of Repentance, which Vertue being thereby made effectual to the taking away of Sinnes without the Sacrament of Repentance, Is it not an Argument, that the Sacrament of Abſolution hath here no efficacy, but the virtue of Contrition worketh all? For how ſhould any Effect enſue from Cauſes which actually are not? The Sacrament muſt be applyed whereſoever any Grace doth proceed from it. *So that where it is but deſired only, whatſoever may follow upon Gods acceptation of this deſire, the Sacrament, afterwards received, can be no cauſe thereof.* Therefore the further we wade, the better we ſee it ſtill appears, That the Prieſt doth never in Abſolution, no not ſo much as by way of Service and Miniſtry, really either forgive them, take away the uncleanneſs, or remove the puniſhment of Sinne; but if the Party penitent come contrite, he hath, by their own grant, Abſolution before Abſolution; if not contrite, although the Prieſt ſhould ſeem a thouſand times to Abſolve him, all were in vain. For which cauſe, the Antients and better ſort of their School Divines, *Abulenſis*, *Alexander Hales*, and *Bonaventure*, aſcribe *the real abolition of Sinne, and eternal puniſhment, to the mere pardon of Almighty God, without dependency upon the Prieſts Abſolution, as a cauſe to effect the ſame.* His Abſolution hath in their Doctrine certain other effects ſpecified, but this denyed. Wherefore having hitherto ſpoken of the vertue of Repentance required; of the Diſcipline of Repentance

A reatu mortis æternæ abſolvitur homo à Deo per contritionem; manet autem reatus ad quandam pœnam temporalem, & Miniſter Eccleſiæ quicunque virtute clavium tollit reatum cujuſdam partis pœnæ illius. *Abul.* in deſenſ. per. 1. c. 7.

Signum hujus Sacramenti eſt cauſa effectiva gratiæ ſive remiſſionis peccatorum, non ſimpliciter ſicut ipſa prima pœnitentia, ſed ſecundum quid; quia eſt cauſa efficaciæ gratiæ quâ fit remiſſio peccati, quantum ad aliquem effectum in pœnitente, ad minus quantum ad remiſſionem ſequelæ ipſius peccati, ſcilicet pœnæ. *Alex.* p. 4. q. 14. memb. 2.

tance which Chriſt did eſtabliſh; and of the Sacrament of Repentance invented ſithence, againſt the pretended force of Humane Abſolution in Sacramental Penitency; *Let it ſuffice thus far to have ſhewed how God alone doth truly give, the vertue of Repentance alone procure, and private Miniſterial Abſolution but declare, remiſsion of Sinnes.*

Poteſtas clavium propriè loquendo non ſe extendit ſupra culpam; ad illud quod objicitur, To. 22. Quorum remiſeritis peccata: dicendum, quod vel illud de remiſſione dicitur quantum ad offenſionem, vel ſolum quantum ad pœnam. *Bon.* ſent. l. 1. d. 18. q. 1. Ab æterna pœna nullo modo ſolvit Sacerdos, ſed à purgatoria; neque hoc per ſe, ſed per accidens, quod cum in pœnitente, virtute clavium, minuitur debitum pœnæ temporalis, non ita acriter punietur in purgatorio ſicut, ſi non eſſet abſolutus. Sent. l. 4. d. 18. q. 2.

Now the laſt and ſometimes hardeſt to be ſatisfied by Repentance, are our Mindes; and our Mindes we have then ſatisfied, when the Conſcience is of guilty become clear. For, as long as we are in our ſelves privy to our own moſt hainous Crimes, but without ſenſe of God's Mercy and Grace towards us, unleſſe the Heart be either brutiſh for want of Knowledge, or altogether hardned by wilful Atheiſme; the remorſe of Sinne is in it, as the deadly ſting of a Serpent. Which point ſince very Infidels and Heathens have obſerved in the nature of Sinne, (for the diſeaſe they felt, though they knew no remedy to help it) we are not raſhly to deſpiſe thoſe Sentences, which are the teſtimonies of their experience touching this point. They knew that the eye of a Man's own Conſcience is more to be feared by evil doers, than the preſence of a thouſand Witneſſes, in as much as the mouths of other Accuſers are many wayes ſtopt, the ears of the accuſed not alwayes ſubject to glowing with contumely and exprobation; whereas a guilty Minde being forced to be ſtill both a Martyr and a Tyrant it ſelf, muſt of neceſſity endure perpetual Anguiſh and Grief; For, as the Body is rent with ſtripes, ſo the Minde with guiltineſs of Cruelty, Luſt, and wicked Reſolutions. Which Furies brought the Emperour *Tyberius* ſometimes into ſuch perplexity, that writing to the Senate, his wonted art of diſſimulation failed him utterly in this Caſe; And whereas it had been ever his peculiar delight ſo to ſpeak that no man might be able to ſound his meaning, he had not the power to conceal what he felt through the ſecret ſcourge of an evil Conſcience, though no neceſſity did now enforce him to diſcloſe the ſame. *What to write, or how to write, at this preſent, if I know* (ſaith *Tyberius*) *let the Gods and Goddeſſes, who thus continually eat me, only be worſe to me than they are.* It was not his Imperial Dignity and Power, that could provide a way to protect him againſt himſelf; the fears and ſuſpitions which improbity had bred, being ſtrengthned by every occaſion, and thoſe Vertues clean baniſhed, which are the only foundation of ſound tranquility of minde. For which cauſe, it hath been truly ſaid, and agreeably with all mens experience, that if the vertuous did excel in no other priviledge, yet farr happier they are than the contrary ſort of men, for that their hopes be alwayes better.

Neither are we to marvel, that theſe things, known unto all, do ſtay ſo few from being Authors of their own woe.

For we ſee by the antient example of *Joſeph*'s unkinde Brethren, how it commeth to remembrance eaſily when Crimes are once paſt, what the difference is of good from evil, and of right from wrong: But ſuch conſideration when they ſhould have prevented Sinne, were over-match'd by inordinate deſires. Are we not bound then with all thankfulneſſe to acknowledge his infinite goodneſſe and mercy, which hath revealed unto us the way how to rid our ſelves of theſe mazes; the way how to ſhake off that yoke, which no Fleſh is able to bear; the way how to change moſt griſly horror into a comfortable apprehenſion of heavenly joy?

Whereunto there are many which labour with ſo much the greater difficultie, becauſe imbecillity of minde doth not ſuffer them to cenſure rightly their own doings: Some, fearful leſt the enormity of their Crimes be ſo unpardonable that no Repentance can do them good; ſome, leſt the imperfection of their Repentance make it uneffectual to the taking away of Sinne. The one drive all things to this iſſue,

iſſue, whether they be not men that have ſinned againſt the Holy Ghoſt; the other to this, what Repentance is ſufficient to clear Sinners, and to aſſure them that they are delivered.

Such as by Error charge themſelves of unpardonable Sinne, muſt think, it may be, they deem that unpardonable, which is not.

Our Saviour ſpeaketh indeed of Blaſphemy which ſhall never be forgiven: But have they any ſure and infallible knowledge what that Blaſphemy is? If not, why are they unjuſt and cruel to their own Souls, imagining certainty of Guiltineſs in a Crime, concerning the very nature whereof they are uncertain? For mine own part, although where this Blaſphemy is mentioned, the cauſe why our Saviour ſpake thereof, was, the Phariſees Blaſphemy, which was not afraid to ſay, *He had an unclean Spirit, and did caſt out Spirits by the Power of Beelzebub*; Nevertheleſſe I dare not preciſely deny, but that even the Phariſees themſelves might have repented and been forgiven, and that our Lord Jeſus Chriſt peradventure might but take occaſion at their Blaſphemy, which, as yet, was pardonable, to tell them further of an unpardonable Blaſphemy, whereinto he foreſaw that the Jews would fall. For it is plain, that many thouſands, at the firſt, profeſſing Chriſtian Religion, became afterwards wilful Apoſtates, moved with no other cauſe of revolt, but mere indignation that the Gentiles ſhould enjoy the benefit of the Goſpel as much as they, and yet not be burthened with the yoke of *Moſes* his Law.

Mat. 21. 31. Mar. 3. 30.

The Apoſtles, by Preaching, had won them to Chriſt, in whoſe Name they embraced, with great alacrity, the full remiſſion of their former ſinnes and iniquities; they received by the impoſition of the Apoſtles hands, *that Grace and Power of the Holy Ghoſt* whereby they cured Diſeaſes, Prophecyed, ſpake with Tongues; and yet in the end, after all this they fell utterly away, renounced the Myſteries of Chriſtian Faith, Blaſphemed in their formal Abjurations that moſt glorious and bleſſed Spirit, the Gifts whereof themſelves had poſſeſt; and by this means ſunk their Souls in the Gulf of that unpardonable Sinne; whereof, as our Lord JESUS CHRIST had told them before hand, ſo the Apoſtle at the firſt appearance of ſuch their revolt, putteth them in minde again, that falling now to their former Blaſphemies, their Salvation was irrecoverably gone: It was for them in this Caſe impoſſible to be renewed by any Repentance; becauſe they were now in the ſtate of Satan and his Angels; the Judge of quick and dead had paſſed his irrevocable Sentence againſt them.

Acts 2. 38.

Heb. 6. 6.

So great difference there is between Infidels unconverted, and Backſliders in this manner fallen away, that always we have hope to reclaim the one, which only hate whom they never knew; but to the other which know and Blaſpheme, to them that with more than infernal malice accurſe both the ſeen brightneſſe of Glory which is in him, and in themſelves the taſted goodneſs of Divine Grace, as thoſe execrable Miſcreants did, who firſt received in extraordinary miraculous manner, and then, in outragious ſort blaſphemed the *Holy Ghoſt*, abuſing *both it and the whole Religion*, which God, by it, did confirm and magnifie; To ſuch as wilfully thus ſinne, after ſo great light of the Truth, and Gifts of the Spirit, there remaineth juſtly no fruit or benefit to be expected by Chriſt's Sacrifice.

Heb. 10. 26.

For all other Offenders, without exception or ſtint, whether they be Strangers that ſeek acceſſe, or Followers that will make return unto God; upon the tender of their Repentance, the grant of his Grace ſtandeth everlaſtingly ſigned with his blood in the Book of Eternal life. That which, in this Caſe over-terrifieth fearful Souls, is, a miſ-conceit whereby they imagine every act which they doe, knowing that they doe amiſſe, and every wilful Breach or Tranſgreſſion of God's Law, to be mere Sinne againſt the Holy Ghoſt, forgetting that the Law of *Moſes* it ſelf ordained Sacrifices of Expiation, as well for Faults preſumptuouſly committed, as Things wherein men offend by Errour.

Now

Now, there are on the contrary side others, who, doubting not of God's mercy towards all that perfectly repent, remain notwithstandiug scrupulous and troubled with continual fear, lest defects in their own Repentance be a barr against them.

These cast themselves into very great, and peradventure needlesse Agonies through mis-construction of things spoken about proportioning our griefs to our Sinnes, for which they never think they have wept and mourned enough; yea, if they have not alwayes a stream of Tears at command, they take it for a heart congealed and hardned in sinne; when to keep the wound of Contrition bleeding, they unfold the circumstances of their Transgressions, and endeavour to leave nothing which may be heavy against themselves.

Jer. 6. 26. Mich. 1. 8, 9. Lament. 2. 18.

Quam magna deliquimus, tam graviter defleamus. Alto vulneri diligens & longa medicina non desit; pœnitentia crimine minor non sit. *Cypr.* de lapsis. Non levi agendum est contritione, ut debita illa redimantur, quibus mors æterna debetur; nec transitoria opus est satisfactione pro malis illis, propter quæ paratus est ignis æternus. *Euseb.* Emissenus, vel potius Salv. f. 106.

Yet, do what they can, they are still fearful, lest herein also they do not that which they ought and might. Come to Prayer, their coldnesse taketh all heart and courage from them with fasting; albeit their Flesh should be withered, and their Blood clean dryed up, would they ever the lesse object, What is this to *David*'s humiliation? Wherein notwithstanding there was not any thing more than necessary. In works of Charity and Almes-deed; It is not all the World can perswade them they did ever reach the poor bounty of the Widow's two Mites, or by many millions of Leagues come near to the mark which *Cornelius* touched; so farr they are off from the proud surmise of any Penitential Supererogation in miserable wretched Wormes of the Earth.

Psal. 6. 6. Mar. 12. 42. Acts 10. 31.

Notwithstanding, for as much as they wrong themselves with over-rigorous and extreme Exactions, by means whereof they fall sometimes into such Perplexities as can hardly be allayed; It hath therefore pleased Almighty God, in tender commiseration over these imbecillities of men, to ordain for their Spiritual and Ghostly comfort, consecrated Persons, which by Sentence of Power and Authority given from above, may, as it were, out of his very mouth ascertain timerous and doubtful mindes in their own particular, ease them of all their scrupulosities, leave them settled in Peace, and satisfied touching the Mercy of God towards them. To use the benefit of this help for the better satisfaction in such cases, is so natural, that it can be forbidden no man; but yet not so necessary, that all men should be in case to need it.

They are, of the two, the happier therefore that can content and satisfie themselves, by judging discreetly what they perform, and soundly what God doth require of them. For having that which is most material, the substance of Penitency rightly bred, touching signes and tokens thereof, we may affirm that they do boldly, which imagine for every offence a certain proportionable degree in the Passions and Griefs of Minde, whereunto whosoever aspireth not, repenteth in vain.

That, to frustrate mens Confession and Considerations of Sinne, except every Circumstance which may aggravate the same, be unript and laid in the Ballance, is a mercilesse extremity; although it be true, that, as near as we can, such Wounds must be searched to the very bottom. Last of all, to set down the like stint, and to shut up the doors of Mercy against Penitents which come short thereof in the devotion of their Prayers, in the continuance of their Fasts, in the largeness and bounty of their Almes, or in the course of any other such like Duties, is more than God himself hath thought meet, and consequently more than mortal men should presume to do.

That which God doth chiefly respect in mens penitency is their Hearts: *The Heart is it which maketh Repentance sincere*, Sincerity that which findeth favour in God's sight, and the favour of God that which supplyeth by Gracious acceptation

Jer. 29. 13. Joel 2. 12.

tion whatsoever may seem defective in the faithful, hearty, and true Offices of his Servants.

Chryſ. de repar. lapſ. lib. ad Theodor. Depoſit. diſt. 3. c. Talis.

Take it (saith *Chryſoſtome*) upon my credit, *Such is God's merciful inclination towards men, that repentance offered with a ſingle and ſincere minde, he never refuſeth, no, not although we be come to the very top of Iniquity.* If there be a will and desire to return, he receiveth, imbraceth, and omitteth nothing which may restore us to former happineſs; yea, that which is yet above all the rest, albeit we cannot in the duty of satisfying him, attain what we ought, and would, but come farre behinde our mark, he taketh nevertheleſſe in good worth that little which we doe; be it never so mean; we loſe not our labour therein.

The least and lowest step of Repentance in Saint *Chryſoſtome*'s Judgement severeth and setteth us above them that periſh in their Sinne; I therefore will end with Saint *Auguſtine*'s Concluſion: *Lord, in thy Booke and Volume of Life all ſhall be written, as well the Leaſt of thy Saints, as the Chiefeſt.* Let not therefore the Unperfect fear; Let them onely proceed and go forward.

Aug. in Pſ. 138.

OF

OF THE LAWS OF Ecclesiastical Polity.

Book VII.

Their Sixth Assertion, That there ought not to be in the Church, Bishops indued with such Authority and Honour as ours are.

The Matter contained in this Seventh Book.

1. *The state of Bishops although sometime oppugned and that by such as therein would most seem to please God, yet by his providence upheld hitherto, whose glory it is to maintain that whereof himself is the Author.*
2. *What a Bishop is, what his name doth import, and what doth belong unto his office as he is a Bishop.*
3. *In Bishops two things traduced; of which two, the one their Authority, and in it the first thing condemned, their superiority over other Ministers: What kinde of superiority in Ministers it is which the one part holdeth, and the other denieth lawful.*
4. *From whence it hath grown that the Church is governed by Bishops.*
5. *The time and cause of instituting every where Bishops with restraint.*
6. *What manner of power Bishops from the first beginning have had.*
7. *After what sort Bishops, together with Presbyters have used to govern the Churches which were under them.*
8. *How far the power of Bishops hath reached from the beginning in respect of territory, or local compass.*
9. *In what respects Episcopal Regiment hath been gainsaid of old by* Aerius.
10. *In what respect Episcopal Regiment is gainsaid by the Authors of pretended Reformation at this day.*

11. *Their arguments in disgrace of Regiment by Bishops, as being a meer invention of man, and not found in Scripture, answered.*
12. *Their arguments to prove there was no necessity of instituting Bishops in the Church.*
13. *The fore-alleadged Arguments, answered.*
14. *An answer unto those things which are objected concerning the difference between that Power which Bishops now have, and that which ancient Bishops had, more then other Presbyters.*
15. *Concerning the civil Power and Authority which our Bishops have.*
16. *The Arguments answered, whereby they would prove that the Law of God, and the judgement of the best in all ages condemneth the ruling superiority of one Minister over another.*
17. *The second malicious thing wherein the state of Bishops suffereth obloquy, is their Honour.*
18. *What good doth publickly grow from the Prelacy.*
19. *What kinds of Honor be due unto Bishops.*
20. *Honor in Title, Place, Ornament, Attendance, and Priviledge.*
21. *Honor by endowment with Lands and Livings.*
22. *That of Ecclesiastical Goods, and consequently of the Lands and Livings which Bishops enjoy, the propriety belongs unto God alone.*
23. *That Ecclesiastical persons are receivers of Gods Rents, and that the honour of Prelates, is to be thereof his chief Receivers, not without liberty from him granted of converting the same unto their own use, even in large manner.*
24. *That for their unworthiness to deprive both them and their Successors of such Goods, and to convey the same unto men of secular callings, now extream Sacrilegious Injustice.*

The state of Bishops although somtime oppugned, and that by such as therein would most seem to please God, yet by his providence upheld hitherto, whose glory it is to maintain that whereof himself is the Author.

I. Have heard that a famous Kingdom in the world being sollicited to reform such disorders as all men saw the Church exceedingly burthened with, when of each degree great multitudes thereunto inclined, and the number of them did every day so encrease that this intended work was likely to take no other effect then all good men did wish and labour for: A principal actor herein (for zeal and boldness of Spirit) thought it good to shew them betimes what it was which must be effected, or else that there could be no work of perfect Reformation accomplished. To this purpose, in a solemn Sermon, and in a great Assembly he described unto them the present quality of their publick Estate, by the parable of a tree, huge and goodly to look upon, but without that fruit which it should and might bring forth; affirming that the only way of redress was a full and perfect establishment of Christs Discipline (for so their manner is to entitle a thing hammered out upon the forge of their own invention) and that to make way of entrance for it, there must be three great limbs cut off from the body of that stately tree of the Kingdom: Those three limbs were three sorts of men; Nobles, whose high Estate would make them otherwise disdain to put their necks under that yoke: Lawyers, whose Courts being not pulled down, the new Church Consistories were not like to flourish: Finally, Prelates, whose ancient Dignity, and the simplicity of their intended Church-Discipline, could not possibly stand together. The proposition of which device being plausible to active spirits, restless through desire of innovation, whom commonly nothing doth more offend then a change which goeth fearfully on by slow and suspicious paces; the heavier and more experienced sort began presently thereat to pull back their feet again, and exceedingly to fear the stratagem of Reformation for ever after. Whereupon ensued those extream conflicts of the one part with the other, which continuing and encreasing to this very day, have now made the state of that flourishing Kingdom even such, as whereunto we may most fitly apply those words of the Prophet *Jeremiah, Thy breach is great like the Sea, who can heal thee?* Whether this were done in truth, according to the constant affirmation of some avouching the same, I take not upon me to examine;

That

That which I note therein is, How with us that policie hath been corrected. For to the Authors of pretended Reformation with us, it hath not seemed expedient to offer the edge of the axe unto all three boughs at once, but rather to single them, and strike at the weakest first, making show that the lop of that one shall draw the more abundance of sap to the other two, that they may thereby the better prosper. All prosperity, felicity and peace we wish multiplied on each Estate, as far as their own hearts desire is: But let men know that there is a God, whose eye beholdeth them in all their ways; a God, the usual and ordinary course of whose justice, is to return upon the head of malice the same devices which it contriveth against others The foul practices which have been used for the overthrow of Bishops, may perhaps wax bold in process of time to give the like assault even there, from whence at this present they are most seconded. Nor let it over-dismay them who suffer such things at the hands of this most unkind world, to see that heavenly estate and dignity thus conculcated, in regard whereof so many their Predecessors were no less esteemed then if they had not been men but Angels amongst men. With former Bishops it was as with *Job* in the days of that prosperity, which at large he describeth, saying, *Unto me men gave ear, they waited and held their tongue at my counsel, after my words they replied not, I appointed out their way and did sit as chief, I dwelt as it had been a King in an Army.* At this day, the case is otherwise with them; and yet no otherwise then with the self same *Job* at what time the alteration of his estate wrested these contrary speeches from him, *But now they that are younger then I mock at me, the children of fools, and off-spring of slaves, creatures more base then the earth they tread on; such as if they did show their heads, young and old would shout at them and chase them through the streets with a cry, their song I am, I am a theam for them to talk on.* An injury less grievous if it were not offered by them whom Satan hath through his fraud and subtilty so far beguiled as to make them imagine herein they do unto God a part of most faithful service. Whereas the lord in truth, whom they serve herein, is, as St. *Cyprian* telleth them, like, not Christ (for he it is that doth appoint and protect Bishops) but rather Christs adversary and enemy of his Church. A thousand five hundred years and upward the Church of Christ hath now continued under the sacred Regiment of Bishops. Neither for so long hath Christianity been ever planted in any Kingdom throughout the world but with this kind of government alone; which to have been ordained of God, I am, for mine own part, even as resolutely perswaded, as that any other kind of Government in the world whatsoever is of God. In this Realm of *England*, before *Normans*, yea before *Saxons*, there being Christians, the chief Pastors of their souls were Bishops. This order from about the first establishment of Christian Religion which was publiquely begun through the vertuous disposition of King *Lucius* not fully two hundred years after Christ, continued till the coming in of the *Saxons*; By whom Paganism being every where else replanted, only one part of the Island, whereinto the ancient, natural inhabitants the *Britains* were driven, retained constantly the faith of Christ, together with the same form of spiritual Regiment, which their Fathers had before received. Wherefore in the Histories of the Church we find very ancient mention made of our own Bishops. At the Council of *Ariminum* about the year 359 Britain had three of her Bishops present. At the arrival of *Augustine* the Monk, whom *Gregory* sent hither to reclaim the *Saxons* from Gentility about six hundred years after Christ, the *Britains* he found observers still of the self same Government by Bishops over the rest of the Clergy; under this form Christianity took root again, where it had been exiled. Under the self same form it remained till the days of the *a Norman* Conqueror. By him and his successors thereunto *b* sworn, it hath from that time till now, by the space of above five hundred years more been upheld. O Nation utterly without knowledge, without sense! We are not through error of mind deceived, but some wicked thing hath undoubtedly bewitched us, if we forsake that Government, the use whereof universal experience hath for so many years approved, and betake our selves unto a Regiment, neither appointed of God himself; as they who favour it pretend, nor till yesterday ever heard of among men. By the Jews *Festus* was much complained of, as being a Governor marvellous corrupt, and almost intolerable: Such notwithstanding were they who came after him, that men which thought the publique condition most afflicted under *Festus*, began to wish they had

Cyp. l. 1. ep. 3.

Sulpit. Sever. lib. 2. Beda Eccl. hist. l. 2. c. 2.

a An. 1066.

b Alfredus Beverac. Archiepiscopus Gulielmum cognomento Nothum spirantem adhuc minarum & cædis in populum, mitem reddidit & religiosis pro conservanda repub. tuendaque eccleiast. disc. sacramento astrinxit. Nubrig. l. 1. c. 1.

had him again, and to esteem him a Ruler commendable. Great things are hoped for at the hands of these new Presidents, whom Reformation would bring in: Notwithstanding the time may come, when Bishops, whose Regiment doth now seem a yoke so heavy to bear, will be longed for again even by them that are the readiest to have it taken from off their necks. But in the hands of Divine Providence we leave the ordering of all such events; and come now to the Question it self which is raised concerning Bishops. For the better understanding whereof we must before hand set down what is meant, when in this Question we name a Bishop.

What a Bishop is, what his name doth import, and what doth belong to his Office as he is a Bishop.

II. For whatsoever we bring from Antiquity by way of defence in this cause of Bishops, it is cast off as impertinent matter, all is wiped away with an odd kind of shifting Answer, *That the Bishops which now are, be not like unto them which were.* We therefore beseech all indifferent Judges to weigh sincerely with themselves how the case doth stand. If it should be at this day a controversie whether Kingly Regiment were lawful or no; peradventure in defence thereof, the long continuance which it hath had sithence the first beginning might be alleadged; mention perhaps might be made what Kings there were of old even in *Abrahams* time, what Soveraign Princes both before and after. Suppose that herein some man purposely bending his wit against Sovereignty, should think to elude all such allegations by making ample discovery through a number of particularities, wherein the Kings that are, do differ from those that have been, and should therefore in the end conclude, That such ancient examples are no convenient proofs of that Royalty which is now in use. Surely for decision of truth in this case there were no remedy, but only to shew the nature of Sovereignty, to sever it from accidental properties, to make it clear that ancient and present Regality are one and the same in substance, how great odds soever otherwise may seem to be between them. In like manner, whereas a Question of late hath grown, whether Ecclesiastical Regiment by Bishops be lawful in the Church of Christ or no: In which Question, they that hold the Negative, being pressed with that generally received order, according whereunto the most renowned Lights of the Christian World, have governed the same in every age as Bishops; seeing their manner is to reply, that such Bishops as those ancient were, ours are not; There is no remedy but to shew, that to be a Bishop is now the self same thing which it hath been; that one definition agreeth fully and truly as well to those elder, as to these latter Bishops. Sundry dissimilitudes we grant there are, which notwithstanding are not such that they cause any equivocation in the name, whereby we should think a Bishop in those times to have had a clean other definition then doth rightly agree unto Bishops as they are now: Many things there are in the state of Bishops, which the times have changed; Many a Parsonage at this day is larger then some ancient Bishopricks were; many an antient Bishop poorer then at this day sundry under them in degree. The simple hereupon, lacking judgement and knowledge to discern between the nature of things which changeth not, and these outward variable accidents, are made beleeve that a Bishop heretofore and now are things in their very nature so distinct that they cannot be judged the same. Yet to men that have any part of skill, what more evident and plain in Bishops, then that augmentation or diminution in their precincts, allowances, priviledges, and such like, do make a difference indeed, but no essential difference between one Bishop and another? As for those things in regard whereof we use properly to term them Bishops; those things whereby they essentially differ from other Pastors; those things which the natural definition of a Bishop must contain, what one of them is there more or less appliable unto Bishops now than of old? The name Bishop hath been borrowed from the *a* Grecians, with whom it signifieth, One which hath principal charge to guide and Oversee others. The same word in Ecclesiastical writings being applied unto Church-governors, at the first unto *b* all and not unto the chiefest only, grew in short time peculiar and proper to signifie such Episcopal Authority alone,

a Οἱ παρ' Ἀθηναίων εἰς τὰς ἐπικόους πόλεις ἐπισκκέψασθαι τὰ παρ' ἑκάστοις πεμπόμενοι Ἐπίσκοποι καὶ φύλακες ἐκαλοῦντο οὓς οἱ Λάκωνες ἁρμοστὰς ἔλεγον. *Suid.* Κατέστησεν ἐν ἑκάστοις τῶν πάγων ἄρχοντα ἐπίσκοπον τε καὶ περίπολον τῆς ἰδίας μοίρας. *Dionys. Halicar.* de Numa Pompilio, Antiq. lib. 2. Vult me *Pompeius* esse quem tota hæc Campania & maritima ora habeat Ἐπίσκοπον, ad quem delectus & negotii summa referatur. *Cic.* ad Attic. lib. 7. Epist. 11.

b Acts 20. Phil. 1. 1.

as

as the chiefeſt Governors exerciſed over the reſt; for with all Names this is uſual, that, in as much as they are not given till the things whereunto they are given, have bin ſome time firſt obſerved; therefore generally, Things are antienter then the Names whereby they are called.

And God brought them unto *Adam*, that *Adam* might ſee or conſider what name it was meet he ſhould give unto them, Gen. 2. 19.

Again, ſith the firſt things that grow into general obſervation, and do thereby give men occaſion to find Names for them, are thoſe which being in many Subjects, are thereby the eaſier, the oftner, and the more univerſally noted; it followeth, that names impoſed to ſignifie common qualities or operations are ancienter, then is the reſtraint of thoſe names, to note an excellency of ſuch qualities or operations in ſome one or few amongſt others. For example, the name Diſciple being invented to ſignifie generally a learner, it cannot chooſe but in that ſignification be more ancient then when it ſignifieth, as it were by a kind of appropriation, thoſe Learners who being taught of Chriſt were in that reſpect termed Diſciples by an excellency. The like is to be ſeen in the name Apoſtle, the uſe whereof to ſignifie a meſſenger, muſt needs be more ancient then that uſe which reſtraineth it unto Meſſengers ſent concerning Evangelical affairs; yea this uſe more ancient then that whereby the ſame word is yet reſtrained farther to ſignifie only thoſe whom our Saviour himſelf immediately did ſend. After the ſame manner the Title or Name of a Biſhop having been uſed of old to ſignifie both an Eccleſiaſtical Overſeer in general, and more particularly alſo a Principal Eccleſiaſtical Overſeer; it followeth, that this latter reſtrained ſignification is not ſo ancient as the former, being more common: Yet becauſe the things themſelves are always ancienter then their names; therefore that thing which the reſtrained uſe of the word doth import, is likewiſe ancienter then the reſtraint of the word is; and conſequently that power of chief Eccleſiaſtical Overſeers, which the term of a Biſhop importeth, was before the reſtrained uſe of the name which doth import it. Wherefore a lame and an impotent kind of reaſoning it is, when men go about to prove that in the Apoſtles times there was no ſuch thing as the reſtrained name of a Biſhop doth now ſignifie; becauſe in their writings there is found no reſtraint of that name, but only a general uſe whereby it reacheth unto all ſpiritual Governors and Overſeers.

So alſo the name *Deacon*, a Miniſter, appropriated to a certain order of Miniſters.

The name likewiſe of a Miniſter was common to divers degrees, which now is peculiarly among our ſelves given only to Paſtors, and not as anciently to Deacons alſo.

But to let go the name, and to come to the very nature of that thing which is thereby ſignified in all kindes of Regiment whether Eccleſiaſtical or Civil: as there are ſundry operations publique, ſo likewiſe great inequality there is in the ſame operations, ſome being of principal reſpect, and therefore not fit to be dealt in by every one to whom publique actions, and thoſe of good importance, are notwithſtanding well and fitly enough committed. From hence have grown thoſe different degrees of Magiſtrates or publique perſons, even Eccleſiaſtical as well as Civil. Amongſt Eccleſiaſtical Perſons therefore Biſhops being chief ones, a Biſhops function muſt be defined by that wherein his Chiefty conſiſteth. A Biſhop is a Miniſter of God, unto whom with permanent continuance, there is given not only power of adminiſtring the Word and Sacraments, which power other Presbyrers have; but alſo a further power to ordain Eccleſiaſtical perſons, and a power of Chiefty in Government over Presbyters as well as Lay men, a power to be by way of juriſdiction a Paſtor even to Paſtors themſelves. So that this Office, as he is a Presbyter or Paſtor, conſiſteth in thoſe things which are common unto him with other Paſtors, as in miniſtring the Word and Sacraments: But thoſe things incident unto his Office, which do properly make him a Biſhop, cannot be common unto him with other Paſtors. Now even as Paſtors, ſo likewiſe Biſhops being principal Paſtors, are either at large or elſe with reſtraint. At large, when the ſubject of their Regiment is indefinite, and not tyed to any certain place: Biſhops with reſtraint, are they whoſe Regiment over the Church is contained within ſome definite, local compaſs, beyond which compaſs their juriſdiction reacheth not. Such therefore we always mean when we ſpeak of that Regiment by Biſhops; which we hold a thing moſt lawful, divine and holy in the Church of Chriſt.

In Bishops two things traduced; of which two the one their Authority, & in it the first thing condemned, their superiority over other Ministers: what kind of superiority in Ministers it is which the one part holdeth and the other denieth lawful.

III. In our present regiment by Bishops two things there are complained of; the one their great Authority, and the other their great Honor. Touching the Authority of our Bishops, the first thing which therein displeaseth their Adversaries, is the Superiority which Bishops have over other Ministers. They which cannot brook the Superiority which Bishops have, do notwithstanding themselves admit that some kind of difference and inequality there may be lawfully amongst Ministers: Inequality as touching gifts and graces they grant, because this is so plain that no mist in the world can be cast before mens eyes so thick, but that they needs must discern thorow it, that one Minister of the Gospel may be more learneder, holier, and wiser, better able to instruct, more apt to rule and guide them then another: Unless thus much were confest, those men should lose their fame and glory whom they themselves do entitle the Lights and grand Worthies of this present age. Again, a priority of Order they deny not, but that there may be; yea such a priority as maketh one man amongst many a principal Actor in those things whereunto sundry of them must necessarily concur, so that the same be admitted only during the time of such actions and no longer; that is to say just so much superiority, and neither more nor less may be liked of, then it hath pleased them in their own kind of regiment to set down. The inequality which they complain of, is, *That one Minister of the Word and Sacraments should have a permanent superiority above another, or in any sort a superiority of power mandatory, judicial and coercive over other Ministers.* By us, on the contrary side, *inequality, even such inequality as unto Bishops being Ministers of the Word and Sacraments granteth a superiority permanent above Ministers, yea a permanent superiority of power mandatory, judicial and coercive over them,* is maintained a thing allowable, lawful and good. For, superiority of power may be either above them or upon them, in regard of whom it is termed superiority. One Pastor hath superiority of power above another, when either some are authorised to do things worthier then are permitted unto all, some are preferred to be principal Agents, the rest Agents with dependency and subordination. The former of these two kinds of superiority is such as the High-Priest had above other Priests of the Law, in being appointed to enter once a year the holy place, which the rest of the Priests might not do. The latter superiority such as Presidents have in those actions which are done by others with them, they nevertheless being principal and chief therein. One Pastor hath superiority of power, not only above but upon another, when some are subject unto others commandment and judicial controlment, by vertue of publique jurisdiction. Superiority in this last kinde is utterly denied, to be allowable; in the rest it is only denied that the lasting continuance and settled permanency thereof is lawful. So that if we prove at all the lawfulness of superiority in this last kind, where the same is simply denied, and of permanent superiority in the rest where some kind of superiority is granted, but with restraint to the term and continuance of certain actions, with which the same must, as they say, expire and cease; If we can show these two things maintainable, we bear up sufficiently that which the adverse party endeavoureth to overthrow. Our desire therefore is, that this issue may be strictly observed, and those things accordingly judged of, which we are to alleadge. This we boldly therefore set down, as a most infallible truth, *That the Church of Christ is at this day lawfully, and so hath been sithence the first beginning, governed by Bishops, having permanent superiority, and ruling power over other Ministers of the Word and Sacraments.*

For the plainer explication whereof, let us briefly declare first, The birth and original of the same power, whence and by what occasion it grew. Secondly, What manner of power antiquity doth witness Bishops to have had more then Presbyters which were no Bishops. Thirdly, After what sort Bishops together with Presbyters have used to govern the Churches under them, according to the like testimonial evidence of antiquity. Fourthly, How far the same Episcopal power hath usually extended, unto what number of persons it hath reached, what bounds and limits of place it hath had. This done, we may afterwards descend unto those by whom the same either hath been heretofore, or is at this present hour gainsaid.

IV. The

IV. The first Bishops in the Church of Christ were his blessed Apostles, for the Office whereunto *Matthias* was chosen the sacred History doth term Ἐπισκοπὴν an Episcopal Office. Which being spoken expresly of one, agreeth no less unto them all then unto him. For which cause St. *Cyprian* speaking generally of them all doth call them Bishops. They which were termed Apostles, as being sent of Christ to publish his Gospel throughout the world, and were named likewise Bishops, in that the care of Government was also committed unto them, did no less perform the offices of their Episcopal Authority by governing, then of their Apostolical by teaching. The word Ἐπισκοπὴ expressing that part of their office which did consist in Regiment, proveth not (I grant) their chiefty in regiment over others, because as then that name was common unto the function of their inferiors, and not peculiar unto theirs. But the History of their actions sheweth plainly enough how the thing it self which that name appropriated importeth, that is to say, even such spiritual chiefty as we have already defined to be properly Episcopal, was in the holy Apostles of Christ. Bishops therefore they were at large. But was it lawful for any of them to be a Bishop with restraint? True it is their charge was indefinite, yet so, that in case they did all, whether severally or joyntly discharge the Office of proclaiming every where the Gospel, and of guiding the Church of Christ, none of them casting off his part in their burthen which was laid upon them; there doth appear no impediment but that they having received their common charge indefinitely might in the execution thereof notwithstanding restrain themselves, or at leastwise be restrained by the after commandment of the Spirit, without contradiction or repugnancy unto that charge more indefinite and general before given them; especially if it seemed at any time requisite, and for the greater good of the Church, that they should in such sort tye themselves unto some special part of the flock of Jesus Christ, guiding the same in several as Bishops. For first, notwithstanding our Saviours commandment unto them all to go and preach unto all Nations. Yet some restraint we see there was made, when by agreement between *Paul* and *Peter* moved with those effects of their labours which the providence of God brought forth; the one betook himself unto the Gentiles; the other unto the Jews, for the exercise of that Office of every where preaching. A further restraint of their Apostolical labours as yet there was also made, when they divided themselves into several parts of the world; [a] *John* for his charge taking *Asia*, and so the residue other quarters to labour in. If nevertheless it seem very hard that we should admit a restraint so particular, as after that general charge received, to make any Apostle notwithstanding the Bishop of some one Church, what think we of the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, [b] *James*, whose consecration unto that Mother See of the world, because it was not meet that it should at any time be left void of some Apostle doth seem to have been the very cause of St. *Pauls* miraculous vocation to make up the [c] number of the Twelve again, for the gathering of nations abroad, even as the [d] martyrdom of the other *James* the reason why *Barnabas* in his stead was called. Finally, Apostles whether they did settle in any one certain place, as *James*, or else did otherwise as the Apostle *Paul*; Episcopal Authority either at large or with restraint they had and exercised: Their Episcopal power they sometimes gave unto others to exercise as agents only in their stead, and as it were by commission from them. Thus [e] *Titus*, and thus *Timothy* at the first, though [f] afterwards indued with Apostolical power of their own. For in process of time the Apostles gave Episcopal Authority, and that to continue always with them which had it. *We are able to number up them*, [g] saith *Irenæus*, *who by the Apostles were made Bishops*. In *Rome* he affirmeth that the Apostles themselves made *Linus* the first Bishop. Again of *Polycarp* he saith likewise, that the Apostles made him Bishop of the Church of *Smyrna*. [h] Of *Antioch* they made *Evodius* Bishop as *Ignatius* witnesseth, exhorting

From whence it hath grown that the Church is governed by Bishops.

Meminisse Diaconi debent quoniam Apostolos id est Episcopos & præpositos Dominus elegit. Cyp. l. 3 ep. 9.

Rom. 2.14,15. 1 Cor. 9.16. Joh. 22.15,16.

Gal. 2. 8.

[a] Him *Eusebius* doth name the Governor of the Churches in Asia, Lib 3. Hist. Eccles. cap. 5. *Tertullian* calleth the same Churches St. *Johns* Foster daughters Lib. 3. adverf. Marcion.

[b] *Jacobus* qui appellatur frater Domini cognomento Justus post passionem Domini statim ab Apostolis, Hierosolymorum Episcopus ordinatus est. Hierom de script. Eccles. Eodem Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. 2. cap. 1. The same seemeth to be intimated Acts 15 13. and Acts 21. 18. [c] Acts 12. 2. [d] Acts 13.2. [e] Tit. 1. 5. [f] This appeareth by those subscriptions which are set afrer the Epistle to *Titus*, and the second to *Timothy*, and by *Euseb.* Eccles. hist. lib. 3. c. 4. [g] Iren. lib. 3. c. 3. [h] In Ep. ad Antioch.

tempore Jacobum primum sedem Episcopalem Ecclesiæ quæ est Hierosolymis obtinuisse memoriæ traditur.

that

that Church to tread in his holy steps, and to follow his vertuous example. The Apostles therefore were the first which had such authority, and all others who have it after them in orderly sort are their lawful Successors, whether they succeed in any particular Church, where before them some Apostle hath been seated, as *Simon* succeeded *James* in *Jerusalem*; or else be otherwise endued with the same kind of Bishoply power, although it be not where any Apostle before hath been. For to succeed them, is after them to have that Episcopal kind of power which was first given to them. All Bishops are, saith *Jerome*, the Apostles successors. In like sort *Cyprian* doth term Bishops, *Prepositos qui Apostolis vicaria ordinatione succedunt.* From hence it may happily seem to have grown, that they whom now we call Bishops * were usually termed at the first Apostles, and so did carry their very names in whose rooms of spiritual authority they succeeded. Such as deny Apostles to have [a] any successors at all in the office of their Apostleship, may hold that opinion without contradiction to this of ours, if they well explain themselves in declaring what truly and properly Apostleship is: In some things every Presbyter, in some things onely Bishops, in some things neither the one nor the other are the Apostles Successors. The Apostles were sent as special chosen [b] eye-witnesses of Jesus Christ, from whom [c] immediately they received their whole Embassage, and their Commission to be the principal [d] first founders of an House of God consisting as well of [e] Gentiles as of Jews: In this there are not after them any other like unto them; And yet the Apostles have now their Successors upon earth their true Successors, if not in the largeness, surely in the kind of that Episcopal function, whereby they had power to sit as spiritual ordinary Judges, both over Laity and over Clergy where Churches Christian were established.

Hieron. ep. 81. Cypr. p. ad Florent.

* Th ed. in 1 Tim. 3.

[a] Ipsius Apostolatus nulla successio. Finitur enim legatio cum legato nec ad successores ipsius transit. Stapl. doct. prin. can.

[b] Act. 1. 21, 22. 1 John 1. 3.

[c] Gal. 1. 1.

[d] Apoc. 21. 14.

[e] Mat. 28. 19.

The time and cause of instituting every where Bishops with restraint.

V. The Apostles of our Lord did, according unto those directions which were given them from above, erect Churches in all such Cities as received the Word of Truth, the Gospel of God; All Churches by them erected, received from them the same Faith, the same Sacraments, the same form of publick regiment. The form of Regiment by them established at first was, That the Laity of people should be subject unto a Colledge of Ecclesiastical persons, which were in every such City appointed for that purpose. These in their writings they term sometime Presbyters, sometime Bishops. To take one Church out of a number for a patern what the rest were; the Presbyters of *Ephesus*, as it is in the History of their departure from the Apostle *Paul* at *Miletum*, are said to have wept abundantly all, which speech doth shew them to have been many. And by the Apostles exhortation it may appear, that they had not each his several flock to feed, but were in common appointed to feed that one flock the Church of *Ephesus*; for which cause the phrase of his speech is this, *Attendite gregi.* Look all to that one flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made you Bishops. These persons Ecclesiastical being termed as then, Presbyters and Bishops both, were all subject unto *Paul* as to an higher Governor appointed of God to be over them. But for as much as the Apostles could not themselves be present in all Churches, and as the Apostle St. *Paul* foretold the Presbyters of the *Ephesians* that *there would rise up from amongst their own selves, men speaking perverse things to draw Disciples after them*; there did grow in short time amongst the Governors of each Church, those emulations, strifes, and contentions, whereof there could be no sufficient remedy provided, except, according unto the order of *Jerusalem* already begun, some one were indued with Episcopal Authority over the rest, which one being resident might keep them in order, and have prehemínence or principality in those things, wherein the equality of many agents was the cause of disorder and trouble. This one President or Governour, amongst the rest had his known Authority established a long time before that settled difference of name, and title took place, whereby such alone were named Bishops. And therefore in the book of S. *Johns Revelation* we find that they are entituled [a] Angels. It will perhaps be answered, That the Angels of those Churches were onely in every Church a Minister

Acts 20. 36, 37

Acts 20. 29 30.

As appeareth both by his sending to call the Presbyters of *Ephesus* before him as far as to *Miletum*. Acts 20. 17. which was almost fifty miles, and by his leaving *Timothy* in his place with his Authority and instructions for ordaining of Ministers there. 1 Tim. 5. 22. and for proportioning their maintenance, verse 17. 18. and for judicial hearing of accusations brought against them, verse 19. and for holding them in an uniformity of Doctrine, chap. 1, 3. verse 3. [a] Revel. 2.

of

Sacraments : But then we ask, Is it probable that in every of theſe Churches, even in *Epheſus* it ſelf, where many ſuch Miniſters were long before; as hath been proved, there was but one ſuch when *John* directed his ſpeech to the Angel of that Church? If there were many, ſurely St. *John* in naming but only one of them an Angel, did behold in that one ſomewhat above the reſt. Nor was this order peculiar unto ſome few Churches, but the whole world univerſally became ſubject thereunto; inſomuch as they did not account it to be a Church, which was not ſubject unto a Biſhop. It was the general received perſwaſion of the ancient Chriſtian world, that *Eccleſia eſt in Epiſcopo*, the outward being of a Church conſiſteth in the having of a Biſhop: That where Colledges of Presbyters were, there was at the firſt, equality amongſt them, S. *Jerome* thinketh it a matter clear; but when the reſt were thus equal, ſo that no one of them could command any other as inferior unto him, they all were controlable by the Apoſtles, who had that Epiſcopal authority abiding at the firſt in themſelves, which they afterwards derived unto others. The cauſe wherefore they under themſelves appointed ſuch Biſhops as were not every where at the firſt, is ſaid to have been thoſe ſtrifes and contentions; for remedy whereof, whether the Apoſtles alone did conclude of ſuch a regiment, or elſe they together with the whole Church judging it a fit and a needfull policy, did agree to receive it for a cuſtom; no doubt but being eſtabliſhed by them on whom the Holy Ghoſt was powred in ſo abundant meaſure for the ordering of Chriſts Church, it had either Divine appointment beforehand, or Divine approbation afterwards, and is in that reſpect to be acknowledged the Ordinance of God, no leſs then that ancient Jewiſh regiment, whereof though *Jethro* were the Deviſer, yet after that God had allowed it, all men were ſubject unto it, as to the Polity of God, and not of *Jethro*. That ſo the ancient Fathers did think of Epiſcopal regiment, that they held this order as a thing received from the bleſſed Apoſtles themſelves, and authorized even from heaven, we may perhaps more eaſily prove, then obtain that they all ſhall grant it who ſee it proved. St. *Auguſtine* ſetteth it down for a principle, that whatſoever poſitive order the whole Church every where doth obſerve, the ſame it muſt needs have received from the very Apoſtles themſelves, unleſs perhaps ſome general Councel were the Authors of it. And he ſaw that the ruling ſuperiority of Biſhops was a thing univerſally eſtabliſhed not by the force of any Councel, (for Councels do all preſuppoſe Biſhops, nor can there any Councel be named ſo ancient, either General, or as much as Provincial, ſithence the Apoſtles own times, but we can ſhew that Biſhops had their Authority before it, and not from it.) Wherefore St. *Auguſtine* knowing this, could not chuſe but reverence the Authority of Biſhops, as a thing to him apparently and moſt clearly apoſtolical. But it will be perhaps objected that Regiment by Biſhops was not ſo univerſal nor ancient as we pretend; and that an Argument hereof may be *Jeroms* own Teſtimony, who living at the very ſame time with St. *Auguſtine*, noteth this kind of Regiment as being no where antient, ſaving onely in *Alexandria*; his words are theſe, *It was for a remedy of Schiſm that one was afterwards choſen to be placed above the reſt, leſt every mans pulling unto himſelf, ſhould rend aſunder the Church of Chriſt. For (that which alſo may ſerve for an Argument or token hereof) at* Alexandria *from* Mark *the* Evangeliſt, *unto* Heraclas *and* Dionyſius, *the Presbyters always choſe one* OF THEMSELVES, *whom they placed in higher degree, and gave unto him the Title of Biſhop.* Now St. *Jerom* they ſay would never have picked out that one Church from amongſt ſo many, and have noted that in it there had been Biſhops from the time that St *Mark* lived, if ſo be the ſelf ſame order were of like antiquity every where; his words therefore muſt be thus ſcholied; In the Church of *Alexandria*, Presbyters indeed had even from the time of St. *Mark* the *Evangeliſt*, always a Biſhop to rule over them for a remedy againſt Diviſions, Factions, and Schiſms. Not ſo in other Churches, neither in that very Church any longer then *uſq; ad Heraclam & Dionyſium*, till *Heraclas* and his Succeſſor *Dionyſius* were Biſhops. But this conſtruction doth bereave the words conſtrued, partly of wit, and partly of truth; it maketh them both abſurd and falſe. For if the meaning be that Epiſcopal Government in that Church was then expired, it muſt have expired with the end of ſome one, and not of two ſeveral Biſhops days, unleſs perhaps it fell ſick under *Heraclas*, and with *Dionyſius* gave up the Ghoſt. Beſides, it is clearly untrue that the Presbyters of that Church did then ceaſe to be under a Biſhop. Who doth not know that after *Dionyſius*,

Cypr. l. 4. Epiſt. 9.

Hieron. Ep. ad Evag.

Exod. 18. 19.

Epiſt. ad Jan.

Ep. ad Evag.

T. C. 2. p 81. It is to be obſerved that *Jerom* ſaith, It was ſo in *Alexandria*, ſignifying that in other Churches it was not ſo.

Socrat.l.1.c.3. *Maximus* was Biſhop of *Alexandria*, after him *Theonas*, after him *Peter*, after him *Achillas*, after him *Alexander*, of whom *Socrates* in this ſort writeth; It fortuned on a certain time that this *Alexander* in the preſence of the Presbyters which were under him, and of the reſt of the Clergy there, diſcourſed ſomewhat curiouſly and ſubtilly of the holy Trinity, bringing high Philoſophical proofs, that there is in the Trinity an Unity. Whereupon *Arius* one of the Presbyters which were placed in that degree under *Alexander*, oppoſed eagerly himſelf againſt thoſe things which were uttered by the Biſhop. So that thus long Biſhops continued even in the Church of *Alexandria*. Nor did their Regiment here ceaſe, but theſe alſo had others their Succeſſors till St. *Jeroms* own time, who living long after *Heraclas* and *Dionyſius* had ended their days, did not yet live himſelf to ſee the Presbyters of *Alexandria*, othewiſe then ſubject unto a Biſhop. So that we cannot, with any truth, ſo interpret his words as to mean, that in the Church of *Alexandria* there had been Biſhops indued with Superiority over Preſbyters from St. *Marks* time, only till the time of *Heraclas* and of *Dionyſius*; Wherefore that St. *Jerom* may receive a more probable interpretation then this, We anſwer, that generally, of Regiment by Biſhops, and what term of continuance it had in the Church of *Alexandria*, it was no part of his mind to ſpeak, but to note one onely circumſtance belonging to the manner of their election, which circumſtance is, that in *Alexandria* they uſed to chuſe their Biſhops altogether out of the colledge of their own Presbyters, and neither from abroad nor out of any other inferior order of the Clergy, whereas oftentimes *a* elſewhere the uſe was to chuſe as well from abroad as at home, as well inferior unto Presbyters, as Presbyters when they ſaw occaſion, This cuſtome, ſaith he, the Church of *Alexandria* did always keep, till in *Heraclas* and *Dionyſius*, they began to do otherwiſe. Theſe two were the very firſt not choſe out of their Colledge of Presbyters.

a Unto *Ignatius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, *Hero* a Deacon there, was made Succeſſor. *Chryſoſtom* being a Presbyter of *Antioch*. was choſen to ſucceed *Nectarius* in the Biſhoprick of *Conſtantinople*.

The drift and purpoſe of S. *Jeroms* ſpeech doth plainly ſhow what his meaning was; for whereas ſome did over-extol the Office of the Deacon in the Church of *Rome*; where Deacons being grown great, through wealth, challenged place above Presbyters: S. *Jerome*, to abate this inſolency, writing to *Evagrius*, diminiſheth by all means the Deacons eſtimation, and lifteth up Presbyters as far as poſſible the truth might bear. *An attendant*, ſaith he, *upon Tables and Widows proudly to exalt himſelf above them, at whoſe prayers is made the body and blood of Chriſt; above them, between whom and Biſhops there was at the firſt for a time no difference neither in authority nor in title. And whereas after ſchiſms and contentions made it neceſſary that ſome one ſhould be placed over them, by which occaſion the title of Biſhop became proper unto that one, yet was that one choſen out of the Presbyters, as being the chiefeſt, the higheſt, the worthieſt degree of the Clergie, and not out of Deacons; in which conſideration alſo it ſeemeth that in Alexandria even from St.* Mark *to* Heraclas *and* Dionyſius *Biſhops there, the Presbyters evermore have choſen one of themſelves, and not a Deacon at any time to be their Biſhop. Nor let any man think that Chriſt hath one Church in* Rome, *and another in the reſt of the world; that in* Rome *he alloweth Deacons to be honoured above Presbyters, and otherwhere will have them to be in the next degree to the Biſhop. If it be deemed that abroad where Biſhops are poorer, the Presbyters under them may be the next unto them in honour; but at* Rome *where the Biſhop hath ample revenues, the Deacons whoſe eſtate is neareſt for wealth, may be alſo for eſtimation the next unto him: We muſt know that a Biſhop in the meaneſt City is no leſs a Biſhop then he who is ſeated in the greateſt; the countenance of a rich, and the meanneſs of a poor eſtate doth make no odds between Biſhops; and therefore if a Presbyter at* Engubium *be the next in degree to a Biſhop, ſurely, even at* Rome *it ought in reaſon to be ſo likewiſe; and not a Deacon for wealths ſake only to be above, who by order ſhould be, and elſewhere is, underneath a Presbyter. But ye will ſay that according to the cuſtom of* Rome *a Deacon preſenteth unto the Biſhop him which ſtandeth to be ordained Presbyter; and upon the Deacons teſtimony given concerning his fitneſs, he receiveth at the Biſhops hands Ordination: So that in* Rome *the Deacon having this ſpecial preheminence, the Presbyter ought there to give place unto him. Wherefore is the cuſtom of one City brought againſt the practice of the whole World? The paucity of Deacons in the Church of* Rome *hath gotten the credit, as unto Presbyters their multitude hath been cauſe of contempt: Howbeit even in the Church of* Rome, *Presbyters ſit and Deacons ſtand: an Argument as ſtrong againſt the ſuperiority of Deacons, as the forealledged reaſon doth ſeem for it. Beſides, whoſoever is promoted muſt needs be raiſed from a*

lower

lower degree to an higher; wherefore either let him which is Presbyter be made a Deacon, that ſo the Deacon may appear to be the greater; or if of Deacons Presbyters be made, let them know themſelves to be in regard of Deacons, though below in gain, yet above in Office. And to the end we may underſtand that thoſe Apoſtolical Orders are taken out of the Old Teſtament, what Aaron *and his Sons and the Levites were in the Temple, the ſame in the Church may* [Biſhops *and Presbyters and Deacons challenge unto themſelves.* This is the very drift and ſubſtance, this the true conſtruction and ſenſe of St. *Jeroms* whole diſcourſe in that Epiſtle: Which I have therefore endeavoured the more at large to explain, becauſe no one thing is leſs effectual or more uſual to be alledged againſt the antient Authority of Biſhops; concerning whoſe Government St. *Jeroms* own words otherwhere are ſufficient to ſhow his opinion, that this Order was not only in *Alexandria* ſo ancient, but even as ancient in other Churches. We have before alledged his teſtimony touching *James* the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*. As for Biſhops in other Churches, on the firſt of the Epiſtle to *Titus* thus he ſpeaketh; *Till through inſtinct of the devil there grew in the Church factions, and among the people it began to be profeſt; I am of* Paul, *I of* Apollos, *and I of* Cephas, *Churches were governed by the common advice of Presbyters; but when every one began to reckon thoſe whom himſelf had baptized, his own and not Chriſts, it was decreed IN THE WHOLE WORLD that one choſen out of the Presbyters ſhould be placed above the reſt, to whom all care of the Church ſhould belong, and ſo the ſeeds of ſchiſm be removed.* If it be ſo, that by St. *Jeroms* own Confeſſion this order was not then begun when people in the Apoſtles abſence began to be divided into factions by their Teachers, and to rehearſe, *I am of Paul*, but that even at the very firſt appointment thereof was agreed upon and received throughout the world; how ſhall a man be perſwaded that the ſame *Jerom* thought it ſo ancient no-where ſaving in *Alexandria*, one only Church of the whole world; A ſentence there is indeed of St. *Jeroms* which being not throughly conſidered and weighed may cauſe his meaning ſo to be taken, as if he judged Epiſcopal regiment to have been the Churches invention long after, and not the Apoſtles own inſtitution; as namely, when he admoniſheth Biſhops in this manner; *As therefore Presbyters do know that the cuſtom of the Church makes them ſubject to the Biſhop which is ſet over them; ſo let* [a] *Biſhops know that, cuſtom rather then the truth of any Ordinance of the Lord, maketh them greater then the reſt, and that with common advice they ought to govern the Church.* To clear the ſenſe of theſe words therefore, as we have done already the former: Laws which the Church from the beginning univerſally hath obſerved were ſome delivered by Chriſt himſelf, with a charge to keep them till the worlds end, as the Law of Baptizing and adminiſtring the holy Euchariſt; ſome brought in afterwards by the Apoſtles, yet not without the ſpecial direction of the Holy Ghoſt, as occaſions did ariſe. Of this ſort are thoſe Apoſtolical orders and laws whereby Deacons, Widows, Virgins were firſt appointed in the Church,

[a] Biſhops he meaneth by reſtraint; for Epiſcopal power was always in the Church inſtituted by Chriſt himſelf, the Apoſtles being in government Biſhops at large, as no man will deny, having received from Chriſt himſelf that Epiſcopal Authority. For which cauſe Cyprian hath ſaid of them. Meminiſſe Diaconi debent quoniam Apoſtolos, id eſt, Epiſcopos & præpoſitos Dominus elegit: Diaconos autem poſt aſcenſum Domini in cœlos, Apoſtoli ſibi conſtituerunt, Epiſcopatus ſui & Eccleſiæ miniſtros. Lib 3. Ep. 9.

This anſwer to Saint *Jerom*, ſeemeth dangerous, I have qualified it as I may, by addition of ſome words of reſtraint; yet I ſatisfie not my ſelf, in my judgment it would be altered. *Now whereas* Jerom *doth term the Government of Biſhops by reſtraint, an Apoſtolical tradition, acknowledging thereby the ſame to have been of the Apoſtles own inſtitution, it may be demanded, how theſe two will ſtand together; namely, that the Apoſtles by divine inſtinct, ſh ould be as* Jerom *confeſſeth the Authors of that regiment, and yet the cuſtome of the Church be accompted (for ſo by* Jerom *it may ſeem to be in this place accompted) the chiefeſt prop that upholdeth the ſame?* To this we anſwer, *That for as much as the whole body of the Church, hath power to alter with general conſent and upon neceſſary occaſions, even the poſitive law of the Apoſtles, if there be no commandment to the contrary, and it manifeſtly appears to her, that change of times have clearly taken away the very reaſon of Gods firſt inſtitution, as by ſundry examples may be moſt clearly proved; what laws the univerſal Church might change, and doth not; if they have long continued without any alteration; it ſeemeth that St.* Jerom *aſcribeth the continuance of ſuch poſitive laws, though inſtituted by God himſelf, to the judgemement of the Church. For*

they which might abrogate a Law and do not, are properly ſaid to uphold, to eſtabliſh it, and to give it being. The Regiment therefore whereof Jerom *ſpeaketh being poſitive, and conſequently not abſolutely neceſſary, but of a changeable nature, becauſe there is no Divine voice which in expreſs words forbiddeth it to be changed; he might imagine both that it came by the Apoſtles by very divine appointment at the firſt, and notwithſtanding be, after a ſort, ſaid to ſtand in force, rather by the cuſtome of the Church, chooſing to continue in it, than by the neceſſary conſtraint of any Commanament from the Word, requiring perpetual continuance thereof.* So that St. *Jeroms* admonition is reaſonable, ſenſible, and plain, being contrived to this effect; The ruling ſuperiority of one Biſhop over many Presbyters, in each Church, is an Order deſcended from Chriſt to the Apoſtles, who were themſelves Biſhops at large, and from the Apoſtles to thoſe whom they in their ſteads appointed Biſhops over particular Countries and Cities, and even from thoſe antient times univerſally eſtabliſhed, thus many years it hath continued throughout the World; for which cauſe Presbyters muſt not grudg to continue ſubject unto their Biſhops, unleſs they will proudly oppoſe themſelves againſt that which God himſelf ordained by his Apoſtles; and the whole Church of Chriſt approveth and judgeth moſt convenient. On the other ſide Biſhops albeit they may avouch, with conformity of truth, that their Authority had thus deſcended even from the very Apoſtles themſelves, yet the abſolute and everlaſting continuance of it, they cannot ſay that any Commandment of the Lord doth injoyn; *And therefore muſt acknowledge that the Church hath power by univerſal conſent upon urgent cauſe to take it away, if thereunto ſhe be conſtrained through the proud, tyrannical, and unreformable dealings of her Biſhops, whoſe Regiment ſhe hath thus long delighted in, becauſe ſhe hath found it good and requiſite to be ſo governed. Wherefore leſt Biſhops forget themſelves, as if none on earth had Authority to touch their ſtates, let them continually bear in mind, that it is rather the force of cuſtom, whereby the Church having ſo long found it good to continue under the Regiment of her vertuous Biſhops, doth ſtill uphold, maintain, and honour them in that reſpect, than that any ſuch true and heavenly Law can be ſhowed, by the evidence whereof it may of a truth appear that the Lord himſelf hath appointed Presbyters for ever to be under the Regiment of Biſhops; in what ſort ſoever they behave themſelves*; let this conſideration be a bridle unto them, let it teach them not to diſdain the advice of their Presbyters, but to uſe their authority with ſo much the greater humility and moderation, as a Sword which the Church hath power to take from them. In all this there is no lett why S. *Jerom* might not think the Authors of Epiſcopal Regiment to have been the very bleſſed Apoſtles themſelves, directed therein by the ſpecial motion of the Holy Ghoſt, which the Ancients all before, and beſides him and himſelf alſo elſewhere, being known to hold, we are not, without better evidence then this, to think him in judgement divided both from himſelf and from them. Another Argument that the Regiment of Churches by one Biſhop over many Presbyters, hath been always held Apoſtolical, may be this. We find that throughout all thoſe Cities where the Apoſtles did plant Chriſtianity, the Hiſtory of times hath noted ſucceſſion of paſtors in the ſeat of one, not of many (there being in every ſuch Church evermore many Paſtors) and the firſt one in every rank of ſucceſſion we find to have been, if not ſome Apoſtle, yet ſome Apoſtles Diſciple. By *Epiphanius* the Biſhops of *Jeruſalem* are reckoned down from *James* to *Hilarion* then Biſhop. Of them which boaſted that they held the ſame things which they received of ſuch as lived with the Apoſtles themſelves, *Tertullian* ſpeaketh after this ſort, Let them therefore ſhew the beginnings of their Churches, let them recite their Biſhops one by one, each in ſuch ſort ſucceeding other, that the firſt Biſhop of them have had, for his Author and Predeceſſour, ſome Apoſtle, or at leaſt ſome Apoſtolical Perſon, who perſevered with the Apoſtles. For ſo Apoſtolical Churches are wont to bring forth the evidence of their eſtates. So doth the Church of *Smyrna*, having *Polycarp* whom *John* did conſecrate. Catalogues of Biſhops in a number of other Churches (Biſhops and ſucceeding one another) from the very Apoſtles times are by *Euſebius* and *Socrates* collected, whereby it appeareth ſo clear, as nothing in the World more, that under them and by their appointment this Order began, which maketh many Presbyters ſubject unto the Regiment of ſome one Biſhop. For as in *Rome* while the civil ordering of the Common-wealth, was joyntly and equally in the hands of two Conſuls, *Hiſtorical* Records concerning them, did evermore mention them both, and note which two as Col-

Lib. 2. to 2. Hœreſ. 55.

De preſcrip. adverſ. heret.

legues

legues ſucceeded from time to time; So, there is no doubt but Eccleſiaſtical antiquity had done the very like, had not one Paſtors place and calling been always ſo eminent above the reſt in the ſame Church. And what need we to ſeek far for proofs that the Apoſtles who began this order of Regiment by Biſhops, did it not but by divine inſtinct, when without ſuch direction things of far leſs weight and moment they attempted not? *Paul* and *Barnabas* did not open their mouths to the Gentiles, till the Spirit had ſaid, Separate me *Paul* and *Barnabas* for the work whereunto I have ſent them. The Eunuch by *Philip* was neither baptized nor inſtructed before the Angel of God was ſent to give him notice that ſo it pleaſed the moſt High. In *Aſia*, *Paul* and the reſt were ſilent, becauſe the Spirit forbad them to ſpeak, When they intended to have ſeen *Bythinia* they ſtayed their journey, the ſpirit not giving them leave to go. Before *Timothy* was imployed in thoſe Epiſcopal affairs of the Church, about which the Apoſtle St. *Paul* uſed him, the Holy Ghoſt gave ſpecial charge for his Ordination, and prophetical intelligence more then once, what ſucceſs the ſame would have. And ſhall we think that *James* was made Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, *Evodius* Biſhop of the Church of *Antioch*, the Angels in the Churches of *Aſia* Biſhops, that Biſhops every where were appointed to take away factions, contentions and Schiſms, without ſome like divine inſtigation and direction of the Holy Ghoſt? Wherefore let us not fear to be herein bold and peremptory, That, if any thing in the Churches Government, ſurely the firſt inſtitution of Biſhops was from Heaven, was even of God; the Holy Ghoſt was the Author of it.

Acts. 13.
Acts. 8.
Acts. 16.
1 Tim. 1. 18.

VI. A Biſhop, ſaith St. *Auguſtine*, is a Presbyter's Superior: but the queſtion is now, wherein that ſuperiority did conſiſt. The Biſhops pre-eminence we ſay therefore was twofold. Firſt, he excelled in latitude of the power of Order, ſecondly in that kind of power which belongeth unto Iuriſdiction. Prieſts in the law had authority and power to do greater things then *Levites*, the high Prieſt greater then inferiour Prieſts might do, therefore *Levites* were beneath Prieſts, and Prieſts inferior to the High Prieſt, by reaſon of the very degree of dignity, and of worthineſs in the nature of thoſe functions which they did execute; and not only, for that the one had power to command and controul the other, In like ſort, Presbyters having a weightier and a worthier charge then Deacons had, the Deacon was in this ſort the Presbyters inferior, and where we ſay that a Biſhop was likewiſe ever accompted a Presbyters ſuperior, even according unto his very power of Order, we muſt of neceſſity declare what principal duties belonging unto that kind of power a Biſhop might perform, and not a Presbyter. The cuſtom of the primitive Church in conſecrating holy Virgins, and Widows, unto the ſervice of God and his Church, is a thing not obſcure, but eaſie to be known, *both by that which St.* Paul *himſelf concerning them hath, and by the latter conſonant evidence of other mens writings*. Now a part of the pre-eminence which Biſhops had in their power of Order, was, that by them onely ſuch were conſecrated. Again, the power of ordaining both Deacons and Presbyters, the power to give the power of order unto others, this alſo hath been always peculiar unto Biſhops. It hath not been heard of, that inferiour presbyters were ever authorized to ordein. And concerning Ordination ſo great force and dignity it hath, that whereas Presbyters by ſuch power as they have received for Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, are able only to beget Children unto God; Biſhops having power to Ordain, do by vertue thereof create Fathers to the people of God, as *Epiphanius* fitly diſputeth. There are which hold that between a Biſhop and a Presbyter, touching power of Order, there is no difference: The reaſon of which conceipt is for that they ſee Presbyters no leſs then Biſhops, authorized to offer up the prayers of the Church, to Preach the Goſpel, to Baptize, to Adminiſter the holy Euchariſt; but they conſidered not with all, as they ſhould, that the Presbyters authority to do theſe things is derived from the Biſhops which doth ordain him thereunto, ſo that even in thoſe things which are common unto both, yet the power of the one, is as it were a certain light borrowed from the others lamp. The Apoſtles being Biſhops at large, ordeined every where Presbyters. *Titus* and *Timothy* having received Epiſcopal power, as Apoſtolique Embaſſadors or Legates, the one in *Greece*, the other in *Epheſus*, they both did, by vertue thereof, likewiſe ordein throughout all Churches

What manner of power Biſhops from the firſt beginning have had

Aug. Ep. 19. ad Hieron. & de hæreſ. 53.

1 Cor. 7 25.
1 Tim. 5. 9.

Tertul. de vel. virg.

Epiph. 3. l. 10. 1. hær. 7.

Acts. 14. 23.

Tim. 1. 5.
1 Tim. 5. 22.

Deacons

Deacons and Presbyters within the circuits allotted unto them. As for Biſhops by reſtraint, their power this way incommunicable unto Presbyters, which of the ancients do not acknowledge? I make not Confirmation any part of that power which hath always belonged only unto Biſhops; becauſe in ſome places the cuſtom was, that Presbyters might alſo confirm in the abſence of a Biſhop; albeit for the moſt part, none but onely Biſhops were thereof the allowed Miniſters.

Apud Ægyptum Presbyteri confirmant ſi præſens non ſit Epſcopus Comq. vulgo Ambdic. in 4. Ep. ad Epheſ.

Here it will be perhaps Objected that the power of Ordination it ſelf was not every where peculiar and proper unto Biſhops, as may be ſeen by a Council of *Carthage*, which ſheweth their Churches Order to have been, That Presbyters ſhould together with the Biſhop lay hands upon the ordained. But the anſwer hereunto is eaſie; For doth it hereupon follow that the power of Ordination was not principally and originally in the Biſhop? Our Saviour hath ſaid unto his Apoſtles, *With me ye ſhall ſit and judge the Twelve Tribes of Iſrael*; yet we know that to him alone it belongeth to judge the World, and that to him all judgement is given. With us even at this day Presbyters are licenſed to do as much as that Council ſpeaketh of, if any be preſent. Yet will not any man thereby conclude that in this Church others than Biſhops are allowed to ordain: The aſſociation of Presbyters is no ſufficient proof that the power of Ordination is in them; but rather that it never was in them, we may hereby underſtand, for that no man is able to ſhew either Deacon or Presbyter ordained by Presbyters only, and his Ordination accounted lawful in any antient part of the Church; every where examples being found both of Deacons and of Presbyters ordained by Biſhops alone oftentimes, neither ever in that reſpect thought unſufficient. Touching that other chiefty, which is of Juriſdiction; amongſt the Jews he which was higheſt through the worthineſs of peculiar duties incident into his function in the legal ſervice of God, did bear alwaies in Eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction the chiefeſt ſway. As long as the glory of the Temple of God did laſt, there were in it ſundry orders of men conſecrated unto the ſervice thereof; one ſort of them inferior unto another in dignity and degree; the Nathiners ſubordinate unto the Levites, the Levites unto the Prieſts, the reſt of the Prieſts to thoſe twenty four which were chief Prieſts, and they all to the High Prieſt. If any man ſurmiſe that the difference between them was only by diſtinction in the former kind of power, and not in this latter of juriſdiction, are not the words of the Law manifeſt which make *Eleazer* the Son of *Aaron* the Prieſt chief Captain of the Levites, and overſeer of them, unto whom the charge of the Sanctuary was committed? Again at the commandment of *Aaron* and his Sons, are not the Gerſonites themſelves required to do all their ſervice in the whole charge belonging unto the Gerſonites being inferiour Prieſts as *Aaron* and his Sons were High Prieſts? Did not *Jehoſhaphat* appoint *Amarias* the Prieſt to be chief over them who were Judges for the cauſe of the Lord in *Jeruſalem*? *Prieſts*, ſaith Joſephus, *worſhip God continually, and the eldeſt of the ſtock are governours over the reſt. He doth ſacrifice unto God before others, he hath care of the Laws, judgeth controverſies, correcteth offenders, and whoſoever obeyeth him not is convict of impiety againſt God.* But unto this they anſwer, That the reaſon thereof was becauſe the High-Prieſt did prefigure Chriſt, and repreſent to the people that chiefty of our Saviour which was to come; ſo that Chriſt being now come there is no cauſe why ſuch preheminence ſhould be given unto any one. Which fancy pleaſeth ſo well the humour of all ſorts of rebellious ſpirits that they all ſeek to ſhroud themſelves under it. Tell the *Anabaptiſt*, which holdeth the uſe of the ſword unlawful for a Chriſtian man, that God himſelf did allow his people to make wars; they have their anſwer round and ready, *Thoſe ancient Wars were figures of the ſpiritual Wars of Chriſt.* Tell the *Barrowiſt* what ſway *David*, and others the Kings of *Iſrael*, did bear in the ordering of ſpiritual affairs, the ſame anſwer again ſerveth, namely, *That David and the reſt of the Kings of Iſrael prefigured Chriſt.* Tell the Martiniſt of the High-Prieſts great authority and juriſdiction amongſt the Jews, what other thing doth ſerve his Turn but the ſelf-ſame ſhift; *By the power of the High-Prieſt the univerſal ſupreme Authority of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt was ſhadowed.* The thing is true, that indeed High-Prieſts were figures of Chriſt, yet this was in things belonging unto their power of Order; they figured Chriſt by entring into the holy place, by offering for the ſins of all the people once a year, and by other the like duties: But, that to govern and to maintain order amongſt thoſe that were ſubject

Numb. 3. 32.

Numb. 4. 17. 2 Chron. 19. 11.

Joſeph. Antiq. p. 612.

to

to them, is an office figurative and abrogated by Christs coming in the Ministry; that their exercise of jurisdiction was figurative, yea figurative in such sort, that it had no other cause of being instituted, but only to serve as a representation of somewhat to come, and that herein the Church of Christ ought not to follow them; this Article is such as must be confirmed, if any way by miracle, otherwise it will hardly enter into the heads of reasonable men, why the High-Priest should more figure Christ in being a Judge then in being whatsoever he might be besides. St. *Cyprian* deemed it no wresting of Scripture to challenge as much for Christian Bishops, as was given to the High-Priest among the Jews, and to urge the law of *Moses* as being most effectual to prove it. St. *Jerom* likewise thought it an argument sufficient to ground the Authority of Bishops upon. *To the end*, saith he, *we may understand Apostolical traditions to have been taken from the Old Testament, that which Aaron, and his Sons, and the Levites were in the Temple; Bishops and Presbyters and Deacons in the Church may lawfully challenge to themselves.* In the Office of a Bishop *Ignatius* observeth these two functions ἱερατεύειν & ἄρχειν, concerning the one such is the preheminence of a Bishop, that he only hath the heavenly mysteries of God committed originally unto him, so that otherwise than by his Ordination, and by authority received from him, others besides him are not licensed therein to deal as ordinary Ministers of Gods Church. And touching the other part of their sacred Function, wherein the power of their jurisdiction doth appear first how the Apostles themselves, and secondly how *Titus* and *Timothy* had rule and jurisdiction over Presbyters, no man is ignorant. And had not Christian Bishops afterward the like power? *Ignatius* Bishop of *Antioch* being ready by blessed martyrdom to end his life, writeth unto his Presbyters, the Pastors under him, in this sort, Οἱ πρεσβύτεροι παιμάνετε τὸ ὂν ὑμῖν πόιμνιον, ἕως ἀναδείξῃ ὁ Θεὸς τίνα μέλλοντα ἄρχειν ὑμῶν. Ἐγὼ γὰρ ἤδη ἀπένδομαι. After the death of *Fabian* Bishop of *Rome*, there growing some trouble about the receiving of such persons into the Church as had fallen away in persecution, and did now repent their fall; the Presbyters and Deacons of the same Church advertised St. *Cyprian* thereof, signifying *That they must of necessity defer to deal in that cause till God did send them a new Bishop which might moderate all things.* Much we read of extraordinary fasting usually in the Church. And in this appeareth also some what concerning the chiefty of Bishops. The custome is, saith *Tertullian* that Bishops do appoint when the people shall all fast. Yea, it is not a matter left to our own free choice whether Bishops shall rule or no, but the will of our Lord and Saviour is, saith *Cyprian*, that every act of the Church, be governed by her Bishops. An Argument it is of the Bishops high preheminence, rule, and government over all the rest of the Clergy, even that the Sword of persecution did strike, especially, always at the Bishop as at the Head, the rest by reason of their lower estate, being more secure, as the self-same *Cyprian* noteth; the very manner of whose speech unto his own, both Deacons and Presbyters who remained safe, when himself then Bishop was driven into exile, argueth likewise his eminent authority and rule over them, *By these letters*, saith he, *I both exhort and* COMMAND *that ye whose presence there is not envied at, nor so much beset with dangers, supply my room in doing those things which the exercise of Religion doth require.* Unto the same purpose serve most directly, those comparisons, than which nothing is more familiar in the books of the ancient Fathers, who as oft as they speak of the several degrees in Gods Clergy, if they chance to compare Presbyters with *Levitical* Priests of the Law; the Bishop *a* they compare unto *Aaron* the High Priest; if they compare the one with the Apostles, the other they compare (although in a lower proportion) sometime *b* to Christ, and sometime to God himself, evermore shewing that they placed the Bishop in an eminent degree of ruling authority and power above other Presbyters. *c* *Ignatius* comparing Bishops with Deacons, and with such Ministers of the word and Sacraments as were but Presbyters, and had no Authority over Presbyters; *What is* saith he, *the Bishop but one which hath all principality and power over all, so far forth as man may have it, being to his power, a follower even of Gods own Christ*; Mr. *d* *Calvin* himself, though an enemy unto Regiment by Bishops, doth notwithstanding confess, that in old time the Ministers which had charge to teach, chose of their Company one in every City, to whom they appropriated the Title of Bishop, lest equality should bread dissention. He addeth farther, that look what duty the *Roman* Consuls did execute

Cypr. l. 3. ep. 9. ad Rogatianum.

Hierom. Ep. 85.

Ep. ad Smyr.

1 Tim. 5 19. Against a Presbyter receive no accusation under two or three witnesses.

Ignat Epist. ad Antioch. Apud Cypr. Ep 1. Ep. 7.

Tertul. adverss Psychic. Episcopi universæ plebi mandare jejunia assolent. Cypr. Ep. 27.

Cypr. Ep. 39. Vide Ignat. ad Magnes

a Quod Aaron & filios ejus, hoc Episcopum & Presbyteros esse noverimus. Hier. Ep. 2. ad Nepotianum.

b Ita est ut in Episcopis Hominem, in Presbyteris Apostolos recognoscas Auctor opusc. de ordinib. Eccl. inter opera Hieron.

c Ignat. Ep. ad Tra.

d Instit. l. 4. cap. 4. Sect. 2.

ecute in propoſing matters unto the Senate, in asking their opinions, in directing them by advice, admonition, exhortation, in guiding actions by their Authority, and in ſeeing that performed which was with common conſent agreed on, the like charge had the Biſhop in the aſſembly of other Miniſters. Thus much *Calvin* being forced by the evidence of truth to grant, doth yet deny the Biſhops to have been ſo in Authority at the firſt as to bear rule over other Miniſters. Wherein what rule he doth mean I know not. But if the Biſhops were ſo farr in dignity, above other Miniſters, as the Conſuls of *Rome*, for their year above other Senators, it is as much as we require. And undoubtedly, if as the Conſuls of *Rome*, ſo the Biſhops in the Church of Chriſt had ſuch authority, as both to direct other Miniſters, and to ſee that every of them ſhould obſerve that which their common conſent had agreed on, how this could be done by the Biſhop not bearing rule over them, for mine own part I muſt acknowledge that my poor conceipt is not able to comprehend. One objection there is of ſome force to make againſt that which we have hitherto endeavoured to prove, if they miſtake it not who alledge it. St. *Jerom* comparing other Presbyters with him, unto whom the name of Biſhop was then appropriate, asketh, *What a Biſhop by vertue of his place and calling may do more then a Presbyter, except it be only to Ordain?* In like ſort *Chryſoſtome* having moved a queſtion, wherefore St. *Paul* ſhould give *Timothy* precept concerning the quality of Biſhops, and deſcend from them to Deacons, omiting the Order of Presbyters between, he maketh thereunto this anſwer, *What things he ſpake concerning Biſhops, the ſame are alſo meet for Presbyters, whom Biſhops ſeem not to excell in any thing but only in the power of Ordination.* Wherefore ſeeing this doth import no ruling ſuperiority, it follows that Biſhops were as then no rulers over that part of the Clergy of God. Whereunto we anſwer that both S. *Jerom* and S. *Chryſoſtom* had in thoſe their ſpeeches an eye no farther then only to that function, for which Presbyters and Biſhops were conſecrated unto God. Now we know that their Conſecration had reference to nothing but only that which they did by force and vertue of the power of Order, wherein ſithe Biſhops received their charge, only by that one degree to ſpeak of, more ample then Presbyters did theirs, it might be well enough ſaid that Presbyters were that way authorized to do, in a manner, even as much as Biſhops could do, if we conſider what each of them did by vertue of ſolemn conſecration; for as concerning power of regiment and jurisdiction, it was a thing withal added unto Biſhops for the neceſſary uſe of ſuch certain perſons and people, as ſhould be thereunto ſubject in thoſe particular Churches whereof they were Biſhops, and belonged to them only, as Biſhops of ſuch or ſuch a Church; whereas the other kind of power had relation indefinitely unto any of the whole ſociety of Chriſtian men, on whom they ſhould chance to exerciſe the ſame, and belonged to them abſolutely, as they were Biſhops whereſoever they lived. St. *Jeroms* concluſion thereof is, *that ſeeing in the one kind of power, there is no greater difference between a Presbyter and a Biſhop, Biſhops ſhould not becauſe of their preeminence in the other, too much lift up themſelves, above the Presbyters under them.* St. *Chryſoſtom's* collection, *that whereas the Apoſtle doth ſet down the qualities, whereof regard ſhould be had in the Conſecration of Biſhops, there was no need to make a ſeveral diſcourſe how Presbyters ought to be qualified when they are Ordained; becauſe there being ſo little difference in the functions, whereunto the one and the other receive Ordination, the ſame precepts might well ſerve for both; at leaſt-wiſe by the vertues required in the greater, what ſhould need in the leſs might be eaſily underſtood. As for the difference of juriſdiction, the truth is the Apoſtles yet living, and themſelves where they were reſident, exerciſing the juriſdiction in their own perſons, it was not every where eſtabliſhed in Biſhops.* When the Apoſtles preſcribed thoſe laws, and when *Chryſoſtom* thus ſpake concerning them, it was not by him at all reſpected, but his eye was the ſame way with *Jeroms*; his cogitation was wholly fixed on that power which by Conſecration is given to Biſhops, more then to Presbyters, and not on that which they have over Presbyters by force of their particular acceſſory juriſdiction. Wherein if any man ſuppoſe that *Jerom* and *Chryſoſtom* knew no difference at all between a Presbyter and a Biſhop, let him weigh but one or two of their ſentences. The pride of inſolent Biſhops, hath not a ſharper enemy then *Jerom*, for which cauſe he taketh often occaſions moſt ſeverely to inveigh againſt them, ſometimes for *a* ſhewing diſdain and contempt of the Clergy

Hieron. Epiſt. ad Euagr. 85.

Chryſoſtom 10 in 1 Tim. 3.

a Velut in aliqua ſublimi ſpecula conſtituti vix dignantur videre mo, tales & alloqui conſervos ſuos. In 4. c. Epiſt. ad Gal.

under

under them; sometimes for not [a] suffering themselves to be told of their faults, and admonished of their duty by inferiours; sometime for not [b] admitting their Presbyters to teach, if so be themselves were in presence; sometimes for not vouchsafing to use any conference with them, or to take any counsel of them. Howbeit never doth he, in such wise, bend himself against their disorders, as to deny their Rule and Authority over Presbyters: Of *Vigilantius* being a *Presbyter* he thus writeth, [c] *Miror sanctum Episcopum in cujus Parochia Presbyter esse dicitur, acquiescere furori ejus; & non virga Apostolica virgaque ferrea confringere vas inutile. I marvel that the holy Bishop under whom* Vigilantius *is said to be a Presbyter, doth yield to his fury, and not break that unprofitable Vessel with his Apostolick and iron rod.* With this agreeth most fitly the grave advice he giveth to [d] *Nepotian, Be thou subject unto thy Bishop, and receive him as the Father of thy Soul. This also I say, that Bishops should know themselves to be Priests, and not Lords, that they ought to honour the Clergy as becometh the Clergy to be honoured, to the end their Clergy may yield them the honour which, as Bishops, they ought to have: That of the Orator* Domitius *is famous, Wherefore should I esteem of thee as of a Prince, when thou makest not of me that reckoning which should in reason be made of a Senator? Let us know the Bishop and his Presbyters to be the same which* Aaron *sometimes and his Sons were.* Finally, writing against the Hereticks which were named *Luciferians*, *The very safety of the Church*, saith he, *dependeth on the dignity of the Chief Priest, to whom, unless men grant an exceeding and an eminent power, there will grow in Churches even as many Schisms as there are Persons which have authority.*

a Nemo peccantibus Episcopis audet contradicere: Nemo audet accusare majorem, propterea quasi sancti & beati & in præceptis Domini ambulantes augent peccata peccatis. Difficilis est accusatio in Episcopum. Si enim peccaverit, non creditur, & si convictus fuerit non punitur. In cap. 8. Ecclesiast.

b Pessimæ consuetudinis, est in quibusdam Ecclesiis tacere Presbyteros & præsentibus Episcopis non loqui; quasi aut invideant aut non dignentur audire. Ep. 2. ad Nepotian. Ripar. d Hieron. ad Nepot. c Ep. 54. ad e No Bishop may be a Lord in reference unto the Presbyters which are under him, if we take that name in the worse part, as *Jerom* here doth. For a Bishop is to rule his Presbyters, not as Lords do their Slaves but as Fathers do their children.

Touching *Chrysostom*, to shew that by him there was also acknowledged a ruling superiority of Bishops over Presbyters, both then usual, and in no respect unlawful: what need we alledge his Words and Sentences, when the History of his own Episcopal actions in that very kinde, is till this day extant for all men to read that will? For St. *Chrysostom* of a Presbyter in *Antioch*, grew to be afterwards Bishop of *Constantinople*, and in process of time when the Emperors heavy displeasure had, through the practise of a powerful faction against him, effected his banishment; *Innocent* the Bishop of *Rome* understanding thereof wrote his Letters unto the Clergy of that Church, *That no Successour ought to be chosen in* Chrysostom's *room: Nec ejus clerum alii parere Pontifici, Nor his Clergy OBEY any other Bishop than him.* A fond kinde of speech if so be there had been, as then, in Bishops no ruling superiority over Presbyters. When two of *Chrysostom*'s Presbyters had joyned themselves to the faction of his mortal enemy *Theophilus*, Patriarch in the Church of *Alexandria*; the same *Theophilus* and other Bishops which were of his Conventicle, having sent those two amongst others to cite *Chrysostom* their lawful Bishop, and to bring him into Publick judgement, he taketh against this one thing special exception, as being contrary to all order, That those Presbyters should come as Messengers, and call him to Judgment who were a part of that Clergy, whereof himself was Ruler and Judge. So that Bishops to have had in those times a ruling superiority over Presbyters, neither could *Jerom* nor *Chrysostom* be ignorant; and therefore, hereupon it were superfluous that we should any longer stand.

In vita Chrys. per Cassiod. Sen.

Pallad in vita Chrysostom.

VII. Touching the next point, How Bishops, together with Presbyters have used to govern the Churches which were under them: It is by *Zonaras* somewhat plainly and at large declared, that the Bishop had his Seat on high in the Church above the residue which were present; that a number of Presbyters did always there assist him; and that in the oversight of the People those Presbyters were * after a sort the Bishops Coadjutors. The Bishops and Presbyters, who, together with him, governed the Church, are, for the most part, by *Ignatius* joyntly mentioned. In the Epistle to them of *Trallis*, he saith of Presbyters, that they are σύμβουλοι καὶ συνέδρευται τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, *Counsellors and Assistants of the Bishop*, and concludeth in the end, *He that should disobey these, were a plain Atheist, and an irreligious Person, and one that did set Christ himself and his own Ordinances at nought.* Which Orders making Presbyters or Priests the Bishop's Assistants doth not import that they were of equal authority with him,

After what sort Bishops together with Presbyters have used to govern the Churches which were under them.

* Ὥσπερ σύμβουλοι ὄντες τοῦ ἐπισκόπου. Zon in Can. Apost.

but rather so adjoyned that they also were subject, as hath been proved. In the Writings of Saint *Cyprian* nothing is more usual, than to make mention of the Colledge of Presbyters subject unto the Bishop; although in handling the common affairs of the Church they assisted him. But of all other places which open the antient order of Episcopal Presbyters, the most clear is that Epistle of *Cyprian* unto *Cornelius*, concerning certain *Novatian* Heretiques, received again upon their conversion into the unity of the Church: *After that* Urbanus *and* Sidonius, *Confessors, had come and signified unto our Presbyters, that* Maximus, *a Confessor and Presbyter, did, together with them, desire to return into the Church, it seemed meet to hear from their own mouths and confessions that which by message they had delivered. When they were come, and had been called to account by the Presbyters touching those things they had committed; Their answer was, That they had been deceived; and did request that such things as there they were charged with might be forgotten. It being brought unto me what was done, I took order that the Presbytery might be assembled. There were also present five Bishops, that, upon setled advice, it might be, with consent of all, determined what should be done about their Persons.* Thus farr St. *Cyprian.* Wherein it may be, peradventure, demanded, Whether he, and other Bishops, did thus proceed with advice of their Presbyters in all such Publick affairs of the Church, as being thereunto bound by Ecclesiastical Canons; or else that they voluntarily so did, because they judged it in discretion as then most convenient. Surely the words of *Cyprian* are plain, that of his own accord he chose this way of proceeding. *Unto that*, saith he, *which* Donatus, *and* Fortunatus, *and* Novatus, *and* Gordius *our Compresbyters have written, I could, by my self alone, make no answer, forasmuch as at the very first entrance into my Bishoprick I resolutely determined not to do any thing of mine own private judgment, without your counsel, and the peoples consent.* The reason whereof he rendreth in the same Epistle, saying, *When, by the grace of God, my self shall come unto you* (for St. *Cyprian* was now in exile) *of things, which either have been, or must be done, we will consider,* sicut honor mutuus poscit, *as the law of courtesie which one doth owe to another of us, requireth.* And at this very mark doth St. *Jerom* evermore aim, in telling Bishops, that Presbyters were at the first their Equals; that, in some Churches, for a long time no Bishop was made, but only such as the Presbyters did chuse out amongst themselves, and therefore no cause why the Bishop should disdain to consult with them, and in weighty affairs of the Church to use their advice; sometime to countenance their own Actions, or to repress the boldness of proud and insolent Spirits, that which Bishops had in themselves sufficient authority and power to have done, notwithstanding they would not do alone, but craved therein the aid and assistance of other Bishops, as in the case of those *Novatian* Hereticks, before alledged, *Cyprian* himself did. And in *Cyprian* we finde of others the like practise: *Rogatian*, a Bishop, having been used contumeliously by a Deacon of his own Church, wrote thereof his complaint unto *Cyprian* and other Bishops. In which case their answer was, *That although, in his own cause, he did of humility rather shew his grievance, than himself take revenge, which, by the rigor of his Apostolical Office, and the authority of his Chair, he might have presently done, without any further delay:* Yet if the Party should do again, as before their Judgements were, *Fungaris circa eum potestate honoris tui, & eum vel deponas vel abstineas:* Use on him that power which the honour of thy Place giveth thee, either to depose him, or exclude him from access unto holy things. The Bishop, for his assistance and ease, had under him, to guide and direct Deacons in their charge, his Archdeacon, so termed in respect of care over Deacons, albeit himself were not Deacon but Presbyter; For the guidance of Presbyters in their Function, the Bishop had likewise under him one of the self-same Order with them, but above them in authority, one whom the Antients termed usually an * Arch-Presbyter, we at this day name him Dean. For, most certain truth it is, that Churches-Cathedral, and the Bishops of them are as glasses, wherein the face and very countenance of Apostolical antiquity remaineth even as yet to be seen, notwithstanding the alterations which tract of time, and the course of the world hath brought. For defence and maintenance of them we are most earnestly bound to strive, even as the Jews were for their Temple, and the High-Priest of God therein: The overthrow and ruine of the one, if ever the sacrilegious avarice of Atheists should prevail so farr, which God of his infinite

Cum Episcopo Presbyteri Sacerdotali honore conjuncti, Ep. 28. Ego & Compresbyteri nostri qui nobis adsidebant, Ep. 27.

Cyp. Ep. 93

Cyp. Ep. 38.

* such a one was that Peter whom *Cassiodor* writing the life of *Chrysostom* doth call the Archpresbyter of the Church of *Alexandria* under *Theophilus* a. that time Bishop.

infinite mercy forbid, ought no otherwise to move us than the people of God were moved, when having beheld the sack and combustion of his Sanctuary in most lamentable manner flaming before their eyes, they uttered from the bottom of their grieved Spirits those voyces of doleful supplication, *Exsurge Domine & miserearis Sion, servi tui diligunt lapides ejus, pulveris ejus miseret eos.* Psal. 141.

VIII. How farr the power which Bishops had did reach, what number of Persons was subject unto them at the first, and how large their Territories were, it is not for the question we have in hand, a thing very greatly material to know: For if we prove that Bishops have lawfully of old ruled over other Ministers, it is enough, how few soever those Ministers have been, how small soever the circuit of Place which hath contained them. Yet hereof somewhat, to the end we may so farr forth illustrate Church-Antiquities; A Law Imperial there is, which sheweth that there was great care had to provide for every Christian City a Bishop as near as might be, and that each City had some Territory belonging unto it, which Territory was also under the Bishop of the same City; that, because it was not universally thus, but in some Countrys, one Bishop had subject unto him many Cities and their Territories; the Law which provided for establishment of the other Orders, should not prejudice those Churches wherein this contrary Custom had before prevailed. Unto the Bishop of every such City, not only the Presbyters of the same City, but also of the Territory thereunto belonging, were from the first beginning subject. For we must note that when as yet there were in Cities no Parish Churches, but only Colledges of Presbyters under their Bishops Regiment, yet smaller Congregations and Churches there were even then abroad, in which Churches there was but some one only Presbyter to perform amongst them Divine duties. Towns and Villages abroad receiving the Faith of Christ from Cities whereunto they were adjacent, did as Spiritual and Heavenly Colonies by their subjection, honour those antient Mother Churches, out of which they grew. And in the Christian Cities themselves, when the mighty increase of Believers made it necessary to have them divided into certain several companies, and over every of those companies one only Pastor to be appointed for the Ministry of holy things; between the first, and the rest after it, there could not be but a natural inequality, even as between the Temple and Synagogues in *Jerusalem.* The Clergy of Cities were termed *Urbici*, to shew a difference between them and the Clergies of Townes, of Villages, of Castles abroad. And how many soever these Parishes or Congregations were in number, which did depend on any one principal City-Church; unto the Bishop of that one Church, they, and their several sole Presbyters were all subject.

How farr the power of Bishops hath reached from the beginning in respect of Territory or local compass.

L. 36. c. de Episc. ad Cler. Ἑκάστη πόλις ἴδιον ἐπίσκοπον ἐχέτω· Καὶ κἂν διὰ θείας ἀντιγραφῆς τολμήσῃ τις ἀφελέσθαι πόλιν τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου ἢ τῆς περοίκιδος αὐτῆς ἢ τίνος ἄλλου δικαίου, γυμνοῦσθαι τῶν ὄντων καὶ ἀτιμοῦσθαι· Ἐξήρηται δὲ ἡ τομέων Σκυθίας πόλις· Ὁ γὰρ ἐπίσκοπος αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν προνοεῖ· Καὶ ἡ Λεοντόπολις Ἰσαυρίας ὑπὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον ἐστὶν Ἰσαυροπόλεως. *Besides*, Cypr. Ep. 51. Cum jampridem per omnes provincias & per urbes singulas ordinati sunt Episcopi.

Ubi Ecclesiastici ordinis non est confessus, & offert & tingit Sacerdos qui est ibi solus, Tert. exhort. ad castit.

Cypr. Ep. 25.

For, if so be, as some imagine, every petty Congregation or Hamlet had had his own particular Bishop, what sense could there be in those words of *Jerom*, concerning Castles, Villages, and other places abroad, which having onely Presbyters, to teach them, and to minister unto them the Sacraments, were resorted unto by Bishops for the Administration of that wherewith their Presbyters were not licensed to meddle. To note a difference of that one Church where the Bishop hath his seat, and the rest which depend upon it, that one hath usually been termed Cathedral, according to the same sense wherein *Ignatius*, speaking of the Church of *Antioch*, termeth it his Throne: and *Cyprian* making mention of *Euaristus* who had been Bishop and was now deposed, termeth him, *Cathedræ extorrem*, one that was thrust besides his Chair. The Church where the Bishop is set with his Colledge of Presbyters about him, we call a See; the Local compass of his Authority we term a Diocess. Unto a Bishop within the compass of his own, both See and Diocess, it hath, by right of his place, evermore appertained * to ordain Presbyters, to make Deacons, and with judgement, to dispose of all things of weight. The Apostle St. *Paul* had Episcopal

Hieron. advers. Lucifer.

Cypr. Ep. 49.

* Cou. Antioch. cap. 9. Ἀκλήτους δὲ ἐπισκόπους ὑπὲρ διοίκησιν μὴ ἐπιβαίνειν οὐδὲ χειροτονία ἢ τισιν ἄλλαις οἰκονομίαις ἐκλησιαστικαῖς. Conc. Constant. c. 2. Τοῦτο γὰρ πρότερον διὰ τοὺς διωγμοὺς ἐγένετο ἀδιαφόρως. Socr. lib. 5. cap. 8.

Authority, but so at large, that we cannot assign unto him any one certain Diocess. His [a] positive Orders and Constitutions, Churches every where did obey. Yea, a charge and care, saith he, I [b] have even of all the Churches. The walks of *Titus* and *Timothy* was limited within the bounds of a narrow Precinct. As for other Bishops, that which *Chrysostom* hath concerning them, *If they be evil, could not possibly agree unto them, unless their Authority had reached farther than to some one only Congregation.* The danger being so great, at it is, to him that scandalizeth one Soul, What shall he, saith *Chrisostom*, speaking of a Bishop, what shall he deserve, by whom so many Souls, yea, even whole Cities and Peoples, Men, Women, and Children, Citizens, Peasants, Inhabitants, both of his own City, and of other Towns subject unto it, are offended? A thing so unusual it was for a Bishop not to have ample Jurisdiction, that *Theophilus*, Patriark of *Alexandria*, for making one a Bishop of a small Town, is noted a proud Despiser of the commendable Orders of the Church with this censure, Such Novelties *Theophilus* presumed every where to begin, taking upon him, as it had been, another *Moses*. Whereby is discovered also their Errour, who think, that such as in Ecclesiastical Writings they finde termed *Chorepiscopos*, were the same in the Country, which the Bishop was in the City: Whereas the old *Chorepiscopi* are they, that were appointed of the Bishops to have, as his Vicegerents, some over-sight of those Churches abroad, which were subject unto his See: in which Churches they had also power to make Sub-deacons, Readers, and such like petty Church-Officers. With which power so stinted, they not contenting themselves, but adventuring at the length, to Ordain even Deacons and Presbyters also, as the Bishop himself did, their presumption herein was controlled and stayed by the antient Edict of Councils. For example, that of *Antioch*, It hath seemed good to the holy Synod that such in Towns and Countrys as are called *Chorepiscopi* do know their limits, and govern the Churches under them, contenting themselves with the charge thereof, and with Authority to make Readers, Sub-Deacons, Exorcists, and to be Leaders or Guiders of them; but not to meddle with the Ordination either of a Presbyter or of a Deacon, without the Bishop of that City, whereunto the *Chorepiscopus*, and his Territory also, is subject. The same Synod appointeth likewise that those *Chorepiscopi* shall be made by none but the Bishop of that City; under which they are. Much might hereunto be added, if it were further needful to prove, that the local compass of a Bishop's authority and power was never so straightly listed, as some men would have the World to imagine. But to go forward; degrees of these are, and have been of old, even amongst Bishops also themselves: One sort of Bishops being Superiours unto Presbyters only, another sort having preheminence also above Bishops. It cometh here to be considered in what respect inequality of Bishops was thought, at the first, a thing expedient for the Church, and what odds there hath been between them, by how much the power of one hath been larger, higher, and greater then of another. Touching the causes for which it hath been esteemed meet, that Bishops themselves should not every way be Equals; they are the same for which the wisdom both of God and Man, hath evermore approved it as most requisite, that where many Governours must of necessity concurr, for the ordering of the same affairs, of what nature soever they be, one should have some kinde of sway or stroke more than all the residue. For where number is, there must be order, or else of force there will be confusion. Let there be divers Agents, of whom each hath his private inducements, with resolute purpose to follow them, (as each may have;) unless in this case some had preheminence above the rest, a Chance it were, if ever any thing should be either begun, proceeded in, or brought unto any Conclusion by them; Deliberations and Counsels would seldom go forward, their Meetings would alwayes be in danger to break up with jarrs and contradictions. In an Army a number of Captains, all of equal power, without some higher to over-sway them; what good would they do? In all Nations where a number are to draw any one way, there must be some one principal Mover. Let the practise of our very Adversaries themselves herein be considered; Are the Presbyters able to determine of Church-affairs, unless their Pastors do strike the chiefest stroke and have power above the rest? Can their Pastoral Synod do any thing, unless they have some President amongst them? In Synods, they are forced to give one Pastor preheminence and superiority above the rest. But they answer, That he, who being a Pastor according to the Order of their Discipline,

[a] 1 Cor. 16. As I have ordained in the Churches of *Galatia*, the same do ye also.
[b] 2 Cor. 11, 8
c Chrys. in 1. ad Tit.
Pallad in vita Chrysost.
Concil. Antioch. can. 10.

pline, is, for the time, some little deal mightier than his Brethren, doth not continue so longer than only during the Synod. Which Answer serveth not to help them out of the bryars: for, by their practise, they confirm our Principle, touching the necessity of one man's preheminence whersoever a concurrency of many is required unto any one solemn action; this Nature teacheth, and this they cannot chuse but acknowledge. As for the change of his Person to whom they give this preheminence, if they think it expedient to make for every Synod a new Superiour, there is no Law of God which bindeth them so to do, neither any that telleth them, that they might suffer one and the same man being made President, even to continue so during life; and to leave his preheminence unto his Successours after him, as, by the antient Order of the Church, Archbishops, Presidents amongst Bishops, have used to do. The ground therefore of their preheminence above Bishops, is the necessity of often concurrency of many Bishops about the Publick affairs of the Church, as consecrations of Bishops, consultations of remedy of general disorders, audience judicial, when the actions of any Bishop should be called in question, or Appeals are made from his Sentence by such as think themselves wronged. These, and the like affairs usually requiring, that many Bishops should orderly assemble, begin, and conclude somewhat; it hath seemed, in the eyes of Reverend Antiquity, a thing most requisite, that the Church should not only have Bishops, but, even amongst Bishops, some to be in Authority chiefest. Unto which purpose, the very state of the whole World, immediately before Christianity took place, doth seem, by the special providence of God to have been prepared: For we must know, that the Countrys where the Gospel was first planted, were, for the most part, subject to the Roman Empire. The Romans use was commonly, when, by warr they had subdued Foreign Nations, to make them Provinces, that is, to place over them Roman Governors, such as might order them according to the Laws and Customs of *Rome*. And, to the end that all things might be the more easily and orderly done, a whole Country being divided into sundry parts, there was in each part some one City, whereinto they about did resort for Justice. Every such part was termed a [a] Dioces. Howbeit, the name *Dioces* is sometime so generally taken, that it containeth not only mo such parts of a Province, but even moe Provinces also than one; as, the Dioces of *Asia* contained eight; the Dioces of *Africa* seven. Touching Dioceses according unto a stricter sense, whereby they are taken for a part of a Province, the words of *Livy* do plainly shew, what Orders the Romans did observe in them. For at what time they had brought the Macedonians into subjection, the Roman Governor, by order from the Senat of *Rome*, gave charge that *Macedonia* should be divided into four Regions or Dioceses. *Capita Regionum ubi concilia fierent primæ Sedis* Amphipolim, *secundæ* Thessalonicen, *tertiæ* Pellam, *quartæ* Pelagoniam *fecit. Eo, Concilia suæ cujusque Regionis indici, pecuniam conferri, ibi Magistratus creari jussit.* This being before the dayes of the Emperors, by their appointment *Thessalonica* was afterwards the chiefest, and in it the higheſt Governor of *Macedonia* had his Seat: Whereupon the other three Dioceses were in that respect inferiour unto it, as Daughters unto a Mother City; for not unto every Town of Justice was that Title given, but was peculiar unto those Cities wherein principal Courts were kept. Thus in *Macedonia*, the Mother City was *Thessalonica*: In *Asia*, [b] *Ephesus*; in *Africa*, *Carthage*; For so [c] *Justinian* in his time made it. The Governors, Officers, and Inhabitants of those Mother-Cities were termed for difference-sake *Metropolites*, that is to say, *Mother-city-men*; than which, nothing could possibly have been devised more fit to suit with the nature of that form of Spiritual Regiment, under which afterwards the Church should live. Wherefore if the Prophet saw cause to acknowledge unto the Lord, that the light of his gracious providence did shine no where more apparently to the eye, than in preparing the Land of *Canaan* to be a Receptacle for that Church which was of old, [d] *Thou hast brought a Vine out of Egypt, thou hast cast out the Heathen and planted it, thou madest room for it, and when it had taken root it filled the Land.* How much more ought we to wonder at the handy-work of Almighty God, who, to settle the Kingdom of his dear Son, did not cast out any one People, but directed in such sort the Politick Councils of them who ruled farr and wide over all, that

a Cic. Fam. Ep. 5. Si quid habebis cum aliquo Hellespontio controversiæ ut in illam *sententiam* rejicias. The suit which *Tully* maketh w s this, that the Party in whole behalf he wrote to the Pro-prætor, might have his Causes put over to that Court which was held in the Dioceses of *Hellespont*, where the man did abide, and not to his trouble be forced to follow them at *Ephesus*, which was the chiefest Court in that Province.

b Cic. ad Artic. lib. 5. Ep. 13. Item. l. observ. D. de officio Pro-

consulis & Legati. c Lib. 1. Tit. 27. l. 1. sect. 1. & 2. Sancimus ut sicut Oriens atque Illyricum, ita & Africa prætoriana maxima potestate specialiter à nostra clementia decoretur. Cujus sedem jubemus esse Carthaginem & ab ea, auxiliante Deo, septem provinciæ cum suis judicibus disponantur. d Psal. 30, 8, 9.

they

they throughout all Nations, People, and Countries upon Earth, should unwittingly prepare the Field wherein the Vine which God did intend, that is to say, the Church of his dearly beloved Son, was to take root. For unto nothing else can we attribute it, saving only unto the very incomprehensible force of Divine providence, that the World was in so marvellous fit sort divided, levelled, and laid out before hand? whose work could it be but his alone to make such provision for the direct implantation of his Church? Wherefore inequality of Bishops being found a thing convenient for the Church of God, in such consideration as hath been shewed; when it came secondly in question, which Bishops should be higher and which lower, it seemed herein not to the civil Monarch only, but to the most, expedient that the dignity and celebrity of Mother-Cities should be respected. They which dream, that, if Civil Authority had not given such preheminence unto one City more than another, there had never grown an inequality among Bishops, are deceived; Superiority of one Bishop over another would be requisite in the Church, although that Civil distinction were abolished; other causes having made it necessary, even amongst Bishops, to have some in degree higher than the rest, the civil dignity of place was considered only as a reason wherefore this Bishop should be preferred before that: Which deliberation had been likely enough to have raised no small trouble, but that such was the circumstance of place, as being followed in that choyce, besides the manifest conveniency thereof, took away all show of Partiality, prevented secret emulations, and gave no man occasion to think his Person disgraced in that another was preferred before him.

Concil. Antiochen. c. 9. Τὸς καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν ἐπισκόπους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει προεστῶτα ἐπισκόπον, καὶ τοῦ φροντίδα ἀνὰ δέχεσθαι πόσης τῆς ἐπαρχίας διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει πανταχόθεν συντρέχειν πάντας τοὺς τὰ πράγματα ἔχοντας, ὅθεν ἔδοξε καὶ τῇ τιμῇ προηγεῖσθαι αὐτόν.

Thus we see upon what occasion Metropolitan Bishops became Archbishops. Now, while the whole Christian World, in a manner, still continued under one Civil Government, there being oftentimes within some one more large Territory, divers and sundry Mother-Churches, the Metropolitans whereof were Archbishops, as for Order's sake, it grew hereupon expedient, there should be a difference also amongst them; so no way seemed, in those times, more fit, than to give preheminence unto them whose Metropolitan Sees were of special desert or dignity: for which cause these, as being Bishops in the chiefest Mother-Churches were termed Primates, and, at the length, by way of excellency, *Patriarks*. For, ignorant we are not, how sometimes the Title of *Patriark* is generally given to all Metropolitan Bishops. They are mightily therefore to blame which are so bold and confident, as to affirm, that, for the space of above four hundred and thirty years after Christ, all Metropolitan Bishops were in every respect equals, till the second Council of *Constantinople* exalted certain Metropolitans above the rest. True it is, they were equals as touching the exercise of Spiritual power within their Dioceses, when they dealt with their own flock. For what is it that one of them might do within the compass of his own precinct, but another within his might do the same? But that there was no subordination at all, of one of them unto another; that when they all, or sundry of them, were to deal in the same Causes, there was no difference of first and second in degree, no distinction of higher and lower in authority acknowledged amongst them, is most untrue. The Great Council of *Nice*, was after our Saviour Christ but three hundred twenty four years, and in that Council, certain Metropolitans are said even then to have had antient preheminence and dignity above the rest, namely, the Primate of *Alexandria*, of *Rome*, and of *Antioch*. Threescore years after this, there were Synods under the Emperour *Theodosius*, which Synod was the first at *Constantinople*, whereat one hundred and fifty Bishops were assembled: at which Council it was decreed, that the Bishop of *Constantinople* should not only be added unto the former Primates, but also that his Place should be second amongst them, the next to the Bishop of *Rome* in dignity. The same Decree again renewed concerning *Constantinople*, and the reason thereof laid open in the Council of *Chalcedon*. At the length came that second of *Constantinople*, whereat were six hundred and thirty Bishops for a third confirmation thereof. Laws Imperial there are likewise extant to the same effect. Herewith the Bishop of *Constantinople* being over-much puffed up, not only could not endure that See to be in estimation higher, whereunto his own had preferment to be the next, but he challenged more than ever any Christian Bishop in the World before either had, or with reason could have. What he challenged, and was therein as then refused by the Bishop of *Rome*; the same, the Bishop of *Rome* in process of time obtained for himself, and having gotten

Vilierius de statu primitivæ Ecclesiæ.

Socr. l. 3. c. 8.

Can. 28.

Can. 39.

gotten it by bad means, hath both up-held and augmented it, and upholdeth it by acts and practises much worse. But Primates, according to their first Institution, were all in relation unto Archbishops, the same by Prerogative, which Archbishops were, being compared unto Bishops. Before the Council of *Nice*, albeit there were both Metropolitans and Primates, yet could not this be a means forcible enough to procure the peace of the Church; but all things were wonderful tumultuous and troublesome, by reason of one special practise common unto the Heretiques of those times, which was, That when they had been condemned and cast out of the Church by the Sentence of their own Bishops, they, contrary to the antient received Orders of the Church, had a custom to wander up and down, and to insinuate themselves into favour where they were not known; imagining themselves to be safe enough, and not to be clean cut off from the body of the Church, if they could any where finde a Bishop which was content to communicate with them: whereupon ensued, as in that case there needs must, every day quarrels and jarrs unappeasable amongst Bishops. The *Nicene* Council, for redress hereof, considered the bounds of every Archbishop's Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions, what they had been in former times; and accordingly appointed unto each grand part of the Christian World some one Primate, from whose Judgement no man living within his Territory might appeal, unless it were to a Council General of all Bishops. The drift and purport of which order was, That neither any man oppress by his own particular Bishop might be destitute of a remedy, through appeal unto the more indifferent Sentence of some other ordinary Judge, nor yet every man be left at such liberty as before, to shift himself out of their hands; for whom it was most meet to have the hearing and determining of his cause. The evil, for remedy whereof this order was taken, annoyed at that present, especially the Church of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, where Arianism begun. For which cause the state of that Church is in the *Nicene* Canons concerning this matter mentioned before the rest. The words of their sacred Edict are these, Let those customs remain in force, which have been of old the customs of *Egypt* and *Libya*, and *Pentapolis*; by which customs the Bishop of *Alexandria* hath authority over all these; the rather, for that this hath also been the use of the Bishop of *Rome*, yea, the same hath been kept in *Antioch*, and in other Provinces. Now, because the custom likewise had been, that great honour should be done to the Bishop of *Ælia* or *Jerusalem*; therefore, lest their Decree concerning the Primate of *Antioch*, should any whit prejudice the dignity and honour of that See, special provision is made, that although it were inferior in degree, not only unto *Antioch* the chief of the *East*, but even unto *Cesaria* too; yet such preheminence it should retain as belonged to a Mother-City, and enjoy whatsoever special Prerogative or Priviledge it had besides. Let men therefore hereby judge of what continuance this Order which upholdeth degrees of Bishops must needs have been, when a General Council of three hundred and eighteen Bishops, living themselves within three hundred years after Christ, doth reverence the same for Antiquity's sake, as a thing which had been even then of old observed in the most renowned parts of the Christian World. Wherefore needless altogether are those vain and wanton demands, No mention of an Archbishop in *Theophilus* Bishop of *Antioch*? none in *Ignatius*? none in *Clemens* of *Alexandria*? none in *Justin Martyr*, *Irenæus*, *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*? none in all those old Historiographers, out of which *Eusebius* gathereth his Story? none till the time of the Council of *Nice* three hundred and twenty years after Christ? As if the mention, which is thereof made in that very Council, where so many Bishops acknowledge Archiepiscopal dignity even then antient, were not of farr more weight and value, than if every of those Fathers had written large Discourses thereof. But what is it which they will blush at, who dare so confidently set it down, that in the Councel of *Nice* some Bishops being termed Metropolitans, no more difference is thereby meant to have been between one Bishop and another, than is shewed between one Minister and another, when we say

Novel. 123. 22.

Concil. Nic. c. 6.

Ejusd. Con. cap. 7.

T. C. l. 1. 92. What? no mention of him in *Theophilus*, Bishop of *Antioch*? none in *Clemens Alexandrinus*? none in *Ignatius*? none in *Justin Martyr*? in *Irenæus*, in *Tertul.* in *Origen*, in *Cyprian*? in those old Historiographers, out

of which *Eusebius* gathered his Story? was it for his basenes and smalnes that he could not be seen amongst the Bishops, Elders and Deacons, being the chief and principal of them all? Can the Cedar of Lebanon be hidden amongst the Box-trees? *T. C.* l. 1. *ubi supra.* A Metropolitan Bishop was nothing else but a Bishop of that place which it pleased the Emperor or Magistrate to make the chief of the Diocess or Shire. and as for it is name it makes no more difference between a Bishop and a Bishop, than when I say a Minister of *London*, and a Minister of *Newington*.

such

ſuch a one is a Miniſter in the City of *London*, and ſuch a one a Miniſter in the Town of *Newington*. So that, to be termed a Metropolitan Biſhop did, in their conceit, import no more preheminence above other Biſhops, than we mean, that a Girdler hath over others of the ſame trade, if we term him which doth inhabit ſome Mother-City for difference-ſake a Metropolitan Girdler. But the Truth is too manifeſt to be eluded; a Biſhop at that time had power in his own Dioceſs over all other Miniſters there, and a Metropolitan Biſhop ſundry preheminences above other Biſhops, one of which preheminences was, in the ordination of Biſhops, to have κύρος τῶν γινομένων, the chief power of ordering all things done. Which preheminence that Council it ſelf doth mention, as alſo a greater belonging unto the Patriark or Primate of *Alexandria*, concerning whom, it is there likewiſe ſaid, that to him did belong Ἐξουσία, *authority and power over all Egypt, Pentapolis, and Libya*: within which compaſs ſundry Metropolitan Sees to have been, there is no man ignorant, which in thoſe Antiquities have any knowledge. Certain Prerogatives there are wherein Metropolitans excelled other Biſhops, certain alſo wherein Primates excelled other Metropolitans. Archiepiſcopal or Metropolitan Prerogatives are thoſe mentioned in the old Imperial conſtitutions, to [a] convocate the holy Biſhops under them, within the compaſs of their own Provinces, when need required their meeting together for inquiſition and redreſs of publick diſorders; [b] to grant unto Biſhops under them, leave and faculty of abſence from their own Dioceſes, when it ſeemed neceſſary that they ſhould otherwhere converſe for ſome reaſonable while; [c] to give notice unto Biſhops under them, of things commanded by Supream Authority; [d] to have the hearing and firſt determining of ſuch Cauſes as any man had againſt a Biſhop; [e] to receive the appeals of the inferiour Clergy, in caſe they found themſelves over-born by the Biſhop, their immediate Judge. And, leſt haply it ſhould be imagined, that Canons Eccleſiaſtical we want to make the ſelf-ſame thing manifeſt: In the Council of *Antioch* it was thus decreed, [f] *The Biſhop in every Province muſt know, that he which is Biſhop in the Mother-City, hath not only charge of his own Pariſh or Dioceſs, but even of the whole Province alſo.* Again, *it hath ſeemed good, that other Biſhops, without him, ſhould do nothing more than only that which concerneth each one's Pariſh, and the places underneath it.* Further, by the ſelf-ſame Council all Councils provincial are reckoned void and fruſtrate, unleſs the Biſhop of the Mother-City within that Province, where ſuch Councils ſhould be, were preſent at them. So that the want of his preſence, and, in Canons for Church-Government, want of his approbation alſo, did diſannul them. Not ſo the want of any others. Finally, concerning election of Biſhops, the Council of *Nice* hath this general rule, that the chief ordering of all things here, is in every Province committed to the Metropolitan. Touching them, who, amongſt Metropolitans, were alſo Primates, and had of ſundry united Provinces, the chiefeſt Metropolitan See, of ſuch that Canon, in the Council of *Carthage*, was eminent, whereby a Biſhop is forbidden to go beyond Seas, without the licenſe of the higheſt Chair within the ſame Biſhop's own Country; and of ſuch which beareth the name of Apoſtolical, is that antient Canon likewiſe, which chargeth the Biſhops of each NATION to know him which is FIRST amongſt them, and to eſteem of him as an HEAD, and to do no extraordinary thing but with his leave. The chief Primates of the Chriſtian World, were the Biſhop of *Rome*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*. To whom the Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*, being afterwards added, Saint *Chryſoſtom* the Biſhop of that See, is in that reſpect ſaid, to have had the care and charge, not only of the City of *Conſtantinople*, *ſed etiam totius Thraciæ quæ ſex præfecturis eſt diviſa, & Aſiæ totius quæ ab undecim præſidibus regitur.* The reſt of the Eaſt was under *Antioch*, the South under *Alexandria*, and the Weſt under *Rome*. Whereas therefore *John* the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* being noted of Hereſie, had written an Apology for himſelf unto the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, named *Theophilus*; Saint *Jerom* reproveth his breach of the Order of the Church herein, ſaying, *Tu qui regulas quæris Eccleſiaſticas, & Niceni Concilii canonibus uteris, reſponde mihi, Ad Alexandrinum Epiſcopum Palæſtina quid pertinet? Ni fallor, hoc ibi decernitur ut Palæſtinæ Metropolis Cæſarea ſit, & totius Orientis Antiochia. Aut igitur ad Cæſarienſem Epiſcopum referre debueras, aut ſi procul expetendum judicium erat, Antiochiam potius literæ dirigendæ.* Thus much concerning that Local Compaſs which was antiently ſet out to Biſhops; within the bounds and limits whereof

Con. Nicen. c. 6. Illud autem omnino manifeſtum, quod ſiquis abſque Metropolitani ſententia factus ſit Epiſc. hunc magna Synodus definivit Epiſc. eſſe non oportere. Can. 4.

a Novel. 123. can. 10.

b Nov. 123. c. 9

c Novel. 79. 2.

d Novel. 123. can. 22.

e Novel. 123 c. 23.

f Can. 9.

Can. 16.

Can. 4. τὸ κύρος τῶν γινομένων.

Can. 23.

Can. 34.

Caſſiod. in vita Chryſoſt.

Hieron. Ep. 91.

whereof we finde, that they did accordingly exercise that Episcopal Authority and power which they had over the Church of Christ.

IX. The first whom we read to have bent themselves against the Superiority of Bishops, were *Aerius* and his Followers. *Aerius* seeking to be made a Bishop, could not brook that *Eustathius* was thereunto preferred before him. Whereas therefore he saw himself unable to rise to that greatness which his ambitious pride did affect, his way of revenge was, to try what Wit being sharpned with envy and malice could do; in raising a new seditious opinion, that the Superiority which Bishops had, was a thing which they should not have; that a Bishop might not ordain; and that a Bishop ought not any way to be distinguished from a Presbyter: For so doth St. *Augustin* deliver the opinion of *Aerius*: *Epiphanius* not so plainly, nor so directly, but after a more Rhetorical sort. His Speech was rather furious than convenient for man to use, *What is*, saith he, *a Bishop more than a Presbyter? The one doth differ from the other nothing. For their Order is one, their Honour one, one their Dignity. A Bishop imposeth his hands, so doth a Presbyter. A Bishop baptizeth, the like doth a Presbyter. The Bishop is a Minister of Divine Service, a Presbyter is the same. The Bishop sitteth as a Judge in a Throne, even the Presbyter sitteth also. A Presbyter therefore doing thus far the self-same thing which a Bishop did, it was by* Aerius *inforced, that they ought not in any thing to differ.* Are we to think *Aerius* had wrong in being judged an Heretick for holding this opinion? Surely if Heresie be an error, falsely fathered upon Scriptures, but indeed repugnant to the truth of the Word of God, and by the consent of the universal Church, in the Councils; or in her contrary uniform practice throughout the whole world, declared to be such, and the opinion of *Aerius* in this point be a plain error of that nature, there is no remedy; but *Aerius* so schismatically, and stifly maintaining it, must even stand where *Epiphanius* and *Augustin* have placed him. An error repugnant unto the truth of the Word of God is held by them whosoever they be, that stand in defence of any Conclusion drawn erroneously out of Scripture, and untruely thereon fathered. The opinion of *Aerius* therefore being falsely collected out of Scripture, must needs be acknowledged an error repugnant unto the truth of the Word of God. His opinion was, that there ought not to be any difference between a Bishop and a Presbyter. His grounds and reasons for this Opinion, were Sentences of Scripture. Under pretence of which Sentences, whereby it seemed that Bishops and Presbyters at the first did not differ, it was concluded by *Aerius*, that the Church did ill in permitting any difference to be made. The Answer which *Epiphanius* maketh unto some part of the proofs by *Aerius* alleged, was not greatly studied or labored; for through a contempt of so base an error, for this himself did perceive and profess, yieldeth he thereof expresly this reason; Men that have wit do evidently see, that all this is meer foolishness. But how vain and ridiculous soever his opinion seemed unto wise men; with it *Aerius* deceived many, for which cause somewhat was convenient to be said against it. And in that very extemporal slightness which *Epiphanius* there useth, albeit the answer made to *Aerius* be [a] in part but raw, yet ought not hereby the Truth to finde any less favour than in other Causes it doth, where we do not therefore judge Heresie to have the better, because now and then it alledgeth that for it self, which Defenders of Truth do not always so fully answer. Let it therefore suffice, that *Aerius* did bring nothing unanswerable. The weak Solutions which the one doth give, are to us no prejudice against the Cause, as long as the others oppositions are of no greater strength and validity. Did not *Aerius*, trow you, deserve to be esteemed as a new *Apollos*, mighty and powerful in the Word, which could for maintenance of his Cause, bring forth so plain Divine Authorities, to prove by the Apostles own Writings, that Bishops ought not in any thing to differ from other Presbyters? For example, where it is said that Presbyters made *Timothy* Bishop, is it not clear, that a Bishop should not differ from a Presbyter, by having power of Ordination? Again, if a Bishop might by Order be distinguished from a Presbyter, would the Apostle have given, [b] as he doth unto Presbyters, the Title of Bishops?

In what respects Episcopal Regiment hath been gainsaid of old by *Aerius*.

Aug. de hær. ad quod vult deu.

Aeriani ab Aerio quodam sunt nominati qui quum esset Presbyter, docuisse feruntur, quod Episcopus non potest ordinare. Dicebat Episcopum à Presbytero nullâ ratione debere discerni.

Aug. de hær.

Ἐν τούτῳ πολλὰς ἀπάτας.

[a] As in that he saith, the Apostle doth name sometimes Presbyters and not Bishops, 1 Tim. 4. 14. sometime Bishops and not Presbyters, Phil 1. 1. because all Churches had not both, for want of able and sufficient men. In such Churches therefore as had but the

one, the Apostle could not mention the other. Which Answer is nothing to the latter place above mentioned: For that the Church of *Philippi* should have more Bishops than one, and want a few able men to be Presbyters under the Regiment of one Bishop, how shall we think it probable or likely? [b] 1 Tim. 4. 14. with the Imposition of the Presbyteries hand Of which Presbytery S *Paul* was chief, 2 *Tim.* 1. 6. And I think no man will deny that S. *Paul* had more than a simple Presbyters Authority. *Phil.* 1. 1. To all the Saints at *Philippi*, with the Bishops and Deacons. For as yet in the Church of *Philippi*, there was no one which had Authority besides Apostles, but their Presbyters or Bishops were all both in Title and in Power equal,

Theſe were the invincible demonſtrations wherewith *Aerius* did ſo fiercely aſſault Biſhops. But the Sentence of *Aerius* perhaps was only, that the difference between a Biſhop and a Presbyter, hath grown by the order and cuſtom of the Church, the Word of God not appointing that any ſuch difference ſhould be. Well, let *Aerius* then finde the favour to have his Sentence ſo conſtrued; yet his fault in condemning the order of the Church, his not ſubmitting himſelf unto that Order, the Schiſm which he cauſed in the Church about it, who can excuſe? No, the truth is, that theſe things did even neceſſarily enſue, by force of the very opinion which he and his followers did hold. His concluſion was, That there ought to be no difference between a Presbyter and a Biſhop. His proofs, thoſe Scripture-ſentences which make mention of Biſhops and Presbyters, without any ſuch diſtinction or difference. So that if between his Concluſion and the Proofs whereby he laboured to ſtrengthen the ſame, there be any ſhew of coherence at all, we muſt of neceſſity confeſs, that when *Aerius* did plead, There is by the Word of God no difference between a Presbyter, and a Biſhop; his meaning was, not only that the Word of God it ſelf appointeth not, but that it enforceth on us the duty of not appointing, nor allowing, that any ſuch difference ſhould be made.

In what reſpect Epiſcopal Regiment is gain-ſaid by the Authors of pretended Reformation at this day.

X. And of the ſelf-ſame minde are the Enemies of Government by Biſhops, even at this preſent day. They hold, as *Aerius* did, that if Chriſt and his Apoſtles were obeyed, a Biſhop ſhould not be permitted to ordain: that between a Presbyter and a Biſhop the Word of God alloweth not any inequality or difference to be made; that their Order, their Authority, their Power ought to be one; that it is but by uſurpation and corruption, that the one ſort are ſuffered to have rule of the other, or to be any way ſuperiour unto them. Which opinion having now ſo many Defenders, ſhall never be able while the World doth ſtand, to finde in ſome, believing Antiquity, as much as one which hath given it countenance, or born any friendly affection towards it. Touching theſe men therefore, whoſe deſire is to have all equal, three ways there are, whereby they uſually oppugn the received Order of the Church of Chriſt. Firſt, by diſgracing the inequality of Paſtors, as a new and meer Human invention, a thing which was never drawn out of Scripture, where all Paſtors are found (they ſay) to have one and the ſame power, both of Order and Juriſdiction. Secondly, by gathering together the differences between that power which we give to Biſhops, and that which was given them of old in the Church: So that, albeit even the antient took more than was warrantable; yet ſo farr they ſwerved not as ours have done. Thirdly, by endeavouring to prove, that the Scripture directly forbiddeth, and that the judgement of the wiſeſt, the holyeſt, the beſt in all Ages, condemneth utterly the inequality which we allow.

XI. That inequality of Paſtors is a meer Humane invention, a thing not found in the Word of God, they prove thus:

Their Auguments in diſgrace of Regiment by Biſhops, as being a meer invention of Man, and not found in Scripture, Anſwered.

1. *All the places of Scripture where the word* Biſhop *is uſed, or any other derived of that name, ſignifie an Overſight in reſpect of ſome particular Congregation only, and never in regard of Paſtors committed unto his Overſight. For which cauſe the names of Biſhops, and Presbyters, or Paſtoral Elders, are uſed indifferently, to ſignifie one and the ſelf-ſame thing. Which ſo indifferent and common uſe of theſe words, for one and the ſelf-ſame Office, ſo conſtantly and perpetually in all places, declareth, that the word* Biſhop *in the Apoſtles Writing, importeth not a Paſtor of higher Power and Authoritie over other Paſtors.*

Titus 1. 5. Timothy 3. 5. Philippians 1. 1. 1 Peter 5. 1, 2.

2. *All Paſtors are called to their Office by the ſame means of proceeding; the Scripture maketh no difference in the manner of their Tryal, Election, Ordination: which proveth their Office and Power to be by Scripture all one.*

3. *The Apoſtles were all of equal power, and all Paſtors do alike ſucceed the Apoſtles in their Miniſtery and Power, the Commiſſion and Authority whereby they ſucceed, being in Scripture but one and the ſame that was committed to the Apoſtles, without any difference of committing to one Paſtor more, or to another leſs.*

4. *The*

4. *The power of the Cenſures and Keyes of the Church, and of Ordaining and ordering Miniſters (in which two points eſpecially this Superiority is challenged) is not committed to any one Paſtor of the Church, more than to another; but the ſame is committed as a thing to be carried equally in the guidance of the Church. Whereby it appeareth, that Scripture maketh all Paſtors, not only in the Miniſtery of the Word and Sacraments, but alſo in all Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction and Authority, equal.*

5. *The Council of* Nice *doth attribute this difference, not unto any Ordination of God, but to an antient Cuſtom uſed in former times, which judgement is alſo followed afterward by other Councils,* Concil. Antioch. cap. 9.

6. Upon theſe Premiſes, their ſummary collection and concluſion is, *That the Miniſtery of the Goſpel, and the Functions thereof, ought to be from Heaven and of God,* Joh. 1. 23. *that if they be of God, and from Heaven, then are they ſet down in the Word of God; that if they be not in the Word of God (as by the premiſes it doth appear (they ſay) that our kinds of Biſhops are not) it followeth, they are invented by the brain of men, and are of the Earth, and that conſequently they can do no good in the Church of Chriſt, but harm.* T.C. l. 1. p. 13. So that it appeareth that the Miniſtery of the Goſpel, and the Functions thereof, ought to be from Heaven:

From Heaven, I ſay, and Heavenly, becauſe although it be executed by Earthly men, and Miniſters are choſen alſo by men like unto themſelves, yet becauſe it is done by the Word and Inſtitution of God, it may well be accounted to come from Heaven, and from God.

Anſwer. Our Anſwer hereunto is, firſt, that their proofs are unavailable to ſhew, that Scripture affordeth no evidence for the inequality of Paſtors. Secondly, That, albeit the Scripture did no way inſinuate the ſame to be God's Ordinance, and the Apoſtles to have brought it in, albeit the Church were acknowledged by all men to have been the firſt beginner thereof, a long time after the Apoſtles were gone; yet is not the Authority of Biſhops hereby diſannulled, it is not hereby proved unfit, or unprofitable for the Church.

1. That the Word of God doth acknowledge no inequality of power amongſt Paſtors of the Church, neither doth it appear by the ſignification of this word *Biſhop*, nor by the indifferent uſe thereof. For, concerning ſignification, firſt it is clearly untrue, that no other thing is thereby ſignified, but only an overſight in reſpect of a particular Church and Congregation. For, I beſeech you, of what Pariſh, or particular Congregation was *Matthias* Biſhop? His Office Scripture doth term Epiſcopal: which being no other than was common unto all the Apoſtles of Chriſt; foraſmuch as in that number there is not any to whom the overſight of many Paſtors did not belong, by force and vertue of that Office; it followeth, that the very Word doth ſometimes, even in Scripture, ſignifie an overſight, ſuch as includeth charge over Paſtors themſelves. And if we look to the uſe of the Word, being applyed with reference unto ſome one Church, as *Epheſus*, *Philippi*, and ſuch like, albeit the Guides of thoſe Churches be interchangeably in Scripture termed ſometime Biſhops, ſometime Presbyters, to ſignifie men having overſight and charge, without relation at all unto other than the Chriſtian Laity alone; yet this doth not hinder, but that Scripture may in ſome place have other names, whereby certain of thoſe Presbyters or Biſhops, are noted to have the overſight and charge of Paſtors, as out of all peradventure they had, whom St. *John* doth intitle Angels, [Acts 1. 20.] Revel. 1.

2. As for thoſe things which the Apoſtle hath ſet down concerning Tryal, Election, and Ordination of Paſtors, that he maketh no difference in the manner of their Calling, this alſo is but a ſilly Argument to prove their Office and their Power equal by the Scripture. The form of admitting each ſort unto their Offices, needed no particular Inſtruction: There was no fear, but that ſuch matters of courſe would eaſily enough be obſerved. The Apoſtle therefore toucheth thoſe things wherein Judgement, Wiſdom, and Conſcience is required; he carefully admoniſheth of what quality Eccleſiaſtical Perſons ſhould be, that their dealing might not be ſcandalous in the Church. And foraſmuch as thoſe things are general, we ſee that of Deacons there are delivered, in a manner, the ſelf-ſame Precepts, which are given concerning Paſtors, ſo farr as concerneth their Tryal, Election, and Ordination. Yet who doth hereby collect, that Scripture maketh Deacons and Paſtors equal? If notwithſtanding it be yet demanded, *Wherefore he which teacheth what kinde of Perſons*

Deacons and Presbyters ſhould be, hath nothing in particular about the quality of chief Presbyters, whom we call Biſhops? I anſwer briefly, that there it was no fit place for any ſuch diſcourſe to be made; inaſmuch as the Apoſtle wrote unto *Timothy* and *Titus*, who having by Commiſſion Epiſcopal Authority, were to exerciſe the ſame in ordaining, not Biſhops (the Apoſtles themſelves yet living, and retaining that power in their own hands) but Presbyters, ſuch as the Apoſtles at the firſt did create throughout all Churches. Biſhops by reſtraint (only *James* at *Jeruſalem* excepted) were not yet in being.

3. About equality amongſt the Apoſtles, there is by us no Controverſie moved. If in the rooms of the Apoſtles, which were of equal Authority, all Paſtors do by Scripture ſucceed alike, where ſhall we finde a Commiſſion in Scripture which they ſpeak of, which appointed all to ſucceed in the ſelf-ſame equality of power, except that Commiſſion which doth authorize to Preach and Baptiſe, ſhould be alledged, which maketh nothing to the purpoſe; for in ſuch things, all Paſtors are ſtill equal: We muſt, I fear me, wait very long before any other will be ſhewed. For howſoever the Apoſtles were Equals amongſt themſelves, all other Paſtors were not Equals with the Apoſtles while they lived, neither are they any where appointed to be afterward each others Equals. Apoſtles had, as we know, authority over all ſuch as were no Apoſtles; by force of which their Authority, they might both command and judge. It was for the ſingular good and benefit of thoſe Diſciples whom Chriſt left behinde him, and of the Paſtors which were afterwards choſen; for the great good, I ſay, of all ſorts, that the Apoſtles were in power above them. Every day brought forth ſomewhat wherein they ſaw by experience, how much it ſtood them in ſtead to be under controulment of thoſe Superiours and Higher Governours of God's Houſe. Was it a thing ſo behoveful, that Paſtors ſhould be ſubject unto Paſtors in the Apoſtles own times? and is there any commandment that this Subjection ſhould ceaſe with them? and that the Paſtors of the ſucceeding Ages ſhould be all Equals? No, no, this ſtrange and abſurd conceit of Equality amongſt Paſtors (the Mother of Schiſm, and of Confuſion) is but a dream newly brought forth, and ſeen never in the Church before.

4. Power of Cenſure and Ordination appeareth even by Scripture marvellous probable, to have been derived from Chriſt to his Church, without this ſurmiſed Equality in them to whom he hath committed the ſame. For I would know, Whether *Timothy* and *Titus* were commanded by Saint *Paul* to do any thing, more than Chriſt hath authoriſed Paſtors to do; And to the one it is Scripture which ſaith, *Againſt a Presbyter receive THOU no accuſation, ſaving under two or three Witneſſes:* Scripture which likewiſe hath ſaid to the other, *For this very cauſe left I THEE in Crete, that THOU ſhouldſt redreſs the things that remain, and ſhouldſt ORDAIN Presbyters in every City, as I appointed THEE.* In the former place the power of Cenſure is ſpoken of, and the power of Ordination in the latter. Will they ſay that every Paſtor there was equal to *Timothy*, and *Titus* in theſe things? If they do, the Apoſtle himſelf is againſt it, who ſaith, that, of their two very Perſons, he had made choyſe, and appointed in thoſe places them, for performances of thoſe Duties, whereas, if the ſame had belonged unto others, no leſs than to them, and not principally unto them above others, it had been fit for the Apoſtle accordingly to have directed his Letters concerning theſe things in general unto them all which had equal intereſt in them; even as it had been likewiſe fit to have written thoſe Epiſtles in Saint *John*'s Revelation, unto whole Eccleſiaſtical Senates, rather than only unto the Angels of each Church; had not ſome one been above the reſt in Authority, to order the affairs of the Church. Scripture therefore doth moſt probably make for the inequality of Paſtors, even in all Eccleſiaſtical affairs, and by very expreſs mention, as well in Cenſures as Ordinations.

1 Tim. 5. 19.

Tit. 1. 5.

5. In the *Nicene* Council there are confirmed certain Prerogatives and Dignities belonging unto Primates or Archbiſhops, and of them it is ſaid, that the antient cuſtom of the Church, had been to give them ſuch preheminence, but no ſyllable whereby any man ſhould conjecture, that thoſe Fathers did not honor the Superiority which Biſhops had over other Paſtors, only upon antient cuſtom, and not as a true Apoſtolical heavenly and divine Ordinance.

6. Now,

6. Now, although we should leave the general received perswasion, held from the first beginning, that the Apostles themselves left Bishops invested with power above other Pastors; although I say, we should give over this opinion, and imbrace that other conjecture, which so many have thought good to follow, and which my self did sometimes judge a great deal more probable than now I do, meerly that after the Apostles were deceased, Churches did agree amongst themselves, for preservation of Peace and Order, to make one Presbyter in each City, Chief over the rest, and to translate into him that power, by force and vertue whereof the Apostles, while they were alive, did preserve and uphold order in the Church, exercising Spiritual Jurisdiction, partly by themselves, and partly by Evangelists, because they could not always every where themselves be present: This order taken by the Church it self (for so let us suppose, that the Apostles did neither by word nor deed appoint it) were notwithstanding more warrantable, than that it should give place and be abrogated, because the Ministry of the Gospel, and the Functions thereof, ought to be from Heaven. There came Chief Priests and Elders unto our Saviour Christ as he was teaching in the Temple, and the Question which they moved unto him was this, *By what Authority dost thou these things, and who gave thee this Authority?* their Question he repelled with a Counter-demand, *The Baptism of* John *whence was it, from Heaven, or of Men?* Hereat they paused, secretly disputing within themselves, *If we shall say from Heaven, he will ask, Wherefore did ye not then believe him? And if we say of men, We fear the People*, for all hold *John* a Prophet. What is it now which hereupon these men would infer? That all Functions Ecclesiastical, ought in such sort to be from Heaven, as the Function of *John* was? No such matter here contained. Nay, doth not the contrary rather appear most plainly by that which is here set down? For when our Saviour doth ask concerning the Baptism, that is to say, the whole Spiritual Function of *John*, whether it were from Heaven or of men, he giveth clearly to understand that men give Authority unto some, and some God himself from Heaven doth Authorize. Nor is it said, or in any sort signified, that none have lawful Authority which have it not in such manner as *John*, from Heaven. Again, when the Priests and Elders were loth to say, that *John* had his calling from men, the reason was not because they thought that so *John* should not have had any good or lawful Calling, but because they saw, that by this means they should somewhat embase the Calling of *John*, whom all men knew to have been sent from God, according to the manner of Prophets, by a meer Celestial vocation. So that out of the evidence here alledged, these things we may directly conclude; first, that who so doth exercise any kinde of Function in the Church, he cannot lawfully so do, except Authority be given him; Secondly, that if Authority be not given him from men, as the Authority of Teaching was given unto Scribes and Pharisees, it must be given him from Heaven, as Authority was given unto *Christ*, *Elias*, *Iohn Baptist*, and the Prophets. For these two only wayes there are to have Authority. But a strange Conclusion it is, God himself did from Heaven authorize *John* to bear Witness of the light, to prepare a way for the promised *Messiah*, to publish the nearness of the Kingdom of God, to Preach Repentance, and to Baptise (for by this part which was in the Function of *Iohn* most noted, all the rest are together signified;) Therefore the Church of God hath no power upon new occurrences to appoint, to ordain an Ecclesiastical Function, as *Moses* did upon *Jethroe*'s advice devise a civil. All things we grant which are in the Church ought to be of God. But, for as much as they may be two wayes accounted such: one, if they be of his own institution, and not of ours; another if they be of ours, and yet with his approbation; this latter way there is no impediment, but that the same thing which is of men, may be also justly and truly said to be of God, the same thing from Heaven which is from Earth. Of all good things God himself is Author, and consequently an Approver of them. The rule to discern when the actions of men are good, when they are such as they ought to be, is more ample and large than the Law which God hath set particular down in his holy Word, the Scripture is but a part of that rule as hath been heretofore at large declared. If therefore all things be of God which are well done; and if all things be well done, which are according unto the rule of well doing; and if the rule of well-doing be more ample than the Scripture; what necessity is there, that every thing which

They of Walden, Aen. Syl. hist. Boem. Marsilius. Defens. pac. Nicl. Thom. Wald. c. 1. l. 2. cap. 6 Calvin. Coment in 1 ad ad Tit. Bullinger, Decad. 1. Ser. 3. Juel, Defens. apol. par. 2. c. 9. Di. 1. Fulk. Answ. to the Test. Tit. 1. 5. John 1. 25. Mat. 21. 23.

Lib. 1.

which is of God, should be set down in holy Scripture? true it is in things of some one kinde, true it is, that what we are now of necessity for ever bound to believe or observe in the special mysteries of Salvation, Scripture must needs give notice of it unto the World; yet true it cannot be, touching all things that are of God. Sufficient it is for the proof of lawfulness in any thing done, if we can shew that God approveth it. And of his approbation, the evidence is sufficient, if either himself have by revelation in his word warranted it, or we by some discourse of reason, finde it good of it self, and unrepugnant unto any of his revealed Laws and Ordinances. Wherefore injurious we are unto God, the Author and Giver of Human capacity, Judgement and Wit, when, because of some things wherein he precisely forbiddeth men to use their own inventions, we take occasion to dis-authorize and disgrace the works which he doth produce by the hand, either of nature or of grace in them. We offer contumely, even unto him; when we scornfully reject what we list without any other exception than this, *The brain of man hath devised it.* Whether we look into the Church or Common-weal, as well in the one as in the other, both the Ordination of Officers, and the very institution of their Offices may be truly derived from God, and approved of him, although they be not always of him in such sort as those things are which are in Scripture. Doth not the Apostle term the Law of Nature even as
Rom. 1. 32. Luke 1. 6. the Evangelist doth the Law of Scripture, δικαίωμα τοῦ Θεοῦ, God's own righteous Ordinance? the Law of Nature then being his Law, that must needs be of him which it hath directed men unto. Great odds, I grant, there is between things devised by men, although agreeable with the Law of Nature, and things in Scripture set down by the finger of the Holy Ghost. Howbeit the dignity of these is no hinderance, but that those be also reverently accounted of in their Place. Thus much they very well saw, who, although not living themselves under this kinde of Church Polity, yet being, through some experience, more moderate, grave and circumspect in their Judgment, have given hereof their founder and better advised Sentence. That which the
Confes. 169. holy Fathers (saith *Zanchius*) have by common consent, without contradiction of Scripture, received; for my part, I neither will, nor dare with good Conscience disallow. And what more certain, than that the ordering of Ecclesiastical Persons, one in authority above another, was received into the Church by the common consent of the Christian World. What am I, that I should take upon me to control the whole Church of Christ in that which is so well known to have been lawfully, religiously, and to notable purpose instituted? *Calvin* maketh mention even of Primates that have
Epist. 190. authority above Bishops, *It was*, saith he, *the institution of the antient Church, to the end that the Bishops might by this bond of Concord, continue the faster linked amongst themselves.* And, lest any man should think that as well he might allow the Papacy it self; to prevent this he addeth, *Aliud est moderatum gerere & honorem, quàm totum terrarum orbem immenso imperio complecti.* These things standing as they do, we may conclude, that, albeit the Offices which Bishops execute, had been committed unto them only by the Church, and that the superiority which they have over other Pastors, were not first by Christ himself given to the Apostles, and from them descended to others, but afterwards in such consideration brought in and agreed upon, as is pretended; yet could not this be a just or lawful exception against it.

The Arguments to prove there was no necessity of instituting Bishops in the Church.

XII. But they will say, *There was no necessity of instituting Bishops, the Church might have stood well enough without them, they are as those superfluous things, which neither while they continue do good, nor do harm when they are removed, because there is not any profitable use whereunto they should serve. For first, in the Primitive Church their Pastors were all equal, the Bishops of those dayes were the very same which Pastors of Parish Churches at this day are with us, no one at commandment or controulment by any others Authority amongst them. The Church therefore may stand and flourish without Bishops: If they be necessary, wherefore were they not sooner instituted? 2. Again, if any such thing were needful for the Church, Christ would have set it down in Scripture, as he did all kinde of Officers needful for Jewish Regiment. He which prescribed unto the Jews so particularly the least thing pertinent unto their Temple, would not have left so weighty Offices*
Ep. 3. l. b. 1. *undetermined of in Scripture, but that he knew the Church could never have any profitable use of them. 3. Furthermore, it is the judgement of* Cyprian, *that equity requireth every*

every man's cause to be heard, where the fault he is charged with was committed. And the reason he alledgeth is, forasmuch as there they may have both Accusers and Witnesses in their cause. Sith therefore every man's cause is meetest to be handled at home by the Judges of his own Parish, to what purpose serveth their device, which have appointed Bishops unto whom such causes may be brought, and Archbishops to whom they may be also from thence removed?

XIII. What things have necessary use in the Church, they of all others are the most unfit to judge, who bend themselves purposely against whatsoever the Church useth, except it please themselves to give it the grace and countenance of their favourable approbation; which they willingly do not yield unto any part of Church-Polity, in the forehead whereof there is not the mark of that new devised stamp. But howsoever men like or dislike, whether they judge things necessary or needless in the House of God, a Conscience they should have touching that which they boldly affirm or deny. 1. *In the Primitive Church no Bishops, no Pastor having power over other Pastors, but all Equals, every man Supreme Commander and Ruler within the Kingdom of his own Congregation or Parish? The Bishops that are spoken of in the time of the Primitive Church, all such as Parsons or Rectors of Parishes are with us?* If thus it have been in the prime of the Church, the question is, how farr they will have that prime to extend? and where the latter spring of that new-supposed disorder to begin? That Primitive Church wherein they hold that amongst the Fathers, all which had Pastoral charge were Equal, they must of necessity so farr enlarge, as to contain some hundred of years, because for proof hereof they alledge boldly and confidently Saint *Cyprian*, who suffered Martyrdom about two hundred and threescore years after our blessed Lord's Incarnation. A Bishop, they say, such as *Cyprian* doth speak of, had only a Church or Congregation, such as the Ministers and Pastors with us, which are appointed unto several Towns. Every Bishop in *Cyprian*'s time was Pastor of one only Congregation, assembled in one place to be taught of one man. A thing impertiment, although it were true. For the Question is about Personal inequality amongst Governors of the Church. Now to shew there was no such thing in the Church at such time as *Cyprian* lived, what bring they forth? Forsooth, that Bishops had then but a small circuit of place for the exercise of their Authority. Be it supposed, that no one Bishop had more than one only Town to govern, one only Congregation to rule: Doth it by *Cyprian* appear, that in any such Town or Congregation, being under the cure and charge of some one Bishop, there were not, besides that one Bishop, others also Ministers of the Word and Sacraments, yet subject to the power of the same Bishop? If this appear not, how can *Cyprian* be alledged for a Witness, that in those times there were no Bishops which did differ from other Ministers, as being above them in degree of Ecclesiastical power? But a gross and a palpable untruth it is, *That Bishops with* Cyprian, *were as Ministers are with us in Parish-Churches; and that each of them did guide some Parish without any other Pastors under him.* St. *Cyprian*'s own Person may serve for a manifest disproof hereof. *Pontius* being Deacon under *Cyprian* noteth, that his admirable vertues caused him to be Bishop with the soonest; which advancement therefore himself endeavoured for a while to avoid. It seemed in his own eyes too soon for him to take the title of so great Honor, in regard whereof a Bishop is termed *Pontifex, Sacerdos, Antistes Dei.* Yet such was his quality, that whereas others did hardly perform that duty, whereunto the Discipline of their Order, together with the Religion of the Oath they took at their entrance into the Office even constrained them; him the Chair did not make, but receive such a one, as behoved that a Bishop should be. But soon after followed that Prescription, whereby being driven into exile, and continuing in that estate for the space of some two years, he ceased not by Letters to deal with his Clergy, and to direct them about the Publick affairs of the Church. They unto whom those * Epistles were written, he commonly entituleth the Presbyters and Deacons of that Church. If any man doubt, whether those

The fore-alledged Arguments answered.

T. C. l. 1. p. 19, & 100. The Bishop which *Cyprian* speaketh of, is nothing else but such as we call Pastor, or as the common name with us is, Parson; and his Church whereof he is Bishop, is neither Diocess nor Province, but a Congregation which met together in one place, and to be taught of one man.

* Etsi Fratres pro dilectione sua cupidi sunt ad conveniendum & visitandum Confessores bonos, quos

illustravit jam gloriosis initiis divina dignatio; tamen caute hoc & non glomeratim nec per multitudinem simul junctam puto esse faciendum, ne ex hoc ipso invidia concitetur, & introeundi aditus denegetur, & dum insatiabiles multum volumus, totum perdamus; Consulite ergo & providete ut cum temperamento hoc agi tutius possit: Ita ut Presbyteri quoq; qui illic apud Confessores offerunt, singuli cum singulis Diaconis per vices accernent, quia & mutatio personarum, & vicissitudo convenientium minuit invidiam. Ep. 5.

Presbyters

Presbyters of *Carthage* were Miniſters of the Word and Sacraments or no, let him conſider but that one only place of *Cyprian*, where he giveth them this careful advice, how to deal with circumſpection in the perilous times of the Church, that neither they which were for the truths ſake impriſoned, might want thoſe Ghoſtly comforts which they ought to have, nor the Church by miniſtring the ſame unto them, incurr unneceſſary danger and peril. In which Epiſtle it doth expreſly appear, that the Presbyters of whom he ſpeaketh, did offer, that is to ſay, adminiſter the Euchariſt; and that many there were of them in the Church of *Carthage*, ſo as they might have every day change for performance of that duty. Nor will any man of ſound Judgement I think deny, that *Cyprian* was in Authority and Power above the Clergy of that Church, above thoſe Presbyters unto whom he gave direction. It is apparently therefore untrue, that in *Cyprian*'s time, Miniſters of the Word and Sacraments were all equal, and that no one of them had either Title more excellent than the reſt, or Authority and Government over the reſt. *Cyprian* being Biſhop of *Carthage*, was clearly Superiour unto all other Miniſters there: Yea, *Cyprian* was, by reaſon of the Dignity of his See an Archbiſhop, and ſo conſequently Superiour unto Biſhops. Biſhops, we ſay, there have been alwayes, even as long as the Church of Chriſt it ſelf hath been. The Apoſtles who planted it, did themſelves rule as Biſhops over it, neither could they ſo well have kept things in order during their own times, but that Epiſcopal Authority was given them from above, to exerciſe far and wide over all other Guides and Paſtors of God's Church. The Church indeed for a time continued without Biſhops by reſtraint, every where eſtabliſhed in Chriſtian Cities. But ſhall we thereby conclude, that the Church hath no uſe of them, that without them it may ſtand and flouriſh? No, the cauſe wherefore they were ſo ſoon univerſally appointed was, for that it plainly appeared, that, without them, the Church could not have continued long. It was by the ſpecial Providence of God no doubt ſo diſpoſed, that the evil whereof this did ſerve for remedy, might firſt be felt, and ſo the reverend Authority of Biſhops be made by ſo much the more effectual, when our general experience had taught men what it was for Churches to want them. Good Laws are never eſteemed ſo good, nor acknowledged ſo neceſſary, as when precedent crimes are as ſeeds out of which they grow. Epiſcopal Authority was even in a manner ſanctified unto the Church of Chriſt, by that little bitter experience which it firſt had of the peſtilent evil of Schiſmes. Again, when this very thing was propoſed as a remedy, yet a more ſuſpicious and fearful acceptance it muſt needs have found, if the ſelf-ſame provident Wiſdom of Almighty God, had not alſo given before-hand ſufficient tryal thereof in the Regiment of *Jeruſalem*, a Mother-Church, which having received the ſame order even at the firſt, was by it moſt peaceably governed, when other Churches without it had trouble. So that by all means, the neceſſary uſe of Epiſcopal Government is confirmed, yea ſtrengthened it is and ratified, even by the not eſtabliſhment thereof in all Churches every where at the firſt. 2. When they further diſpute, *That if any ſuch thing were needful, Chriſt would in Scripture have ſet down particular Statutes and Laws, appointing that Biſhops ſhould be made, and preſcribing in what order, even as the Law doth for all kinde of Officers which were needful in the Jewiſh Regiment*; might not a man that would bend his wit to maintain the fury of the *Petrobruſian* Hereticks, in pulling down Oratories, uſe the ſelf-ſame argument, with as much countenance of reaſon? *If it were needful that we ſhould aſſemble our ſelves in Churches, would that God which taught the Jews ſo exactly the frame of their ſumptuous Temple, leave us no particular inſtructions in writing, no not ſo much as which way to lay any one ſtone?* Surely ſuch kinde of Argumentation doth not ſo ſtrengthen the ſinews of their cauſe, as weaken the credit of their Judgement which are led therewith. 3. And whereas Thirdly, in diſproof of that uſe which Epiſcopal Authority hath in Judgement of Spiritual Cauſes, they bring forth the verdict of *Cyprian*, who ſaith, *That equity requireth every man's Cauſe to be heard, where the fault he was charged with was committed, foraſmuch as there they may have both Accuſers and Witneſſes in the Cauſe*: This Argument grounding it ſelf on Principles no leſſe true in Civil, than in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, unleſs it be qualified with ſome exceptions or limitations, over-turneth the higheſt Tribunal Seats both in Church and Common-wealth, it taketh utterly away all appeals, it ſecretly condemneth even the bleſſed Apoſtle himſelf, as having tranſgreſſed the law of Equity, by

Cypr. lib. 1. Ep. 3.

his

his appeal from the Court of *Judea*, unto those higher which were in *Rome*. The generality of such kinde of axioms deceiveth, unless it be construed with such cautions as the matter whereunto they are applyable doth require. An usual and ordinary transportation of causes out of *Africa* into *Italy*, out of one Kingdom into another, as discontented Persons list, which was the thing which *Cyprian* disalloweth, may be unequal and unmeet; and yet not therefore a thing unnecessary to have the Courts erected in higher places, and judgement committed unto greater Persons, to whom the meaner may bring their causes either by way of appeal or otherwise, to be determined according to the order of Justice; which hath been always observed every where in Civil States, and is no less requisite also for the State of the Church of God. The Reasons which teach it to be expedient for the one, will shew it to be for the other, at leastwise, not unnecessary. Inequality of Pastors is an Ordinance both Divine and profitable: Their exceptions against it in these two respects we have shewed to be altogether causeless, unreasonable, and unjust. Acts 25.

XIV. The next thing which they upbraid us with, is the difference between that inequality of Pastors which hath been of old, and which now is: For at length they grant, *That the superiority of Bishops and of Arch-bishops is somewhat antient, but no such kinde of Superiority as ours have.* By the Laws of our Discipline a Bishop may ordain without asking the Peoples consent, a Bishop may excommunicate and release alone, a Bishop may imprison, a Bishop may bear Civil Office in the Realm, a Bishop may be a Counsellor of State; these things antient Bishops neither did nor might do. Be it granted, that ordinarily neither in elections nor deprivations, neither in excommunicating, nor in releasing the excommunicate; in none of the weighty affairs of Government, Bishops of old were wont to do any thing without consultation with their Clergy, and consent of the People under them. Be it granted, that the same Bishops did neither touch any man with corporal punishment, nor meddle with secular affairs and Offices, the whole Clergy of God being then tyed by the strict and severe Canons of the Church, to use no other than ghostly power, to attend no other business than heavenly. *Tarquinius* was in the Roman Common-wealth deservedly hated, of whose unorderly proceedings the History speaketh thus, *Hic Regum primus traditum à Prioribus morem de omnibus Senatum consulendi solvit; domesticis Consiliis Rempub. administravit; bellum, pacem, fœdera, societates, per se ipsum cum quibus voluit injussu Populi ac Senatus, fecit diremitque.* Against Bishops the like is objected, *That they are Invaders of other mens right, and by intolerable usurpation take upon them to do that alone, wherein antient Laws have appointed, that others, not they onely, should bear sway.* Let the Case of Bishops be put, not in such sort as it is, but even as their very heavyest Adversaries would devise it: Suppose that Bishops at the first had encroached upon the Church, that by sleights and cunning practises they had appropriated Ecclesiastical, as *Augustus* did Imperial, power; that they had taken the advantage of mens inclinable affections, which did not suffer them for Revenue-sake to be suspected of Ambition; that in the mean while their usurpation had gone forward by certain easie and unsensible degrees; that being not discerned in the growth, when it was thus farr grown, as we now see it hath proceeded, the world at length perceiving there was just cause of complaint, but no place of remedy left, had assented unto it by a general secret agreement to bear it now as an helpless evil: all this supposed for certain and true, yet surely a thing of this nature, as for the Superiour to do that alone, unto which of right the consent of some other Inferiours should have been required by them; though it had an indirect entrance at the first, must needs through continuance of so many ages as this hath stood be made now a thing more natural to the Church, than that it should be oppress with the mention of contrary Orders worn so many ages since quite and clean out of ure. But with Bishops the case is otherwise; for in doing that by themselves, which others together with them have been accustomed to do, they do not any thing, but that whereunto they have been, upon just occasions authorized by orderly means. All things natural, have in them naturally, more or less, the power of providing for their own safety: And, as each particular man hath this power, so every Politick Society of men must needs have the same, that thereby the whole may provide for

An Answer unto those things which are objected, concerning the difference between that power which Bishops now have, and that which antient Bishops had more than other Presbyters.

Liv. lib. 1.

the good of all parts therein. For other benefit we have not any, by ſorting our ſelves into Politick Societies, ſaving only that by this mean each part hath that relief, which the vertue of the whole is able to yield it. The Church therefore being a Politick Society or Body, cannot poſſibly want the power of providing for it ſelf: And the chiefeſt part of that power conſiſteth in the Authority of making Laws. Now, foraſmuch as Corporations are perpetual, the Laws of the antienter Church cannot chuſe but binde the latter, while they are in force. But we muſt note withal, that, becauſe the body of the Church continueth the ſame, it hath the ſame Authority ſtill, and may abrogate old Laws, or make new, as need ſhall require. Wherefore vainly are the antient Canons and Conſtitutions objected as Laws, when once they are either let ſecretly to dye by diſ-uſage, or are openly abrogated by contrary Laws. The Antient had cauſe to do no otherwiſe than they did; and yet ſo ſtrictly they judged not themſelves in Conſcience bound to obſerve thoſe Orders, but that in ſundry caſes they eaſily diſpenſed therewith, which I ſuppoſe they would never have done, had they eſteemed them as things whereunto everlaſting, immutable, and undiſpenſible obſervation did belong. The Biſhop uſually promoted none, which were not firſt allowed as fit, by conference had with the reſt of his Clergy, and with the People: Notwithſtanding, in the caſe of *Aurelius*, Saint *Cyprian* did otherwiſe. In matters of Deliberation and Counſel, for diſpoſing of that which belongeth generally to the whole body of the Church, or which being more particular, is nevertheleſs of ſo great conſequence, that it needeth the force of many Judgements conferred; in ſuch things the common ſaying muſt neceſſarily take place, *An Eye cannot ſee that which Eyes can.* As for Clerical Ordinations, there are no ſuch reaſons alledged againſt the Order which is, but that it may be eſteemed as good in every reſpect, as that which hath been; and, in ſome conſiderations, better, at leaſtwiſe (which is ſufficient to our purpoſe) it may be held in the Church of Chriſt, without tranſgreſſing any Law, either Antient or Late, Divine or Human, which we ought to obſerve and keep. The form of making Eccleſiaſtical Officers, hath ſundry parts, neither are they all of equal moment. When Deacons having not been before in the Church of Chriſt, the Apoſtles ſaw it needful to have ſuch ordained: They, firſt aſſemble the multitude, and ſhew them how needful it is that Deacons be made. Secondly, they name unto them what number they judge convenient, what quality the men muſt be of, and to the People they commit the care of finding ſuch out. Thirdly, the People hereunto aſſenting, make their choyce of *Stephen* and the reſt; thoſe choſen men they bring and preſent before the Apoſtles: Howbeit, all this doth not endue them with any Eccleſiaſtical Power. But when ſo much was done, the Apoſtles finding no cauſe to take exception, did with Prayer and impoſition of hands, make them Deacons. This was it which gave them their very being, all other things beſides were only preparations unto this. Touching the form of making Presbyters, although it be not wholly of purpoſe any where ſet down in the Apoſtles Writings, yet ſundry ſpeeches there are, which inſinuate the chiefeſt things that belong unto that Action: As when *Paul* and *Barnabas* are ſaid to have faſted, prayed, and made Presbyters: When *Timothy* is willed to lay hands ſuddenly on no man, for fear of participating with other mens ſins. For this cauſe the Order of the Primitive Church was, between Choyce and Ordination to have ſome ſpace for ſuch Probation and Tryal as the Apoſtle doth mention in Deacons, ſaying, *Let them firſt be proved, and then miniſter, if ſo be they be found blameleſs.*

Alexander Severus beholding in his time how careful the Church of Chriſt was, eſpecially for this point; how, after the choyce of their Paſtors, they uſed to publiſh the names of the Parties choſen, and not to give them the final act of Approbation, till they ſaw whether any lett or impediment would be alledged; he gave Commandment, That the like ſhould alſo be done in his own Imperial Elections, adding this as a Reaſon wherefore he ſo required, namely, *For that both Chriſtians and Jews being ſo wary about the Ordination of their Prieſts, it ſeemed very unequal for him not to be in like ſort circumſpect, to whom he committed the Government of Provinces, containing power over mens both Eſtates and Lives.* This the Canon Law it ſelf doth provide for, requiring before Ordination ſcrutiny:

Let

Let them diligently be examined three dayes together before the Sabbath, and on the Sabbath let them be preſented unto the Biſhop. And even this in effect alſo is the very uſe of the Church of *England*, at all Solemne Ordaining of Miniſters; and if all Ordaining were Solemne, I muſt confeſſe it were much the better. Deca quando Epiſ. fact. igitur.

The pretended diſorder of the Church of *England* is, that Biſhops Ordain them, to whoſe Election the People give no voyces, and ſo the Biſhops make them alone, that is to ſay, they give Ordination without Popular Election going before, which antient Biſhops neither did nor might do. Now in very truth, if the multitude have hereunto a right, which right can never be tranſlated from them for any cauſe, then is there no remedy but we muſt yield, that unto the lawful making of Miniſters, the voyce of the People is required; and that, according to the Adverſe Parties Aſſertion, ſuch as make Miniſters without asking the Peoples conſent, do but exerciſe a certain Tyranny. Eccl diſp 34

At the firſt Erection of the Common-wealth of *Rome*, the People (for ſo it was then fitteſt) determined of all affairs: Afterwards, this growing troubleſome, their Senators did that for them, which themſelves before had done: In the end all came to one man's hands, and the Emperour alone was inſtead of many Senators.

In theſe things, the experience of time may breed both Civil and Eccleſiaſtical change from that which hath been before received, neither do latter things always violently exclude former, but the one growing leſs convenient then it hath been, giveth place to that which is now become more. That which was fit for the People themſelves to do at the firſt, might afterwards be more convenient for them to do by ſome other: Which other is not thereby proved a Tyrant, becauſe he alone doth that which a multitude were wont to do, unleſs by violence he take that Authority upon him, againſt the Order of Law, and without any publick appointment; as with us, if any did, it ſhould (I ſuppoſe) not long be ſafe for him ſo to do.

This Anſwer (I hope) will ſeem to be ſo much the more reaſonable, in that themſelves, who ſtand againſt us, have furniſh'd us therewith. For, whereas againſt the making of Miniſters by Biſhops alone, their uſe hath been to object, What ſway the People did bear when *Stephen* and the reſt were ordained Deacons: They begin to eſpy how their own Plat-form ſwerveth not a little from that example wherewith they controul the practices of others. For, touching the form of the Peoples concurrence in that Action, they obſerve it not; no, they plainly profeſs, that they are not in this point bound to be followers of the Apoſtles. The Apoſtles Ordained whom the People had firſt choſen. They hold, that their Eccleſiaſtical Senate ought both to chooſe, and alſo to Ordain. Do not themſelves then take away that which the Apoſtles gave the People, namely, the priviledge of chuſing Eccleſiaſtical Officers? They do. But behold in what ſort they anſwer it.

By the ſixth and the fourteenth of the Acts (ſay they) *it doth appear, that the people had the chiefeſt power of chuſing. Howbeit that, as unto me it ſeemeth, was done upon ſpecial cauſe, which doth not ſo much concern us, neither ought it to be drawn unto the ordinary and perpetual form of governing the Church: For, as in eſtabliſhing Common-weals, not only if they be popular, but even being ſuch as are ordered by the power of a few the chiefeſt, or as by the ſole Authority of one till the ſame be eſtabliſhed, the whole ſway is in the Peoples hands, who voluntarily appoint thoſe Magiſtrates by whoſe Authority they may be governed; ſo that afterward not the multtude it ſelf, but thoſe Magiſtrates which were choſen by the multitude, have the ordering of Publick Affairs: After the ſelf-ſame manner it fared in eſtabliſhing alſo the Church: When there was not as yet any placed over the People, all Authority was in them all; but when they all had choſen certain to whom the Regiment of the Church was committed, this power is not now any longer in the hands of the whole multitude, but wholly in theirs who are appointed Guides of the Church. Beſides, in the choyce of Deacons, there was alſo another ſpecial cauſe wherefore the whole Church at that time ſhould chuſe them. For inaſmuch as the Grecians murmured againſt the Hebrews, and complained, that in the daily diſtribution which was made for relief of the poor, they were* Eccl. Diſcipl. fol. 41,

not indifferently respected, nor such regard had of their Widows as was meet; this made it necessary that they all should have to deal in the choyce of those unto whom that care was afterwards to be committed, to the end that all occasion of jealousies and complaints might be removed. Wherefore that which was done by the People for certain Causes, before the Church was fully settled, may not be drawn out, and applyed unto a constant and perpetual form of ordering the Church.

Let them cast the Discipline of the Church of *England* into the same scales where they weigh their own, let them give us the same measure which here they take, and our strifes shall soon be brought to a quiet end. When they urge the Apostles as Precedents; when they condemn us of Tyranny, becausе we do not, in making Ministers, the same which the Apostles did; when they plead, *That with us one alone doth ordain, and that our Ordinations are without the Peoples knowledge, contrary to that example which the blessed Apostles gave*: We do not request at their hands allowance as much as of one word we speak in our own defence, if that which we speak be of our own; but that which themselves speak, they must be content to listen unto. To exempt themselves from being over-farr prest with the Apostles example, they can answer, *That which was done by the People once upon special Causes, when the Church was not yet established, is not to be made a rule for the constant and continual ordering of the Church.* In defence of their own Election, although they do not therein depend on the People so much as the Apostles in the choyce of Deacons, they think it a very sufficient Apology, that there were special considerations why Deacons at that time should be chosen by the whole Church, but not so now. In excuse of dissimilitudes between their own and the Apostles Discipline, they are contented to use this Answer, *That many things were done in the Apostles times, before the settling of the Church, which afterward the Church was not tyed to observe.* For countenance of their own proceedings, wherein their Governors do more than the Apostles, and their People less than under the Apostles the first Churches are found to have done, at the making of Ecclesiastical Officers, they deem it a marvellous reasonable kinde of Pleading to say, *That even as in Common-weals, when the multitude have once chosen many, or one to rule over them, the right which was at the first in the whole body of the People, is now derived into those many, or that one which is so chosen; and that this being done, it is not the whole multitude, to whom the administration of such Publick affairs any longer appertaineth, but that which they did, their Rulers may now do lawfully without them: After the self-same manner it standeth with the Church also.*

How easie and plain might we make our defence? how clear and allowable even unto them, if we could but obtain of them to admit the same things consonant unto equity in our mouths, which they require to be so taken from their own? If that which is truth, being uttered in maintenance of *Scotland* and *Geneva*, do not cease to be truth when the Church of *England* once alledgeth it; this great crime of Tyranny wherewith we are charged, hath a plain and an easie defence? Yea, But we do not at all aske the Peoples approbation, which they do, whereby they shew themselves more indifferent and more free from taking away the Peoples right. Indeed, when their Lay-Elders have chosen whom they think good, the Peoples consent thereunto is asked, and, if they give their approbation, the thing standeth warranted for sound and good. But if not, is the former choyce overthrown? No, but the People is to yield to reason; and, if they which have made the choyce, do so like the Peoples reason, as to reverse their own deed at the hearing of it, then a new election to be made; otherwise the former to stand, notwithstanding the Peoples negative and dislike. What is this else but to deal with the People, as those Nurses do with Infants, whose mouths they besmear with the backside of the spoon, as though they had fed them, when they themselves devour the food. They cry in the ears of the People, that all mens consent should be had unto that which concerns all; they make the People believe we wrong them, and deprive them of their right in making Ministers, whereas, with us, the People have commonly farr more sway and force then with them. For inasmuch as there are but two main things observed in every Ecclesiastical function, Power to exercise the duty it self, and some charge of People whereon to exercise the same; the former of these is received at the hands of the whole visible Catholick Church: For it is not any one particular multitude that can give power, the force whereof

Eccles. Discip. p. 41.

whereof may reach farr and wide indefinitely, as the power of Order doth, which whoso hath once received, there is no action which belongeth thereunto; but he may exercise effectually the same in any part of the World, without iterated Ordination. They whom the whole Church hath from the beginning used as her Agents, in conferring this power, are not either one or moe of the Laity, and therefore it hath not been heard of, that ever any such were allowed to ordain Ministers: Onely Persons Ecclesiastical, and they, in place of Calling, Superiours both unto Deacons, and unto Presbyters; only such Persons Ecclesiastical have been authorized to ordain both, and to give them the power of Order, in the name of the whole Church. Such were the Apostles, such was *Timothy*, such was *Titus*, such are Bishops. Not that there is between these no difference, but that they all agree in preheminence of Place above both Presbyters and Deacons, whom they otherwise might not ordain. Now whereas hereupon some do inferr, that no Ordination can stand, but only such as is made by Bishops, which have had their Ordination likewise by other Bishops before them, till we come to the very Apostles of Christ themselves. In which respect it was demanded of *Beza* at *Poissie*, *By what Authority he could administer the holy Sacraments; being not thereunto ordained by any other than* Calvin, *or by such as to whom the power of Ordination did not belong, according to the antient Orders and Customs of the Church; sith* Calvin, *and they who joyned with him in that action, were no Bishops*: And *Athanasius* maintaineth the fact of *Macarius* a Presbyter, which overthrew the holy Table, whereat one *Ischyras* would have ministred the blessed Sacrament, having not been consecrated thereunto by laying on of some Bishops hands, according to the Ecclesiastical Canons; as also *Epiphanius* inveigheth sharply against divers for doing the like, when they had not Episcopal Ordination. To this we answer, That there may be sometimes very just and sufficient reason to allow Ordination made without a Bishop. The whole Church visible being the true original subject of all power, it hath not ordinarily allowed any other than Bishops alone to ordain: Howbeit, as the ordinary course is ordinarily in all things to be observed, so it may be in some cases not unnecessary that we decline from the ordinary wayes. Men may be extraordinarily, yet allowably, two wayes admitted unto Spiritual Functions in the Church. One is, when God himself doth of himself raise up any, whose labour he useth without requiring that men should Authorize them. But then he doth ratifie their Calling by manifest signes and tokens himself from Heaven. And thus even such as believed not our Saviours teaching, did yet acknowledge him a lawful Teacher sent from God: *Thou art a Teacher sent from God, otherwise none could do those things which thou dost.* *Luther* did but reasonably therefore, in declaring that the Senate of *Mulheuse* should do well to ask of *Muncer*, From whence he received power to teach? who it was that had called him? And if his answer were, that God had given him his Charge, then to require at his hands some evident sign thereof for men's satisfaction; because so God is wont, when he himself is the Author of any extraordinary Calling. Another extraordinary kinde of Vocation is, when the exigence of necessity doth constrain to leave the usual wayes of the Church, which otherwise we would willingly keep: Where the Church must needs have some ordained, and neither hath, nor can have possibly a Bishop to ordain; in case of such necessity, the ordinary Institution of God hath given oftentimes, and may give, place. And therefore we are not, simply without exception, to urge a lineal descent of power from the Apostles by continued succession of Bishops in every effectual Ordination. These cases of inevitable necessity excepted, none may ordain but only Bishops: By the imposition of their hands it is, that the Church giveth power of Order, both unto Presbyters and Deacons. Now, when that power so received is once to have any certain Subject whereon it may work, and whereunto it is to be tyed, *here cometh in the peoples consent, and not before.* The power of Order I may lawfully receive, without asking leave of any multitude; but that power I cannot exercise upon any one certain People utterly against their wills; Neither is there in the Church of *England* any man, by order of Law, possessed with Pastoral charge over any Parish, but the People in effect do chuse him thereunto. For, albeit they chuse not by giving every man personally his particular voyce, yet can they not say, that they have their Pastors violently obtruded upon them, in as much as their antient and original interest therein,

Neque enim fas erat aut licebat ut inferior ordinaret majorem: Comenr. q. Ambros. tribuuntur, in 1 Tim. 3.

Ἐπισκοπῆς χειροτονίαν.

therein, hath been by orderly means derived into the Patron who chuſeth for them. And if any man be deſirous to know how Patrons came to have ſuch intereſt, we are to conſider, that at the firſt erection of Churches, it ſeemed but reaſonable in the eyes of the whole Chriſtian World, to paſs that right to them and their Succeſſors, on whoſe ſoyl, and at whoſe charge the ſame were founded. This all men gladly and willingly did, both in honor of ſo great Piety, and for encouragement of many others unto the like, who peradventure elſe, would have been as ſlow to erect Churches, or to endow them, as we are forward both to ſpoyl them, and to pull them down.

Its no true aſſertion therefore, in ſuch ſort as the pretended Reformers mean it, *That all Miniſters of God's Word ought to be made by conſent of many, that is to ſay, by the Peoples ſuffrages; that antient Biſhops neither did nor might ordain otherwiſe; and that ours do herein uſurp a farr greater power than was, or then lawfully could have been granted unto Biſhops which were of old.* Furthermore, as touching Spiritual Juriſdiction, our Biſhops, they ſay, do that which of all things is moſt intollerable, and which the Antient never did, *Our Biſhops excommunicate and releaſe alone, whereas the Cenſures of the Church neither ought, nor were wont to be adminiſtred otherwiſe, then by conſent of many.* Their meaning here when they ſpeak of Many, is not as before it was: When they hold that Miniſters ſhould be made with conſent of many, they underſtand by *Many*, the Multitude, or Common People; but in requiring that many ſhould evermore joyn with the Biſhop in the adminiſtration of Church-cenſures, they mean by Many, a few Lay-Elders, choſen out of the reſt of the People to that purpoſe. This, they ſay, is ratified by antient Councils, by antient Biſhops this was practiſed. And the reaſon hereof, as *Beza* ſuppoſeth, was, *Becauſe if the power of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures did belong unto any one, there would this great inconvenience follow; Eccleſiaſtical Regiment ſhould be changed into mere Tyranny, or elſe into a Civil Royalty: Therefore no one, either Biſhop or Preſbyter, ſhould or can alone exerciſe that Power, but with his Eccleſiaſtical Conſiſtory he ought to do it, as may appear by the old Diſcipline.*

Concil. Carthag. 4. c. 23. Cypr. l 3. Ep 10. & 14. l. 2. Ep. 8.

And is it poſſible, that one ſo grave and judicious ſhould think it in earneſt Tyranny for a Biſhop to excommunicate, whom Law and Order hath authorized ſo to do? or be perſwaded, that Eccleſiaſtical Regiment degenerateth into Civil Regality, when one is allowed to do that which hath been at any time the deed of moe? Surely, farr meaner-witted men than the World accounteth Mr. *Beza*, do eaſily perceive, that Tyranny is Power violently exerciſed againſt Order, againſt Law; and that the difference of theſe two Regiments, Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, conſiſteth in the matter about which the actions of each are converſant; and not in this, that Civil Royalty admitteth but one, Eccleſiaſtical Government requireth many Supreme Correctors. Which Allegation, were it true, would prove no more than only, that ſome certain number is neceſſary for the aſſiſtance of the Biſhop: But that a number of ſuch as they do require is neceſſary, how doth it prove? Wherefore albeit Biſhops ſhould now do the very ſame which the Antients did, uſing the Colledge of Presbyters under them as their Aſſiſtants, when they adminiſter Church-Cenſures, yet ſhould they ſtill ſwerve utterly from that which theſe men ſo buſily labour for, becauſe the Agents whom they require to aſſiſt in thoſe Caſes, are a ſort of Lay-Elders, ſuch as no antient Biſhop ever was aſſiſted with.

Shall theſe fruitleſs jarrs and janglings never ceaſe? ſhall we never ſee end of them? How much happier were the World if thoſe eager Task-maſters, whoſe eyes are ſo curious and ſharp in diſcerning what ſhould be done by many, and what by few, were all changed into painful doers of that which every good Chriſtian man ought either only or chiefly to do, and to be found therein doing when that great and glorious Judge of all mens both deeds and words ſhall appear? In the mean while, be it One that hath this charge, or be they Many that be his Aſſiſtants, let there be careful proviſion that Juſtice may be adminiſtred, and in this ſhall our God be glorified more than by ſuch contentious Diſputes.

Concerning the Civil power and authority which our Biſhops have.

XV. Of which nature that alſo is, wherein Biſhops are, over and beſides all this, accuſed *to have much more exceſsive power than the antient, in as much as unto their Eccleſiaſtical authority, the Civil Magiſtrate for the better repreſsing of ſuch as contemn Eccleſiaſtical*

siastical censures, hath for divers ages annexed Civil. The crime of Bishops herein is divided into these two several branches, the one that in Causes Ecclesiastical, they strike with the sword of Secular punishments; the other, that Offices are granted them, by vertue whereof they meddle with Civil Affairs. Touching the one, it reacheth no farther than only unto restraint of liberty by imprisonment (which yet is not done but by the Laws of the Land, and by vertue of authority derived from the Prince.) A thing which being allowable in Priests amongst the Jews, must needs have received some strange alteration in nature since, if it be now so pernicious and venomous to be coupled with a Spiritual Vocation in any man which beareth Office in the Church of Christ. *Shemaia* writing to the Colledge of Priests which were in *Jerusalem*, and to *Zephania* the principal of them, told them they were appointed of *God, that they might be Officers in the House of the Lord, for every man which raved, and did make himself a Prophet*, to the end that they might by the force of this their authority *put such in Prison, and in the Stocks.* His malice is reproved, for that he provoketh them to shew their power against the innocent. But surely, when any man justly punishable had been brought before them, it could be no unjust thing for them even in such sort then to have punished. As for Offices, by vertue whereof Bishops have to deal in Civil Affairs, we must consider that Civil Affairs are of divers kindes; and as they be not all fit for Ecclesiastical Persons to meddle with, so neither is it necessary, nor at this day haply convenient, that from meddling with any such thing at all they all should without exception be secluded. I will therefore set down some few causes, wherein it cannot but clearly appear unto reasonable men, that Civil and Ecclesiastical Functions may be lawfully united in one and the same Person. Jer. 29. 26.

First therefore, in case a Christian Society be planted amongst their professed enemies, or by toleration do live under some certain State whereinto they are not incorporated, whom shall we judge the meetest men to have the hearing and determining of such mere civil Controversies as are every day wont to grow between man and man? Such being the state of the Church of *Corinth*, the Apostle giveth them this direction, *Dare any of you, having business against another be judged by the unjust, and not under Saints? Do ye not know that the Saints shall judge the World? If the World then shall be judged by you, are ye unworthy to judge the smallest matters? Know ye not that we shall judge the Angels? How much more things that appertain to this life? If then ye have judgement of things pertaining to this life, set up them which are least esteemed in the Church. I speak it to your shame; Is it so, that there is not a wise man amongst you? no not one that can judge between his Brethren, but a Brother goeth to law with a Brother, and that under the Infidels? Now therefore there is utterly a fault among you, because ye go to Law one with another; Why rather suffer ye not wrong, why rather sustain ye not harm?* In which Speech there are these degrees; Better to suffer and to put up Injuries, than to contend; better to end contention by Arbitrement, then by Judgement; better by Judgement before the wisest of their own, than before the simpler; better before the simplest of their own, than the wisest of them without: So that if judgement of Secular affairs should be committed unto wise men, unto men of chiefest Credit and Account amongst them, when the Pastors of their Souls are such, Who more fit to be also their Judges for the ending of strifes? The wisest in things divine, may be also in things humane the most skilful. At leastwise they are by likelihood commonly more able to know right from wrong than the common un-lettered sort. And what St. *Augustin* did hereby gather, his own words do sufficiently shew. *I call God to witness upon my Soul*, saith he, *that according to the Order which is kept in well-ordered Monasteries, I could wish to have every day my hours of labouring with my hands, my hours of reading and of praying, rather than to endure these most tumultuous perplexities of other men's causes, which I am forced to bear while I travel in Secular businesses, either by judging to discuss them, or to cut them off by intreaty: Unto which toyles that Apostle, who himself sustained them not, for any thing we read, hath notwithstanding tyed us not of his own accord, but being thereunto directed by that Spirit which speaks in him. His own Apostleship, which drew him to travel up and down, suffered him not to be any where settled for this purpose; wherefore the wise, faithful and holy men which were seated here and there, and not them which travelled up and down to preach, he made Examiners of such Businesses. Whereupon of him* 1 Cor. 6.

Vid. Barnab. Brisson. antiq. Jur. lib. 4o. c. 16.

Aug. de oper. Monarch. c. 29

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it is no where written, that he had leisure to attend these things, from which we cannot excuse our selves although we be simple; because even such he requireth, if wise men cannot be had, rather than that the affairs of Christians should be brought into publick judgement. Howbeit, not without comfort in our Lord are these travels undertaken by us, for the hopes sake of eternal life, to the end that with patience we may reap fruit. So farr is Saint *Augustin* from thinking it unlawful for Pastors in such sort to judge Civil Causes, that he plainly collecteth out of the Apostles words, a necessity to undertake that duty; yea himself he comforteth with the hope of a blessed reward, in lieu of travel that way sustained.

Again, even where whole Christian Kingdoms are, how troublesome were it for Universities, and other greater Collegiate Societies, erected to serve as Nurseries unto the Church of Christ, if every thing which civilly doth concern them were to be carried from their own peculiar Governors, because for the most part they are (as fittest it is they should be) Persons of Ecclesiastical Calling? It was by the wisdom of our famous Predecessors foreseen how unfit this would be, and hereupon provided by grant of special Charters, that it might be, as now it is in the Universities, where their Vice-Chancellors, being for the most part Professors of Divinity, are nevertheless Civil Judges over them in the most of their ordinary Causes.

And to go yet some degrees further, A thing impossible it is not, neither altogether unusual, for some who are of royal blood to be consecrated unto the Ministry of Jesus Christ, and so to be Nurses of God's Church, not only as the Prophet did fore-tell, but also as the Apostle Saint *Paul* was. Now in case the Crown should by this mean descend unto such Persons, perhaps when they are the very last, or perhaps the very best of their Race, so that a greater benefit they are not able to bestow upon a Kingdom, than by accepting their right therein; shall the sanctity of their Order deprive them of that honour whereunto they have right by blood? or shall it be a barr to shut out the publick good that may grow by their vertuous Regiment? If not, then must they cast off the Office which they received by Divine Imposition of hands; or, if they carry a more religious opinion concerning that heavenly Function, it followeth, that being invested as well with the one as the other, they remain God's lawfully anointed both ways. With men of skill and mature judgement there is of this so little doubt, that concerning such as at this day are under the Archbishops of *Ments*, *Colen*, and *Trevers*, being both Archbishops and Princes of the Empire; yea such as live within the Popes own Civil Territories, there is no cause why any should deny to yield them civil obedience in any thing which they command, not repugnant to Christian Piety; yea even that civilly, for such as are under them, not to obey them, were the part of seditious Persons: Howbeit for Persons Ecclesiastical, thus to exercise Civil Dominion of their own, is more than when they onely sustain some Publick Office, or deal in some business Civil, being thereunto even by Supream Authority required. As Nature doth not any thing in vain, so neither Grace: Wherefore, if it please God to bless some Principal Attendants on his own Sanctuary, and to endue them with extraordinary parts of excellency, some in one kinde, some in another, surely a great derogation it were to the very honour of him who bestowed so precious Graces, except they on whom he hath bestowed them should accordingly be imployed, that the fruit of those Heavenly Gifts might extend it self unto the Body of the Common-wealth wherein they live; which being of purpose instituted (for so all Common-wealths are) to the end, that all might enjoy whatsoever good it pleaseth the Almighty to endue each one with, must needs suffer loss, when it hath not the gain which eminent civil hability in Ecclesiastical Persons is now and then found apt to afford. Shall we then discommend the People of *Milan* for using *Ambrose* their Bishop as an Ambassadour about their Publick and Politick Affairs; the Jews for electing their Priests sometimes to be Leaders in Warr; *David* for making the High Priest his Chiefest Counsellour of State; Finally, all Christian Kings and Princes which have appointed unto like services, Bishops, or other of the Clergy under them? No: they have done in this respect that which most sincere and religious wisdom alloweth. Neither is it allowable only, when either a kinde of necessity doth cast Civil Offices upon them, or when they are thereunto preferred in regard of some extraordinary fitness; but further also, when there

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are even of right annexed unto ſome of their places, or of courſe impoſed upon certain of their Perſons, Functions of Dignity and Account in the Common-wealth; albeit no other conſideration be had therein ſave this, that their credit and countenance may by ſuch means be augmented. A thing, if ever to be reſpected, ſurely moſt of all now, when God himſelf is for his own ſake generally no where honoured, Religion almoſt no where, no where religiouſly adored, the Miniſtry of the Word and Sacraments of Chriſt a very cauſe of diſgrace in the eyes both of high and low, where it hath not ſomewhat beſides it ſelf to be countenanced with. For unto this very paſs things are come, that the glory of God is conſtrained even to ſtand upon borrowed credit, which yet were ſomewhat the more tolerable, if there were not that diſſwade to lend it him. No practiſe ſo vile, but pretended Holyneſſe is made ſometimes a Cloak to hide it.

The French King *Philip Valois* in his time made an Ordinance, that all Prelates and Biſhops ſhould be clean excluded from Parliaments, where the Affairs of the Kingdom were handled; pretending that a King, with good Conſcience, cannot draw Paſtors, having Cure of Souls, from ſo weighty a buſineſs, to trouble their Heads with Conſultations of State. But irreligious intents are not able to hide themſelves, no not when Holineſs is made their Cloak. This is plain and ſimple truth, That the counſels of wicked men hate always the preſence of them, whoſe vertue, though it ſhould not be able to prevail againſt their purpoſes, would notwithſtanding be unto their minds a ſecret corroſive; and therefore, till either by one ſhift or another they can bring all things to their own hands alone, they are not ſecure. Ordinances holier and better there ſtand as yet in force by the grace of Almighty God, and the works of his Providence, amongſt us. Let not Envy ſo far prevail, as to make us account that a Blemiſh, which, if there be in us any ſpark of ſound Judgement, or of religious Conſcience, we muſt of neceſſity acknowledge to be one of the chiefeſt Ornaments unto this Land: By the antient Laws whereof, the Clergy being held for the chief of thoſe Three Eſtates, which together make up the entire Body of this Common-wealth, under one Supreme Head and Governour; it hath all this time ever born a ſway proportionable in the Weighty Affairs of the Land, wiſe and vertuous Kings condeſcending moſt willingly thereunto, even of reverence to the Moſt High; with the Flower of whoſe ſanctified Inheritance, as it were with a kinde of Divine preſence, unleſs their Chiefeſt Civil Aſſemblies were ſo farr forth beautified as might be without any notable impediment unto their Heavenly Functions, they could not ſatisfie themſelves as having ſhowed towards God an Affection moſt dutiful.

Thus, firſt, in defect of other Civil Magiſtrates; Secondly, for the eaſe and quietneſs of Scholaſtical Societies; Thirdly, by way of Political neceſſity; Fourthly, in regard of quality, care, and extraordinancy; Fifthly, For countenance unto the Miniſtry; And laſtly, even of Devotion and Reverence towards God himſelf, there may be admitted at leaſtwiſe in ſome Particulars well and lawfully enough a conjunction of Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Power, except there be ſome ſuch Law or Reaſon to the contrary, as may prove it to be a thing ſimply in it ſelf naught.

Againſt it many things are objected, as firſt, *That the matters which are noted in the holy Scripture to have belonged unto the ordinary Office of any Miniſter of God's holy Word and Sacraments, are theſe which follow, with ſuch like, and no other; namely, The watch of the Sanctuary, the buſineſs of God, the Miniſtry of the Word and Sacraments, Overſight of the Houſe of God, Watching over his Flock, Propheſie, Prayer, Diſpenſations of the Myſteries of God, Charge and care of mens Souls.* If a man would ſhew what the Offices and Duties of a Chirurgion or Phyſician are; I ſuppoſe it were not his part, ſo much as to mention any thing belonging to the one or the other, in caſe either ſhould be alſo a Souldier or a Merchant, or an Houſe-keeper, or a Magiſtrate; Becauſe the Functions of theſe are different from thoſe of the former, albeit one and the ſame man may happily be both. The Caſe is like, when the Scripture teacheth what Duties are required in an Eccleſiaſtical Miniſter; in deſcribing of whoſe Office, to touch any other thing than ſuch as properly and directly toucheth his Office that way, were impertinent.

Yea, *But in the Old Teſtament the two Powers Civil and Eccleſiaſtical were diſtinguiſhed, not onely in Nature, but alſo in Perſon: the one committed unto* Moſes, *and the Magiſtrates joyned with him; the other to* Aaron, *and his Sons.* Jehoſophat *in his Reformation doth not onely diſtinguiſh Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical from Civil, and erecteth divers Courts for them, but appointeth alſo divers Judges.* With the Jews theſe two Powers were not ſo diſtinguiſhed, but that ſometimes they might and did concurr in one and the ſame Perſon. Was not *Ely* both Prieſt and Judge? After their return from captivity, *Eſdras* a Prieſt, and the ſame their Chief Governour even in Civil Affairs alſo? Theſe men which urge the neceſſity of making always a Perſonal diſtinction of theſe two Powers, as if by *Jehoſaphat*'s example the ſame Perſon ought not to deal in both Cauſes, yet are not ſcrupulous to make men of Civil Place and Calling, Presbyters and Miniſters of Spiritual Juriſdiction in their own Spiritual Conſiſtories.

If it be againſt the Jewiſh Precedents for us to give Civil Power unto ſuch as have Eccleſiaſtical; is it not as much againſt the ſame for them to give Eccleſiaſtical Power unto ſuch as have Civill? They will anſwer perhaps, That their Poſition is onely againſt conjunction of Eccleſiaſtical Power of Order, and the Power of Civil Juriſdiction in one Perſon. But this Anſwer will not ſtand with their Proofs, which make no leſs againſt the Power of Civil and Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction in one Perſon; for of theſe two Powers *Jehoſophat*'s example is: Beſides, the contrary example of *Heli* and of *Ezra*, by us alledged, do plainly ſhew, that, amongſt the Jewes, even the power of Order Eccleſiaſtical, and Civil Juriſdiction, were ſometimes lawfully united in one and the ſame Perſon. Preſſed further we are with our Lord and Saviour's example, who *denyeth his Kingdom to be of this Wold, and therefore as not ſtanding with his Calling refuſed to be made a King, to give ſentence in a criminal Cauſe of Adultery, and in a Civil of dividing an Inheritance.*

The Jews, imagining that their Meſſiah ſhould be a Potent Monarch upon Earth, no marvail, though when they did otherwiſe wonder at Chriſt's greatneſs, they ſought forth-with to have him inveſted with that kinde of Dignity, to the end he might preſently begin to reign. Others of the Jewes, which likewiſe had the ſame imagination of the Meſſiah, and did ſomewhat incline to think that peradventure this might be He, thought good to try whether he would take upon him that which he might do, being a King, ſuch as they ſuppoſed their true Meſſiah ſhould be. But Chriſt refuſed to be a King over them, becauſe it was no part of the Office of their Meſſiah, as they did falſely conceive; and to intermeddle in thoſe Acts of Civil Judgement he refuſed alſo, becauſe he had no ſuch Juriſdiction in that Common-wealth, being, in regard of his Civil Perſon, a man of mean and low Calling. As for repugnancy between Eccleſiaſtical and Civil Power, or any inconvenience that theſe two Powers ſhould be united, it doth not appear, that this was the cauſe of his reſiſtance either to reign or elſe to judge.

2 Tim. 2. 4. What ſay we then to the bleſſed Apoſtles, who teach, *That Souldiers intangle not themſelves with the buſineſſes of this life, but leave them, to the end they may pleaſe him who hath choſen them to ſerve; and that ſo the good Souldiers of Chriſt ought to do.*

The Apoſtles which taught this, did never take upon them any Place or Office of Civil Power. No: they gave over the Eccleſiaſtical care of the Poor, that they might wholly attend upon the Word and Prayer. St. *Paul* indeed doth exhort *Timothy* after this manner, *Suffer thou evil as a noble Souldier of Jeſus Chriſt: No man warring is entangled with the affairs of Life, becauſe he muſt ſerve ſuch as have preſſed him unto Warfare.* The ſenſe and meaning whereof is plain, that Souldiers may not be nice and tender, that they muſt be able to endure hardneſſe, that no man betaking himſelf unto Wars, continueth entangled with ſuch kinde of Buſineſſes, as tend only unto the eaſe and quiet felicity of this Life; but if the ſervice of him who hath taken them under his Banner, require the hazard, yea, the loſſe of their Lives, to pleaſe him; they muſt be content and willing with any difficulty, any peril, be it never ſo much againſt the natural deſire which they have to live in ſafety. And at this point the

Clergy

Clergy of God muſt always ſtand; thus it behoveth them to be affected as oft as their Lord and Captain leadeth them into the field, whatſoever conflicts, perils, or evils they are to endure. Which duty being not ſuch, but that therewith the Civil Dignities, which Eccleſiaſtical Perſons amongſt us do enjoy, may enough ſtand; the Exhortation of *Paul* to *Timothy*, is but a ſlender Allegation againſt them. As well might we gather out of this place, that Men having Children or Wives, are not fit to be Miniſters (which alſo hath been collected, and that by ſundry of the Antient) and that it is requiſite the Clergy be utterly forbidden Marriage: For, as the burthen of Civil Regiment doth make them who bear it, the leſs able to attend their Eccleſiaſtical Charge; even ſo Saint *Paul* doth ſay, that the Married are careful for the World, the unmarried freer to give themſelves wholly to the ſervice of God. Howbeit, both experience hath found it ſafer, that the Clergy ſhould bear the cares of honeſt Marriage, than be ſubject to the inconveniencies which ſingle life, impoſed upon them, would draw after it; And as many as are of ſound judgement know it to be farr better for this preſent age, that the detriment be born, which haply may grow through the leſſening of ſome few mens Spiritual labours, than that the Clergy and Common-wealth ſhould lack the benefit which both the one and the other may reap through their dealing in Civil Affairs. In which conſideration, that men conſecrated unto the Spiritual ſervice of God be licenſed ſo farr forth to meddle with the Secular affairs of the World, as doth ſeem for ſome ſpecial good cauſe requiſite, and may be without any grievous prejudice unto the Church; ſurely, there is not in the Apoſtles words, being rightly underſtood, any lett. That no Apoſtle did ever bear Office, may it not be a wonder, conſidering the great devotion of the age wherein they lived, and the zeal of *Herod*, of *Nero* the great Commander of the known World, and of other Kings of the Earth, at that time to advance by all means Chriſtian Religion? Their deriving unto others that ſmaller charge of diſtributing of the Goods which were laid at their feet, and of making proviſion for the poor, which charge, being in part Civil, themſelves had before (as I ſuppoſe, lawfully) undertaken, and their following of that which was weightier, may ſerve as a marvellous good example, for the dividing of one man's Office into divers ſlips, and the ſubordinating of Inferiours to diſcharge ſome part of the ſame, when, by reaſon of multitude increaſing, that labour waxeth great and troubleſome, which before was eaſie and light: but very ſmall force it hath to inferr a perpetual divorce between Eccleſiaſtical and Civil power in the ſame Perſons. The moſt that can be ſaid in this Caſe is, *That ſundry eminent Canons, bearing the name of Apoſtolical, and divers Councils likewiſe there are, which have forbidden the Clergy to bear any Secular Office; and have enjoyned them to attend altogether upon Reading, Preaching, and Prayer: Whereupon the moſt of the antient Fathers, have ſhewed great diſlikes that theſe two Powers ſhould be united in one Perſon.*

Convenit hujuſmodi eligi & ordinari ſacerdotes, quibus nec liberi ſunt nec nepotes. Etenim fieri vix poteſt ut vacans hujus vitæ quotidianæ curis quas liberi creant parentibus maximè, omne ſtudium omnemque cogitationem circa divinam liturgiam & res Eccleſiaſticas conſumat. l. 42. ſect. 1 C. de Epiſc. & Cler.

For a full and final Anſwer whereunto, I would firſt demand, Whether commenſion and ſeparation of theſe two Powers, be a matter of mere poſitive Law, or elſe a thing ſimply with or againſt the Law immutable of God and Nature? That which is ſimply againſt this latter Law, can at no time be allowable in any Perſon, more than Adultery, Blaſphemy. Sacriledge, and the like. But conjunction of Power Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, what Law is there which hath not at ſome time or other allowed as a thing convenient and meet? In the Law of God we have examples ſundry, whereby it doth moſt manifeſtly appear, how of him the ſame hath oftentime been approved. No Kingdom or Nation in the World, but hath been thereunto accuſtomed without inconvenience and hurt. In the prime of the World, Kings and Civil Rulers were Prieſts for the moſt part all. The [a] Romans note it as a thing beneficial in their own Common-wealth, and even to [b] them apparently forcible for the ſtrengthening of the Jewes Regiment, under *Moſes* and *Samuel*. I deny not, but

[a] Cum multa divinitus, Pontifices, à majoribus noſtris inventa atque inſtituta ſunt, tum nihil præclarius quam quod vos eosdem & Religionibus, Deorum immortalium & ſummæ Reipub. præeſſe voluerunt. Cic. pro domo ſua ad Pontif. [b] Honor Sacerdotii firmamentum potentiæ aſſumeba ur, Tacit. hiſt. lib. 5. He ſheweth the reaſon wherefore their Rulers were alſo Prieſts. The joyning of theſe two Powers, as now, ſo then likewiſe profitable for the Publick State but in reſpect clean oppoſite and contrary. For, whereas then Divine things being more eſteemed, were uſed as helps for the countenance of Secular Power; the Caſe in theſe latter ages is turned upſide down, Earth hath now brought Heaven under foot, and in the courſe of the World, hath of the two the greater credit. Prieſthood was then a ſtrengthening to Kings, which now is forced to take ſtrength and credit from farr meaner degrees of Civil Authority. Hic mos apud Judæos fuit, ut eoſdem Reges & Sacerdotes haberent, quorum juſtitia religioni permixta incredibile quantum evaluêre. Juſt. hiſt. l. 39. *Lib.* 41. ſect. 22. C. de Epiſc.

ſometime there may be, and hath been perhaps juſt cauſe to ordain otherwiſe. Wherefore we are not to urge thoſe things, which heretofore have been either ordered or done as thereby to prejudice thoſe Orders, which, upon contrary occaſion, and the exigence of the preſent time, by like authority have been eſtabliſhed. For, what is there which doth let, but that from contrary occaſions, contrary Laws may grow, and each be reaſoned and diſputed for by ſuch as are ſubiect thereunto, during the time they are in force; and yet neither ſo oppoſite to other, but that both may laudably continue, as long as the ages which keep them, do ſee no neceſſary cauſe which may draw them unto alteration? Wherefore in theſe things, Canons, Conſtitutions, and Laws which have been at one time meet, do not prove that the Church ſhould alwayes be bound to follow them. Eccleſiaſtical Perſons were by antient Order forbidden to be Executors of any man's Teſtament, or to undertake the Wardſhip of Children. Biſhops, by the Imperial Law, are forbidden to bequeath by Teſtament, or otherwiſe to alienate, any thing grown unto them after they were made Biſhops. Is there no remedy but that theſe, or the like Orders, muſt therefore every where ſtill be obſerved? The reaſon is not always evident, why former Orders have been repealed, and other eſtabliſhed in their room: Herein therefore we muſt remember the axiom uſed in the Civil Laws, *That the Prince is alwayes preſumed to do that with reaſon, which is not againſt reaſon being done, although no reaſon of his deed be expreſt.* Which being in every reſpect as true of the Church, and her Divine Authority in making Laws, it ſhould be ſome bridle unto thoſe malepert and proud ſpirits, whoſe wits not conceiving the reaſon of Laws that are eſtabliſhed, they adore their own private fancy, as the ſupreme Law of all, and accordingly take upon them to judge that whereby they ſhould be judged. But why labour we thus in vain? For even to change that which now is, and to eſtabliſh inſtead thereof, that which themſelves would acknowledge the very ſelf-ſame which hath been, to what purpoſe were it, ſith they proteſt, *That they utterly condemn as well that which hath been, as that which is; as well the antient, as the preſent Superiority, Authority, and Power of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons?*

T. C. l. 1. p. 126.

The Arguments anſwered, whereby they would prove, that the Law of God, and the Judgment of the beſt in all ages, condemneth the ruling Superiority of one Miniſter over another.

XVI. Now where they laſtly alledge, *That the Law of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt; and the judgement of the beſt in all ages, condemn all ruling Superiority of Miniſters over Miniſters*; they are in this, as in the reſt, more bold to affirm, than able to prove the things which they bring for ſupport of their weak and feeble Cauſe. *The bearing of Dominion, or the exerciſing of Authority* (they ſay) *is that wherein the Civil Magiſtrate is ſevered from the Eccleſiaſtical Officer; according to the words of our Lord and Saviour,* Kings of Nations bear rule over them, but it ſhall not be ſo with you: *Therefore bearing of Dominion doth not agree to one Miniſter over another.* This place hath been, and ſtill is, although moſt falſely, yet with farr greater ſhew and likelyhood of truth, brought forth by the Anabaptiſts, to prove that the Church of Chriſt ought to have no Civil Magiſtrates, but be ordered only by Chriſt. Wherefore they urge the oppoſition between Heathens, and them unto whom our Saviour ſpeaketh. For, ſith the Apoſtles were oppoſite to Heathens, not in that they were Apoſtles, but in that they were Chriſtians; the Anabaptiſts inference, is, *That Chriſt doth here give a Law, to be for ever obſerved by all true Chriſtian men, between whom and Heathens there muſt be alwayes this difference, that whereas Heathens have their Kings and Princes to rule, Chriſtians ought not in this thing to be like unto them.* Wherein their conſtruction hath the more ſhew, becauſe that which Chriſt doth ſpeak to his Apoſtles, is not found alwayes agreeable unto them as Apoſtles, or as Paſtors of mens Souls, but oftentimes it toucheth them in generality, as they are Chriſtians; ſo that Chriſtianity being common unto them with all Believers, ſuch ſpeeches muſt be ſo taken, that they may be applyed unto all, and not onely unto them. They which conſent with us, in rejecting ſuch Collections as the Anabaptiſt maketh with more probability, muſt give us leave to reject ſuch as themſelves have made with leſs: For a great deal leſs likely it is, that our Lord ſhould here eſtabliſh an everlaſting difference, not between his Church and Pagans, but between the Paſtors of his Church and Civil Governours. For if herein they muſt always differ, that the one may not bear rule, the other may; How did the Apoſtles themſelves obſerve this difference, the exerciſe of whoſe Authority, both in commanding and in controuling others, the

T. C. l. 1. p. 22.

Scripture

Scripture hath made ſo manifeſt, that no gloſs can over-ſhadow it? Again, it being, as they would have it, our Saviour's purpoſe to withhold his Apoſtles, and in them all other Paſtors from bearing rule, why ſhould Kingly Dominion be mentioned, which occaſions men to gather, that not all Dominion and Rule, but this one only form was prohibited, and that Authority was permitted them, ſo it were not Regal? Furthermore, in caſe it had been his purpoſe to withhold Paſtors altogether from bearing Rule, why ſhould Kings of Nations be mentioned, as if they were not forbidden to exerciſe, no not Regal Dominion it ſelf, but only ſuch Regal Dominion as Heathen Kings do exerciſe? The very truth is, our Lord and Saviour did aim at a farr other mark than theſe men ſeem to obſerve. The end of his ſpeech was to reform their particular miſ-perſwaſion to whom he ſpake: And their miſ-perſwaſion was, that which was alſo the common fancy of the Jews at that time, that their Lord being the Meſſias of the World, ſhould reſtore unto *Iſrael* that Kingdom, whereof the Romans had as then bereaved them; they imagined that he ſhould not onely deliver the State of *Iſrael*, but himſelf reign as King in the Throne of *David*, with all Secular Pomp and Dignity; that he ſhould ſubdue the reſt of the World, and make *Jeruſalem* the Seat of an Univerſal Monarchy. Seeing therefore they had forſaken all to follow him, being now in ſo mean condition, they did not think, but that together with him, they alſo ſhould riſe in ſtate; that they ſhould be the firſt, and the moſt advanced by him.

Of this conceit it came, that the Mother of the Sons of *Zebedee* ſued for her Childrens preferment; and of this conceit it grew, that the Apoſtles began to queſtion amongſt themſelves which of them ſhould be greateſt: And, in controulment of this conceit, it was, that our Lord ſo plainly told them, *that the thoughts of their hearts were vain.* The Kings of Nations have indeed their large and ample Dominions, they reign farr and wide, and their Servants they advance unto honour in the World, they beſtow upon them large and ample Secular preferments, in which reſpect they are alſo termed many of them Benefactors, becauſe of the liberal hand which they uſe in rewarding ſuch as have done them ſervice: But, was it the meaning of the antient Prophets of God, that the Meſſias the King of *Iſrael* ſhould be like unto theſe Kings, and his retinue grow in ſuch ſort as theirs? Wherefore ye are not to look for at my hands ſuch preferment as Kings of Nations are wont to beſtow upon their Attendants, *With you not ſo.* Your Reward in Heaven ſhall be moſt ample, on Earth your Chiefeſt Honour muſt be to ſuffer Perſecution for Righteouſneſs ſake; Submiſſion, Humility and Meekneſs are things fitter for you to inure your Mindes withall, than theſe aſpiring Cogitations; if any amongſt you be greater than other, let him ſhew himſelf greateſt in being lowlyeſt; let him be above them in being under them, even as a Servant for their good. Theſe are Affections which you muſt put on; as for degrees of Preferment and Honour in this World, if ye expect any ſuch thing at my hands, ye deceive your ſelves, for in the World your Portion is rather the clear contrary. Wherefore they who alledge this Place againſt Epiſcopal Authority abuſe it, they many wayes deprave and wreſt it, clear from the true underſtanding wherein our Saviour himſelf did utter it.

For Firſt, whereas he by way of meer Negation had ſaid, *With you it ſhall not be ſo*, fore-telling them onely that it ſhould not ſo come to paſs, as they vainly ſurmiſed; theſe men take his words in a plain nature of a Prohibition, as if Chriſt had thereby forbidden all inequality of Eccleſiaſtical Power. Secondly, Whereas he did but cut off their idle hope of Secular Advancements, all Standing-Superiority amongſt Perſons Eccleſiaſtical theſe men would raſe off with the edge of his ſpeech. Thirdly, whereas he in abating their hope even of Secular Advancements ſpake but onely with relation unto himſelf, informing them that he would be no ſuch munificent Lord unto them in their Temporal Dignity and Honour, as they did erroneouſly ſuppoſe; ſo that any Apoſtle might afterwards have grown by means of others to be even Emperours of *Rome*, for any thing in thoſe words to the contrary; theſe men removing quite and clean the hedge of all ſuch reſtraints, enlarge ſo farr the bounds of his meaning, as if his very preciſe intent and purpoſe had been not to reform the error of his Apoſtles, conceived as touching him, and to teach what himſelf would not be towards them; but to preſcribe a ſpecial Law both to them and

their

their Successor for ever; a Law determining what they should not be in relation of one to another; a Law forbidding that any such Title should be given to any Minister as might import or argue in him a Superiority over other Ministers. Being thus defeated of that succour which they thought their cause might have had out of the words of our Saviour Christ, they try their adventure in seeking, what aid man's testimony will yield them: Cyprian *objecteth it to* Florentinus *as a proud thing, that by believing evil reports, and mis-judging of* Cyprian, *he made himself Bishop of a Bishop, and Judge over him, whom God had for the time appointed to be Judge,* lib.4.Ep.9. *The endeavour of godly men to strike at these insolent names, may appear in the Council of* Carthage: *where it was decreed, That the Bishop of the Chief See should not be entituled the Exarch of Priests, or the highest Priest, or any other thing of like sense, but onely the Bishop of the chiefest See; whereby are shut out the name of Archbishop, and all other such haughty titles.* In these Allegations it fareth, as in broken reports snatched out of the Author's mouth, and broached before they be half either told on the one part, or on the other understood. The matter which *Cyprian* complaineth of in *Florentinus* was thus: *Novatus* misliking the easiness of *Cyprian* to admit men into the fellowship of Believers, after they had fallen away from the bold and constant Confession of Christian Faith, took thereby occasion to separate himself from the Church; and being united with certain excommunicate Persons, they joyned their wits together, and drew out against *Cyprian* their lawful Bishop sundry grievous accusations; the crimes such, as being true, had made him uncapable of that Office whereof he was six years as then possessed; they went to *Rome*, and to other places, accusing him every where as guilty of those faults, of which themselves had lewdly condemned him, pretending that twenty five *African* Bishops (a thing most false) had heard and examined his Cause in a Solemn Assembly, and that they all had given their Sentence against him, holding his Election by the Canons of the Church void. The same factious and seditious Persons coming also unto *Florentinus*, who was at that time a man imprisoned for the testimony of Jesus Christ, but yet a favourer of the error of *Novatus*, their malicious accusations he over-willingly hearkned unto, gave them credit, concurred with them, and unto *Cyprian* in fine wrote his Letters against *Cyprian*: Which Letters he justly taketh in marvellous evil part, and therefore severely controuleth his so great presumption, in making himself a Judge of a Judge, and, as it were, a Bishop's Bishop, to receive accusations against him, as one that had been his Ordinary. *What heigth of pride is this*, saith *Cyprian*, *what arrogancy of spirit, what a puffing up of minde, to call Guides and Priests to be examined and sifted before him? So that unless we shall be cleared in your Court, and absolved by your sentence, behold for these six years space, neither shall the Brotherhood have had a Bishop, nor the People a Guide, nor the Flock a Shepherd, nor the Church a Governor, nor Christ a Prelate, nor God a Priest.* This is the pride which *Cyprian* condemneth in *Florentinus*, and not the title or name of Archbishop; about which matter there was not at that time so much as the dream of any controversie at all between them. A silly collection it is, that because *Cyprian* reproveth *Florentinus* for lightness of belief, and presumptuous rashness of judgement, therefore he held the title of Archbishop to be a vain and a proud name. Archbishops were chief amongst Bishops, yet Archbishops had not over Bishops that full Authority which every Bishop had over his own particular Clergy: Bishops were not subject unto their Archbishop as an Ordinary, by whom at all times they were to be judged, according to the manner of inferiour Pastors, within the compass of each Diocess. A Bishop might suspend, excommunicate, depose such as were of his own Clergy, without any other Bishops Assistants; not so an Archbishop the Bishops that were in his own Province, above whom divers Prerogatives were given him, howbeit no such Authority and Power, as alone to be Judge over them: For as a Bishop could not be ordained, so neither might he be judged by any one only Bishop, albeit that Bishop were his Metropolitan: Wherefore *Cyprian*, concerning the liberty and freedom which every Bishop had, spake in the Council of *Carthage*, whereat fourscore and seven Bishops were present, saying, *It resteth that every of us declare, what we think of this matter, neither judging nor severing from the right of Communion, any that shall think otherwise: For of us there is not any which maketh himself a Bishop af Bishops, or with Tyrannical fear constraineth his Collegues unto the necessity of obedience, inasmuch as every Bishop, according to the reach of his liberty and power,*

T.C. l.1.p.10. Pag.95.

Ὥστε τὴν τῆς πρώτης καθέδρας ἐπίσκοπον μὴ λεγεσθαι ἐξαρχον τῶν ἱερέων ἢ ἄκρον ἱερέα ἢ τοιουτότροπον τι ποτε αλλὰ μόνον ἐπίσκοπον τῆς πρώτης καθέδρας. Can. 39.

Concil. Carthag. de hær. baptizandis.

power, hath his own free judgement, and can have no more another his Judge, than himself be Judge to another. Whereby it appeareth, that, amongst the *African* Bishops, none did use such Authority over any, as the Bishop of *Rome* did afterwards claim over all; forcing upon them opinions by main and absolute power. Wherefore unto the Bishop of *Rome*, the same *Cyprian* also writeth concerning his Opinion about Baptism, *These things we present unto your Conscience, most dear Brother, as well for common honours sake, as of single and sincere love, trusting that as you are truly your self Religious and Faithful, so those things which agree with Religion and Faith, will be acceptable unto you: Howbeit we know, that what some have over-drunk in, they will not let go, neither easily change their minde, but with care of preserving whole amongst their Brethren the bond of peace and concord, retaining still to themselves certain their own Opinions wherewith they have been inured: Wherein we neither use force, nor prescribe a Law unto any, knowing, that in the Government of the Church, every Ruler hath his own voluntary free judgment, and of that which he doth shall render unto the Lord himself an account.* As for the Council of *Carthage*; Doth not the very first Canon thereof establish with most effectual terms, all things which were before agreed on in the Council of *Nice*? And, that the Council of *Nice* did ratifie the preheminence of Metropolitan Bishops, who is ignorant? The name of an Archbishop importeth only, a Bishop having chiefty of certain Prerogatives above his Brethren of the same Order. Which thing, since the Council of *Nice* doth allow, it cannot be that the other of *Carthage* should condemn it, inasmuch as this doth yield unto that a Christian unrestrained approbation.

Lib. 2. Ep. 1.

Ὥστε, τὰ ἐν τῇ Νικαέων συνόδῳ ὁρισθέντα, παντὶ τρόπῳ παραφυλαχθήσεται.

The thing provided for by the Synod of *Carthage*, can be no other therefore, than only that the chiefest Metropolitan, where many Archbishops were within any greater Province, should not be termed by those names, as to import the power of an ordinary Jurisdiction, belonging in such degree and manner unto him, over the rest of the Bishops and Archbishops, as did belong unto every Bishop over other Pastors under him. But much more absurd it is to affirm, that both *Cyprian* and the Council of *Carthage* condemn even such Superiority also of Bishops themselves, over Pastors their Inferiours, as the words of *Ignatius* imply, in terming the Bishop, *A Prince of Priests*. Bishops to be termed Arch-Priests, in regard of their Superiority over Priests, is in the Writings of the Antient Fathers a thing so usual and familiar, as almost no one thing more. At the Council of *Nice*, saith *Theodoret*, three hundred and eighteen Arch-Priests were present. Were it the meaning of the Council of *Carthage*, that the Title of Chief-Priest, and such like, ought not in any sort at all to be given unto any Christian Bishop, what excuse should we make for so many Antient, both Fathers, and Synods of Fathers, as have generally applyed the Title of Arch-Priest unto every Bishop's Office? High time I think it is, to give over the obstinate defence of this most miserable, forsaken Cause; in the favour whereof, neither God, nor, amongst so many wise and vertuous men as Antiquity hath brought forth, any one can be found to have hitherto directly spoken. Irksome confusion must of necessity be the end whereunto all such vain and ungrounded confidence doth bring, as hath nothing to bear it out, but only an excessive measure of bold and peremptory words, holpen by the start of a little time, before they came to be examined. In the Writings of the antient Fathers, there is not any thing with more serious asseveration inculcated, than that it is God which maketh Bishops, that their Authority hath Divine allowance, that the Bishop is the Priest of God, that he is Judge in Christ's stead, that, according to God's own Law, the whole Christian Fraternity standeth bound to obey him. Of this there was not in the Christian World of old any doubt or controversie made; it was a thing universally every where agreed upon. What should move men to judge that now so unlawful and naught, which then was so reverently esteemed? Surely no other cause but this, men were in those times times meek, lowly, tractable, willing to live in dutiful aw and subjection unto the Pastors of their Souls: Now, we imagin our selves so able every man to teach and direct all others, that none of us can brook it to have Superiours; and, for a mask to hide our Pride, we pretend falsely the Law of Christ, as if we did seek the execution of his will, when in truth we labour for the meer satisfaction of our own against his.

T. C. l. 1. p. 113.

Theod. Hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 7. ἀρχιερεῖς.

Hieronymus contra Lucifer. Salutem Ecclesiæ pendere dicit à summi Sacerdotis dignitate, id est, Episcopi. Idem est in Hieronymo summus Sacerdos quod ἄκρος ἱερεὺς in Carthaginensi Concilio. Vide C. omnes 38. dist. Item C. Pontifices 12. q. 3. Item C. De his, De conseq. dist. 5.

The second main thing wherein the state of Bishops suffereth oblo, uy, is, their Honor.

XVII. The chiefest cause of disdain and murmure against Bishops in the Church of *England*, is, that evil-affected eye wherewith the World looked upon them, since the time

time that irreligious Prophaneneſs, beholding the due and juſt advancements of Gods Clergy hath under pretence of enmity unto Ambition and Pride, proceeded ſo farr, that the contumely of old offered unto *Aaron* in the like quarrel, may ſeem very moderate and quiet dealing, if we compare it with the fury of our own times. The ground and original of both their proceedings, one and the ſame; in Declaration of their Grievances
Numb. 16. 3. they differ not; the Complaints as well of the one as the other are, *Wherefore lift ye up your ſelves thus farr above the Congregation of the Lord? It is too much which you take upon you, too much Power, and too much Honour.* Wherefore, as we have ſhewed, that there is not in their Power any thing unjuſt or unlawful, ſo it reſteth that in their Honour alſo the like be done. The labour we take unto this purpoſe is by ſo much the harder, in that we are forced to wraſtle with the ſtream of obſtinate Affection, mightily carried by a wilful prejudice, the Dominion whereof is ſo powerful over them in whom it reigneth, that it giveth them no leave; no not ſo much as patiently to hearken unto any ſpeech which doth not profeſs to feed them in this their bitter humour. Notwithſtanding, for as much as I am perſwaded, that againſt God they will not ſtrive, if they perceive once that in truth it is he againſt whom they open their mouths, my hope is their own Confeſſion will be at the length, *Behold we have done exceeding fooliſhly, It was the Lord, and we knew it not, Him in his Miniſters we have deſpiſed, we have in their honour impugned his.* But the alteration of men's hearts muſt be His good and gracious work, whoſe moſt omnipotent power framed them. Wherefore to come to our preſent purpoſe, Honour is no where due, ſaving only unto ſuch as have in them that whereby they are found, or at the leaſt preſumed, voluntarily beneficial unto them of whom they are honoured. Whereſoever nature ſeeth the countenance of a Man, it ſtill preſumeth, that there is in him a minde willing to do good, if need require, inaſmuch as by nature ſo it ſhould be; for which cauſe Men unto Men do honor, even for very Humanity ſake. And unto whom we deny all honor, we ſeem plainly to take from them all opinion of Human Dignity, to make no account or reckoning of them, to think them ſo utterly without vertue, as if no good thing in the World could be looked for at their hands. Seeing therefore it ſeemeth hard, that we ſhould ſo hardly think of any man,
1 Pet. 2. 17. the Precept of St. *Peter* is, *Honor all men.* Which duty of every man towards all, doth vary according to the ſeveral degrees whereby they are more and leſs beneficial, whom
Eccius. 38. 1. we do honor. *Honor the Phyſician*, ſaith the Wiſeman. The reaſon why, becauſe
Levit. 19. 32. for neceſſities ſake, God created him. Again, *Thou ſhalt riſe up before the hoary head, and honor the perſon of the Aged.* The reaſon why, becauſe the younger ſort have great
Eccius. 25. 6. benefit by their gravity, experience and wiſdom, for which cauſe, theſe things the Wiſeman termeth the Crown or Diadem of the Aged. Honor is due to Parents: The rea-
Prov. 23. 22. ſon why, becauſe we have our beginning from them; *Obey the Father that hath begotten thee, the Mother that bare thee deſpiſe thou not.* Honor due unto Kings and Governors:
1 Pet. 2. 14. The reaſon why; becauſe God hath ſet them *for the puniſhment of evil doers, and for the praiſe of them that do well.* Thus we ſee by every of theſe particulars, that there is always ſome kinde of vertue beneficial, wherein they excel, who receive honor; and that degrees of Honor are diſtinguiſhed, according to the value of thoſe effects which the ſame beneficial Vertue doth produce.

Nor is Honor only an inward eſtimation, whereby they are reverenced, and well
Pſal. 72. 15. thought of in the mindes of men; but Honor, whereof we now ſpeak, is defined to be an External ſign, by which we give a ſenſible teſtification, that we acknowledge the beneficial Vertue of others. *Sarah* honored her Husband *Abraham*; this appeareth by the Title ſhe gave him. The Brethren of *Joſeph* did him honor in the Land of *Egypt*; their lowly and humble geſture ſheweth it. Parents will hardly perſwade themſelves that this intentional Honor, which reacheth no farther than to the Inward conception only, is the Honor which their Children owe them.

Touching that Honor which, myſtically agreeing unto Chriſt, was yielded literally and really unto *Solomon*; the words of the Pſalmiſt concerning it are, *Unto him they ſhall give of the Gold of Sheba, they ſhall pray for him continually, and daily bleſs him.* Weigh theſe things in themſelves, Titles, Geſtures, Preſents, other the like external ſigns wherein Honor doth conſiſt, and they are matters of no great moment. Howbeit, take them away, let them ceaſe to be required, and they are not things of ſmall importance, which that ſurceaſe were likely to draw after it. Let the Lord

Maior

Maior of *London*, or any other unto whose Office Honor belongeth, be deprived but of that Title which in it self is a matter of nothing; and suppose we that it would be a small maim unto the credit, force, and countenance of his Office? It hath not without the singular wisdom of God been provided, that the ordinary outward tokens of Honor should for the most part be in themselves things of mean account; for to the end they might easily follow as faithful testimonies of that beneficial vertue whereunto they are due, it behoved them to be of such nature, that to himself no man might over-eagerly challenge them, without blushing; nor any man where they are due withhold them, but with manifest appearance of too great malice or pride. Now, forasmuch as, according to the Antient Orders and Customs of this Land, as of the Kingdom of *Israel*, and of all Christian Kingdoms through the World, the next in degree of Honor unto the Chief Soveraign, are, the Chief Prelates of God's Church; what the reason hereof may be, it resteth next to be enquired.

XVIII. Other reason there is not any, wherefore such Honor hath been judged due, saving only that publick good which the Prelates of God's Clergy are Authors of: For I would know, which of these things it is whereof we make any question, either that the favour of God is the chiefest Pillar to bear up Kingdoms and States; or, that true Religion publickly exercised, is the principal mean to retain the favour of God; or, that the Prelates of the Church are they, without whom the exercise of true Religion cannot well and long continue? If these three be granted, then cannot the publick benefit of Prelacy be dissembled. And of the first or second of these, I look not for any profest denyal: The World at this will blush, not to grant at the leastwise in word as much as [a] Heathens themselves have of old with most earnest asseveration acknowledged, concerning the force of Divine Grace in upholding Kingdoms. Again, though his mercy doth so farr strive with mens ingratitude, that all kinde of Publick iniquities deserving his indignation, their safety is, through his gracious Providence, many times nevertheless continued, to the end that amendment might, if it were possible, avert their Envy: so that as well Common-weals, as particular Persons, both may and do endure much longer, when they are careful, as they should be, to use the most effectual means of procuring His favour, on whom their continuance principally dependeth: Yet this point no man will stand to argue, no man will openly arm himself to enter into set Disputation against the Emperors *Theodosius* and *Valentinian*, for making unto their Laws concerning Religion, this Preface, [b] *Decere arbitramur nostrum Imperium, subditos nostros de Religione commonefacere. Ita enim & pleniorem adquiri Dei ac Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi benignitatem possibile esse existimamus, si quando & nos pro viribus ipsi placere studuerimus, & nostros subditos ad eam rem instituerimus*: Or against the Emperor *Justinian*, for that he also maketh the like Profession, [c] *Per Sanctissimas Ecclesias & nostrum Imperium sustineri, & communes res clementissimi Dei gratia muniri, credimus.* And in another place, [d] *Certissimè credimus, quia Sacerdotum puritas & decus, & ad Dominum Deum ac Salvatorem nostrum Jesum Christum fervor, & ab ipsis missæ perpetuæ preces, multum favorem nostræ Reipublicæ & incrementum præbent.*

What good doth publickly grow from the Prelacy?

a Quis est tam vecors qui aut cum suspexerit in cœlum Deos esse non sentiat, & ea quæ tanta mente fiunt ut vix quisquam arte ulla ordinem rerum ac vicissitudinem persequi possit, casu fieri putet; aut, cum Deos esse intellexerit, non intelligat eorum numine hoc tantum Imperium esse natum & auctum & retentum? Cic. Orat. de haruf. responf.

b Tit. 1. l. 3. C. de summa trinit.

c L. 3. C. de Episc. & Cler.

d L. 34. C. de Episc. audiend.

Wherefore onely the last point is that which men will boldly require us to prove; for no man feareth now to make it a question, *Whether the Prelacy of the Church be any thing available or no, to effect the good and long continuance of true Religion?* Amongst the principal Blessings wherewith God enriched *Israel*, the Prophet in the *Psalm* acknowledgeth especially this for one, *Thou didst lead thy People like Sheep by the hands of Moses and Aaron.* That which Sheep are, if Pastors be wanting; the same are the people of God, if so be they want Governors: And that which the principal Civil Governors are, in comparison of Regents under them; the same are the Prelates of the Church, being compared with the rest of God's Clergy.

Psal. 77. 20.

Wherefore inasmuch as amongst the Jews, the benefit of Civil Government grew principally from *Moses*, he being their Principal Civil Governor; even so the benefit of Spiritual Regiment grew from *Aaron* principally, he being in the

other kinde of their principal Rector, although even herein subject to the Soveraign Dominion of *Moses*. For which cause, these two alone are named as the Heads and Well-springs of all. As for the good which others did in service either of the Common-wealth, or of the Sanctuary, the chiefest glory thereof did belong to the chiefest Governors of the one sort, and of the other, whose vigilant care and oversight kept them in their due Order. Bishops are now, as High-Priests were then, in regard of power over other Priests, and in respect of subjection unto High-Priests: What Priests were then, the same now Presbyters are, by way of their place under Bishops: The ones Authority therefore being so profitable, how should the others be thought unnecessary. Is there any man professing Christian Religion, which holdeth it not as a Maxim, That the Church of Jesus Christ did reap a singular benefit by Apostolical Regiment, not only for other respects, but even in regard of that Prelacy, whereby they had and exercised Power of Jurisdiction over lower Guides of the Church? Prelates are herein the Apostles Successors, as hath been proved.

Qui Sacerdotes in veteri testamento vocabantur, hi sunt qui nunc Presbyteri appellantur: & qui tunc Princeps Sacerdotum, nunc Episcopus vocatur. *Raba. Maur.* de instit. Cler. l. 3. c. 6.

Thus we see, that Prelacy must needs be acknowledged exceedingly beneficial in the Church: and yet for more perspicuities sake, it shall not be pains superfluously taken, if the manner how be also declared at large. For this one thing, not understood by the vulgar sort, causeth all contempt to be offered unto higher Powers, not only Ecclesiastical, but Civil: whom when proud men have disgraced, and are therefore reproved by such as carry some dutiful affection of minde, the usual Apologies which they make for themselves, are these: *What more vertue in these Great ones, than in others? we see no such eminent good which they do above other men.* We grant indeed, that the good which Higher Governors do, is not so immediate and near unto every of us, as many times the meaner labours of others under them, and this doth make it to be less esteemed.

But we must note, that it is in this Case, as in a Ship; he that sitteth at the Stern is quiet, he moveth not, he seemeth in a manner to do little or Nothing, in comparison of them that sweat about other toil, yet that which he doth is in value and force more than all the labours of the residue laid together. The influence of the Heavens above, worketh infinitely more to our good, and yet appeareth not half so sensible as the force doth of things below. We consider not what it is which we reap by the Authority of our Chiefest Spiritual Governors, nor are likely to enter into any consideration thereof, till we want them, and that is the cause why they are at our hands so unthankfully rewarded. Authority is a constraining Power; which Power were needless, if we were all such as we should be, willing to do the things we ought to do without constraint. But, because generally we are otherwise, therefore we all reap singular benefit by that Authority which permitteth no men, though they would, to slack their duty. It doth not suffice, that the Lord of an Houshold appoint Labourers what they should do, unless he set over them some chief Workman to see they do it. Constitutions and Canons made for the ordering of Church-affairs, are dead Task-masters. The due execution of Laws Spiritual dependeth most upon the vigilant care of the Chiefest Spiritual Governors, whose charge is to see that such Laws be kept by the Clergy and People under them: With those Duties which the Law of God, and the Ecclesiastical Canons require in the Clergy, Lay-Governors, are neither for the most part so well acquainted, nor so deeply and nearly touched. Requisite therefore it is, that Ecclesiastical Persons have authority in such things. Which kinde of Authority, maketh them that have it Prelates. If then it be a thing confest, as by all good men it needs must be, to have Prayers read in all Churches, to have the Sacraments of God administred, to have the Mysteries of Salvation painfully taught, to have God every where devoutly worshipped, and all this perpetually, and with quietness, bringeth unto the whole Church, and unto every Member thereof, inestimable good; how can that Authority, which hath been proved the Ordinance of God for preservation of these duties in the Church, how can it choose but deserve to be held a thing publickly most beneficial? It were to be wished, and is to be laboured for, as much as can be, that they who are set in such Rooms, may be furnished with honourable Qualities and Graces, every way fit for their Calling: But, be they otherwise, howsoever so long as they are in Authority, all men reap some good by them, albeit not so much good, as if they were abler men.

There

There is not any amongst us all, but is a great deal more apt to exact another man's duty, than the best of us is to discharge exactly his own; and therefore Prelates, although neglecting many ways their duty unto God and men, do notwithstanding by their Authority great good, in that they keep others at the leastwise in some awe under them.

It is our duty therefore in this consideration, to honor them that rule as Prelates; which Office if they discharge well, the Apostles own verdict is, that the honor they have, they be worthy of, yea, though it were double: And if their Government be otherwise, the judgement of sage men hath ever been this, that albeit the dealings of Governors be culpable, yet honourable they must be, in respect of that Authority by which they govern. Great caution must be used, that we neither be emboldned to follow them in evil, whom for Authorities sake we honor; nor induced in Authority to dishonor them, whom as examples we may not follow. In a word, not to dislike sin, though it should be in the highest, were unrighteous meekness; and proud righteousness it is to contemn or dishonor Highness, though it should be in the sinfullest men that live. But so hard it is to obtain at our hands, especially as now things stand, the yielding of Honor to whom Honor in this case belongeth, that by a brief Declaration only, what the Duties of men are towards the principal Guides and Pastors of their Souls, we cannot greatly hope to prevail, partly for the malice of their open Adversaries, and partly for the cunning of such as in a sacrilegious intent work their dishonor under covert, by more mystical and secret means. Wherefore requisite, and in a manner necessary it is, that by particular instances we make it even palpably manifest, what singular benefit and use publick, the nature of Prelates is apt to yield.

1 Tim. 5. 17.

Rom. 13. 7.

First, no man doubteth, but that unto the happy condition of Common-weals, it is a principal help and furtherance, when in the eye of Foreign States, their estimation and credit is great. In which respect, the Lord himself commending his own Laws unto his people, mentioneth this as a thing not meanly to be accounted of, that their careful obedience yielded thereunto, should purchase them a great good opinion abroad, and make them every where famous for wisdom. Fame and reputation groweth especially by the vertue, not of common ordinary persons, but of them which are in each estate most eminent, by occasion of their higher Place and Calling. The mean man's actions, be they good or evil, they reach not farr, they are not greatly enquired into, except perhaps by such as dwell at the next door; whereas men of more ample dignity, are as Cities on the tops of Hills, their lives are viewed a farr off; so that the more there are which observe aloof what they do, the greater glory by their well-doing they purchase, both unto God whom they serve, and to the State wherein they live. Wherefore if the Clergy be a beautifying unto the body of this Common-weal in the eyes of Foreign beholders; and if in the Clergy, the Prelacy be most exposed unto the World's eye, what publick benefit doth grow from that Order, in regard of reputation thereby gotten to the Land from abroad, we may soon conjecture. Amongst the Jews (their Kings excepted,) who so renowned throughout the World, as their High-Priest? who so much, or so often spoken of, as their Prelates?

Deut. 4. 6.

Mat. 5. 13.

2. Which Order is not for the present only the most in sight, but for that very cause also the most commended unto Posterity: For if we search those Records wherein there hath descended from age to age, whatsoever notice and intelligence we have of those things which were before us, is there any thing almost else, surely not any thing so much kept in memory, as the successions, doings, sufferings, and affairs of Prelates. So that either there is not any publick use of that light which the Church doth receive from Antiquity; or if this be absurd to think, then must we necessarily acknowledge our selves beholden more unto Prelates, than unto others their Inferiours, for that good of direction which Ecclesiastical actions recorded do always bring.

3. But to call home our cogitations, and more inwardly to weigh with our selves, what principal commodity that Order yieldeth, or at leastwise is of its own disposition and nature apt to yield; Kings and Princes, partly for information of their own consciences, partly for instruction what they have to do in a number of most weighty affairs, intangled with the cause of Religion, having, as all men know, so usual occasion of often consultations and conferences with their Clergy; suppose we, that no publick detriment would follow, upon the want of honorable Personages Ecclesiasti-

cal to be uſed in thoſe Caſes? It will be haply ſaid, *That the higheſt might learn to ſtoop, and not to diſdain the advice of ſome circumſpect, wiſe, and vertuous Miniſter of God, albeit the Miniſtery were not by ſuch degrees diſtinguiſhed.* What Princes in that caſe might or ſhould do, it is not material. Such difference being preſuppoſed therefore, as we have proved already to have been the Ordinance of God, there is no judicious man will ever make any queſtion or doubt, but that fit and direct it is, for the higheſt and chiefeſt Order in God's Clergy, to be imployed before others, about ſo near and neceſſary Offices as the ſacred eſtate of the greateſt on earth doth require. For this cauſe *Joſhua* had *Eliazer*; *David, Abiathar*; *Conſtantine, Hoſius* Biſhop of *Corduba*; other Emperors and Kings their Prelates, by whom in private (for with Princes this is the moſt effectual way of doing good) to be admoniſhed, counſelled, comforted, and, if need were, reproved.

Whenſoever Sovereign Rulers are willing to admit theſe ſo neceſſary private conferences, for their Spiritual and ghoſtly good, inaſmuch as they do for the time while they take advice, grant a kinde of Superiority unto them of whom they receive it, albeit haply they can be contented, even ſo farr to bend to the graveſt and chiefeſt Perſons in the Order of God's Clergy, yet this of the very beſt being rarely and hardly obtained, now that there are whoſe greater and higher Callings do ſomewhat more proportion them unto that ample conceit and ſpirit, wherewith the minde of ſo powerable Perſons are poſſeſſed; what ſhould we look for in caſe God himſelf not authorizing any by miraculous means, as of old he did his Prophets, the equal meaneſs of all did leave, in reſpect of Calling, no more place of decency for one, then for another to be admitted? Let unexperienced wits imagin what pleaſeth them, in having to deal with ſo great Perſonages, theſe Perſonal differences are ſo neceſſary, that there muſt be regard had of them.

4. Kingdoms being principally (next unto God's Almightineſs, and the Soveraignty of the higheſt under God) upheld by wiſdom; and by valour, as by the chiefeſt human means to cauſe continuance in ſafety with honor (for the labors of them who attend the ſervice of God, we reckon as means Divine, to procure our protection from Heaven;) from hence it riſeth, that men excelling in either of theſe, or deſcending from ſuch, as for excellency either way have been enobled, or poſſeſſing howſoever the rooms of ſuch as ſhould be in Politick wiſdom, or in Martial proweſs eminent, are had in ſingular recommendation. Notwithſtanding, becauſe they are by the ſtate of Nobility great, but not thereby made inclinable to good things; ſuch they oftentimes prove even under the beſt Princes, as under *David* certain of the Jewiſh Nobility were. In Polity and Council the World had not *Achitophels* equal, nor Hell his equal in deadly malice. *Joab* the General of the Hoſt of *Iſrael*, valiant, induſtrious, fortunate in Warr; but withal head-ſtrong, cruel, treacherous, void of Piety towards God; in a word, ſo conditioned, that eaſie it is not to define, whether it were for *David* harder to miſs the benefit of his War-like hability or to bear the enormity of his other Crimes. As well for the cheriſhing of thoſe vertues therefore, wherein if Nobility do chance to flouriſh, they are both an ornament and a ſtay to the Common-wealth wherein they live; as alſo for the bridling of thoſe diſorders, which if they looſly run into, they are by reaſon of their greatneſs dangerous; what help could there ever have been invented more Divine, than the ſorting of the Clergy into ſuch Degrees, that the chiefeſt of the Prelacy being matched in a kinde of equal yoke, as it were, with the higher, the next with the lower degree of Nobility, the reverend Authority of the one, might be to the other as a courteous bridle, a mean to keep them lovingly in aw that are exorbitant, and to correct ſuch exceſſes in them, as whereunto their Courage, State, and Dignity maketh them over-prone? O that there were for encouragement of Prelates herein, that inclination of all Chriſtian Kings and Princes towards them, which ſometime a famous King of this Land either had, or pretended to have, for the countenancing of a principal Prelate under him, in the actions of Spiritual Authority.

Petr. Bleſenſ. Ep. 5. *Let my Lord Archbiſhop know,* (ſaith he) *that if a Biſhop, or Earl, or any other great Perſon, yea, if my own choſen Son, ſhall preſume to withſtand, or to hinder his will and diſpoſition, whereby he may be with-held from performing the work of the Embaſſage committed unto him; ſuch a one ſhall finde, that of his contempt I will ſhew my ſelf no leſs a Perſecutor and Revenger, than if Treaſon were committed againſt mine own very Crown and Dignity.*

Dignity. Sith therefore by the Fathers and first Founders of this Common-weal, it hath, upon great experience and fore-cast, been judged most for the good of all sorts, that as the whole Body Politick wherein we live, should be for strengths sake a three-fold Cable, consisting of the King as a Supreme Head over all, of Peers and Nobles under him, and of the People under them; so likewise, that in this conjunction of States, the second wreath of that Cable should, for important respects, consist, as well of Lords Spiritual as Temporal: Nobility and Prelacy being by this mean twined together, how can it possibly be avoided, but that the tearing away of the one, must needs exceedingly weaken the other, and by consequent impair greatly the good of all?

5. The force of which detriment there is no doubt, but that the common sort of men would feel to their helpless wo, how goodly a thing soever they now surmise it to be, that themselves and their godly Teachers did all alone, without controulment of their Prelate: For if the manifold jeopardies whereto a people destitute of Pastors is subject, be unavoidable without Government; and if the benefit of Government, whether it be Ecclesiastical or Civil, do grow principally from them who are principal therein, as hath been proved out of the Prophet, who albeit the people of *Israel* had sundry inferior Governors, ascribeth not unto them the publick benefit of Government, but maketh mention of *Moses* and *Aaron* only; the Chief Prince, and Chief Prelate, because they were the well-spring of all the good which others under them did; may we not boldly conclude, that to take from the people their Prelate, is to leave them in effect without Guides, at leastwise, without those Guides which are the strongest hands that God doth direct them by? *Thou didst lead thy People like Sheep*, saith the Prophet, *by the hands of* Moses *and* Aaron. Psal. 77. 20.

If now there arise any matter of Grievance between the Pastor and the People that are under him, they have their Ordinary, a Judge indifferent to determine their Causes, and to end their strife. But in case there were no such appointed to sit, and to hear both, what would then be end of their quarrels? They will answer perhaps, *That for such purposes, their Synods shall serve.* Which is, as if in the Common-wealth, the higher Magistrates being removed, every Township should be a State, altogether free and independent; and the Controversies which they cannot end speedily within themselves, to the contentment of both parties, should be all determined by Solemn Parliaments. Merciful God! where is the light of Wit and Judgement, which this age doth so much vaunt of, and glory in, when unto these such odd imaginations, so great, not only assent, but also applause, is yielded?

6. As for those in the Clergy, whose Place and Calling is lower; were it not that their eyes are blinded, lest they should see the thing, that, of all others, is for their good most effectual, somewhat they might consider the benefit which they enjoy by having such in Authority over them, as are of the self-same Profession, Society, and Body with them; such as have trodden the same steps before; such as know by their own experience, the manifold intolerable contempts and indignities which faithful Pastors, intermingled with the multitude, are constrained every day to suffer in the exercise of their Spiritual Charge and Function, unless their Superiours, taking their Causes even to heart, be, by a kinde of sympathy, drawn to relieve and aid them in their vertuous proceedings, no less effectually, than loving Parents their dear Children.

Thus therefore Prelacy being unto all sorts so beneficial, ought accordingly to receive honor at the hands of all: But we have just cause exceedingly to fear, that those miserable times of confusion are drawing on, wherein *the people shall be oppressed one of another*, inasmuch as already that which prepareth the way thereunto is come to pass, *Children presume against the Antient, and the Vile against the Honorable*: Prelacy, the temperature of excesses in all Estates, the glew and soder of the Publick weal, the ligament which tieth and connecteth the limbs of this Bodie Politick each to other, hath instead of deserved Honor, all extremity of Disgrace; the Foolish every where plead, that unto the wise in heart they owe neither service, subjection, nor honor. Isa. 3. 5.

XIX. Now that we have laid open the causes for which Honor is due unto Prelates, the next thing we are to consider is, What kindes of Honor be due. The good Government either of the Church, or the Common-wealth, dependeth scarcely on any one external thing, so much as on the Publick Marks and Tokens, whereby the estimati- What kindes of Honor be due unto Bishops.

on

on that Governours are in, is made manifeſt to the eyes of men. True it is, that Governors are to be eſteemed according to the excellency of their vertues; the more vertuous they are, the more they ought to be honored, if reſpect be had unto that which every man ſhould voluntarily perform unto his Superiors. But the queſtion is now, of that Honor which Publick Order doth appoint unto Church-Governors, in that they are Governors; the end whereof is, to give open ſenſible teſtimony, that the Place which they hold is judged publickly in ſuch degree beneficial, as the marks of their excellency, the Honors appointed to be done unto them, do import. Wherefore this honor we are to do them, without preſuming our ſelves to examine how worthy they are; and withdrawing it, if by us they be thought unworthy. It is a note of that publick judgement which is given of them; and therefore not tolerable that men in private, ſhould, by refuſal to do them ſuch honor, reverſe as much as in them lyeth, the Publick judgement. If it deſerve ſo grievous puniſhment, when any particular Perſon adventureth to deface thoſe marks whereby is ſignified what value ſome ſmall piece of Coyn is publickly eſteemed at; is it ſufferable that Honors, the Character of that eſtimation which publickly is had of Publick Eſtates and Callings in the Church, or Common-wealth, ſhould at every man's pleaſure be cancelled? Let us not think that without moſt neceſſary cauſe, the ſame have been thought expedient. The firſt Authors thereof were wiſe and judicious men; they knew it a thing altogether impoſſible, for each particular in the multitude to judge what benefit doth grow unto them from their Prelates, and thereupon uniformly to yield them convenient honor. Wherefore that all ſorts might be kept in obedience and awe, doing that unto their Superiors of every degree, not which every man's ſpecial fancy ſhould think meet, but which being before-hand agreed upon as meet, by publick Sentence and Deciſion, might afterwards ſtand as a rule for each in particular to follow; they found that nothing was more neceſſary, than to allot unto all degrees their certain honor, as marks of publick judgement, concerning the dignity of their Places; which mark, when the multitude ſhould behold, they might be thereby given to know, that of ſuch or ſuch eſtimation their Governors are, and in token thereof, do carry thoſe notes of excellency. Hence it groweth, that the different notes and ſigns of Honor, do leave a correſpondent impreſſion in the mindes of common Beholders. Let the people be asked; Who are the chiefeſt in any kinde of Calling? who moſt to be liſtned unto? who of greateſt account and reputation? and ſee if the very diſcourſe of their mindes, lead them not unto thoſe ſenſible marks, according to the difference whereof they give their ſuitable judgement, eſteeming them the worthieſt perſons who carry the principal note, and publick mark of Worthineſs. If therefore they ſee in other eſtates a number of tokens ſenſible, whereby teſtimony is given what account there is publickly made of them, but no ſuch thing in the Clergy; what will they hereby, or what can they elſe conclude, but that where they behold this, ſurely in that Common-wealth, Religion, and they that are converſant about it, are not eſteemed greatly beneficial? Whereupon in time, the open contempt of God and Godlineſs muſt needs enſue: *Qui bona fide Deos colit, amat & Sacerdotes*, ſaith *Papinius*. In vain doth that Kingdom or Common-wealth pretend zeal to the honor of God, which doth not provide that his Clergy alſo may have honor. Now if all that are imployed in the ſervice of God, ſhould have one kinde of honor, what more confuſed, abſurd, and unſeemly? Wherefore in the honor which hath been allotted unto God's Clergy, we are to obſerve, how not only the kindes thereof, but alſo in every particular kinde, the degrees do differ. The honor which the Clergy of God hath hitherto enjoyed, conſiſteth eſpecially in preheminence of Title, Place, Ornament, Attendance, Priviledge, Endowment. In every of which it hath been evermore judged meet, that there ſhould be no ſmall odds between Prelates, and the inferior Clergy.

Præf. l. 5. Silva.

Honor in Title, Place, Ornaments, Attendancy and Priviledge.

XX. Concerning Title, albeit even as under the Law, all they whom God had ſevered to offer him Sacrifice, were generally termed Prieſts; ſo likewiſe the name of Paſtor or Presbyter, be now common unto all that ſerve him in the Miniſtery of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt: Yet both then and now, the higher Orders as well of the one ſort as of the other, have by one and the ſame congruity of reaſon, their different titles of honor, wherewith we finde them in the phraſe of ordinary ſpeech exalted above

others.

others. Thus the Heads of the twenty four Companies of Priests, are in Scripture termed Arch-Priests; *Aaron* and the Successors of *Aaron* being above those Arch-Priests; themselves are in that respect further intituled, High and Great. After what sort Antiquity hath used to stile Christian Bishops, and to yield them in that kinde Honor more than were meet for inferiour Pastors; I may the better omit to declare, both because others have sufficiently done it already, and, in so sleight a thing, it were but a loss of time to bestow further travel. The allegation of Christ's Prerogative to be named an Arch-Pastor simply, in regard of his absolute Excellency over all, is no impediment, but that the like Title in an unlike signification, may be granted unto others besides him, to note a more limited Superiority, whereof men are capable enough, without derogation from his Glory, than which nothing is more Soveraign. To quarrel at syllables, and to take so poor exceptions at the first four letters in the name of an Archbishop, as if they were manifestly stollen goods, whereof restitution ought to be made to the Civil Magistrate, toucheth no more the Prelates that now are, than it doth the very blessed Apostle, who giveth unto himself the Title of an Arch-builder.

ἀρχιερεῖς.

As for our Saviours words, alledged against the stile of *Lordship* and *Grace*, we have before sufficiently opened how farr they are drawn from their natural meaning, to boulster up a Cause which they nothing at all concern. Bishop *Theodoret* entituleth most honourable. Emperors writing unto Bishops, have not disdained to give them their appellations of Honor, *Your Holiness, your Blessedness, your Amplitude, your Highness*, and the like: Such as purposely have done otherwise, are noted of insolent singularity and pride.

Lib. 5. c. 8. Histor. Eccles. L. 7. C. de summa Trinit L. 33. C de Episc. & Cler. L. 16. C. de Sacrosc. Eccles.

Honor done by giving preheminence of Place unto one sort before another, is for decency, order, and quietness-sake so needful, that both Imperial Laws and Canons Ecclesiastical, have made their special provisions for it. Our Saviour's invective against the vain affectation of Superiority, whether in Title, or in Place, may not hinder these seemly differences usual in giving and taking honor, either according to the one, or the other.

Mat. 23. 6, 7. They love to have the chief Seats in the Assemblies, and to be called of men, Rabbi.

Some thing there is even in the Ornaments of Honor also: Otherwise idle it had been for the Wiseman speaking of *Aaron*, to stand so much upon the circumstance of his Priestly attire, and to urge it as an argument of such dignity and greatness in him: *An everlasting Covenant God made with* Aaron, *and gave him the Priesthood among the people, and made him blessed through his comely Ornament, and cloathed him with the garment of Honor.* The Robes of a Judge do not adde to his vertue; the chiefest Ornaments of Kings is Justice; holiness and purity of Conversation doth much more adorn a Bishop, than his peculiar form of Cloathing. Notwithstanding, both Judges, through the garments of Judicial Authority; and through the Ornaments of Soveraignty, Princes; yea, Bishops through the very attire of Bishops, are made blessed, that is to say, marked and manifested they are to be such, as God hath poured his blessing upon, by advancing them above others, and placing them where they may do him principal good service. Thus to be called is to be blessed, and therefore to be honored with the signs of such a Calling, must needs be in part a blessing also; for of good things, even the signs are good.

Ecclus. 45. 7.

Of Honor, another part is Attendancy; and therefore in the visions of the glory of God, Angels are spoken of as his Attendants. In setting out the honor of that mystical Queen, the Prophet mentioneth the Virgin-Ladies which waited on her. Amongst the tokens of *Solomons* honourable condition, his Servants and Waiters, the sacred History omitteth not. This doth prove Attendants a part of Honor: But this as yet doth not shew with what Attendancy Prelates are to be honored. Of the High-Priests retinue amongst the Jews, somewhat the Gospel it self doth intimate: And, albeit our Saviour came to minister, and not, as the Jews did imagine their Messias should, to be ministred unto in this World, yet attended on he was by his blessed Apostles, who followed him not only as Scholars, but even as Servants about him. After that he had sent them, as himself was sent of God, in the midst of that hatred and extreme contempt which they sustained at the World's hands; by Saints and Believers this part of honor was most plentifully done unto them. Attendants they had provided in all places where they went; which Custom of the Church was still continued in Bishops, their Successors, as by *Ignatius* it is plain to be seen. And from hence no doubt, those Acolyths took their beginning, of whom so frequent mention is made; the Bishops Attendants, his Followers they were: in regard of which service, the name of Acolythes seemeth plainly

to

to have been given. The cuſtom for Biſhops to be attended upon by many, is, as *Juſtinian* doth ſhew, antient: The affairs of Regiment, wherein Prelates are imployed, make it neceſſary that they always have many about them, whom they may command, although no ſuch thing did by way of honor belong unto them.

Novel. 6.

Some mens judgement is, that if Clerks, Students, and Religious Perſons were moe, common Serving-men and Lay-Retainers fewer than they are in Biſhops Palaces, the uſe, and the honor thereof would be much more ſuitable than now: But theſe things, concerning the number and quality of Perſons fit to attend on Prelates, either for neceſſity, or for honors ſake, are rather in particular diſcretion to be ordered, than to be argued of by diſputes. As for the vain imagination of ſome, who teach the original hereof to have been a prepoſterous imagination of *Maximinus* the Emperor, who being addicted unto Idolatry, choſe of the choiſeſt Magiſtrates to be Prieſts; and, to the end they might be in great eſtimation, gave unto each of them a train of Followers: And that Chriſtian Emperors thinking the ſame would promote Chriſtianity, which promoted Superſtition, endeavoured to make their Biſhops encounter and match with thoſe Idolatrous Prieſts; ſuch frivolous conceits having no other ground than conceit, we weigh not ſo much as to frame any anſwer unto them; our declaration of the true original of antient attendancy on Biſhops being ſufficient. Now, if that which the light of ſound reaſon doth teach to be fit, have, upon like inducements reaſonable, allowable and good, approved it ſelf in ſuch wiſe as to be accepted, not only of us, but of Pagans and Infidels alſo; doth conformity with them that are evil in that which is good, make that thing which is good, evil? We have not herein followed the Heathens, nor the Heathens us, but both we and they one and the ſelf-ſame Divine rule, the light of a true and ſound underſtanding, which ſheweth what honor is fit for Prelats, and what attendancy convenient to be a part of their honor.

T. C. l. 3. p. 126. out of Juſ. l. 8. c. 15.

Touching Priviledges granted for Honor's-ſake, partly in general unto the Clergy, and partly unto Prelates the Chiefeſt Perſons Eccleſiaſtical in particular: of ſuch quality and number they are, that to make but rehearſal of them, we ſcarce think it ſafe, leſt the very entrails of ſome of our godly Brethren, as they term themſelves, ſhould thereat haply burſt in ſunder.

L. 17. C. de ſacr. Eccleſ. l. 5. C. de ſacr. Eccleſ. l. 2. C. de Epiſc. & Cler. l. 10. C. de Epiſc. & Cler.

Honor by endowment with Lands and Livings.

XXI. And yet, of all theſe things rehearſed, it may be there never would have grown any queſtion, had Biſhops been honored only thus farr forth. But the honoring of the Clergy with wealth, this is in the eyes of them which pretend to ſeek nothing but mere Reformation of Abuſes, a ſin that can never be remitted.

How ſoon, O how ſoon, might the Church be perfect, even without any ſpot or wrinckle, if Publick Authority would at the length ſay Amen, unto the holy and devout requeſts of thoſe godly Brethren, who as yet with out-ſtretched necks, groan in the pangs of their zeal to ſee the Houſes of Biſhops rifled, and their ſo long deſired Livings glorioufly divided amongſt the Righteous. But there is an impediment, a lett, which ſomewhat hindreth thoſe good mens Prayers from taking effect: They, in whoſe hands the Soveraignty of Power and Dominion over this Church doth reſt, are perſwaded there is a God; for undoubtedly either the name of Godhead is but a feigned thing; or, if in Heaven there be a God, the Sacrilegious intention of Church-Robbers, which lurketh under this plauſible name of Reformation, is in his ſight a thouſand times more hateful than the plain profeſſed malice of thoſe very Miſcreants, who threw their Vomit in the open face of our bleſſed Saviour.

They are not words of perſwaſion by which true men can hold their own, when they are over-beſet with Thieves: And therefore to ſpeak in this Cauſe at all were but labor loſt, ſaving only in reſpect of them, who being as yet un-joyned unto this Conſpiracy, may be haply ſomewhat ſtayed, when they ſhall know betimes, what it is to ſee Thieves, and to run on with them, as the Prophet in the *Pſalm* ſpeaketh, *When thou ſaweſt a Thief, then thou conſentedſt with him, and haſt been Partaker with Adulterers.*

Pſal. 50. 18.

For the better information therefore of men which carry true, honeſt, and indifferent mindes, theſe things we will endeavour to make moſt clearly manifeſt:

Firſt, That in Goods and Livings of the Church, none hath propriety but God himſelf.

Secondly,

Secondly, That the honor which the Clergy therein hath, is to be, as it were God's Receivers; the honor of Prelates, to be his chief and principal Receivers.

Thirdly, That from him they have right, not only to receive, but also to use such Goods, the lower sort in smaller, and the higher in larger measure.

Fourthly, That in case they be thought, yea, or found to abuse the same, yet may not such honor be therefore lawfully taken from them, and be given away unto Persons of other Calling.

That of Ecclesiastical Goods, and consequently of the Lands and Livings which Bishops enjoy, the propriety belongeth unto God alone.

XXII. Possessions, Lands, and Livings Spiritual, the wealth of the Clergy, the Goods of the Church are in such sort the Lords own, that man can challenge no propriety in them. His they are, and not ours; all things are his, in that from him they have their being, [a] *My Corn, and my Wine, and mine Oyl,* saith the Lord. All things his, in that he hath absolute power to dispose of them at his pleasure. [b] *Mine,* saith he, *are the Sheep and Oxen of a thousand hills?* All things his, in that when we have them, we may say with *Job, God hath given,* and when we are deprived of them, *The Lord,* whose they are, hath likewise *taken them away* again. But these sacred Possessions are his by another tenure: His, because those men who first received them from him, have unto him returned them again, by way of Religious gift, or Oblation: And in this respect it is, that the Lord doth term those Houses wherein such Gifts and Oblations were laid, *His Treasuries.* [c]

a Hos. 2. 5.
b Psal. 50. 10.
c Job 1. 21.
Mal. 3. 10.

The ground whereupon men have resigned their own interest in things Temporal, and given over the same unto God, is that Precept which *Solomon* borroweth from the Law of Nature, *Honor the Lord out of thy Substance, and of the chiefest of all thy Revenue: so shall thy Barns be filled with Plenty, and with new Wine, the fat of thy Press shall overflow.* For although it be by one most fitly spoken against those superstitious Persons, who only are scrupulous in external Rites; *Wilt thou win the favour of God? Be vertuous. They best worship him, that are his Followers.* It is not the bowing of your Knees, but of your Hearts; it is not the number of your Oblations, but the integrity of your Lives; not your Incense, but your Obedience, which God is delighted to be honored by: Nevertheless, we must beware, lest simply understanding this, which comparatively is meant; that is to say, whereas the meaning is, that God doth chiefly respect the inward disposition of the Heart, we must take heed we do not hereupon so worship him in Spirit, that outwardly we take all Worship, Reverence, and Honor from him.

Prov. 3. 9.
Seneca.

Our God will be glorified both of us himself, and for us by others: To others, because our Hearts are known, and yet our example is required for their good; therefore it is not sufficient to carry Religion in our Hearts, as Fire is carried in Flint-stones, but we are outwardly, visibly, apparently, to serve and honor the living God; yea, to employ that way, as not only for our Souls, but our Bodies; so not only our Bodies, but our Goods, yea, the choice, the flower, the chiefest of all thy Revenue, saith *Solomon*: If thou hast any thing in all thy Possessions of more value and price than other, to what use shouldest thou convert it, rather than to this? *Samuel* was dear unto *Hannah* his Mother: The Childe that *Hannah* did so much esteem, she could not but greatly wish to advance; and her Religious conceit was, that the honoring of God with it, was the advancing of it unto honor. The chiefest of the Off-spring of men, are, the Males which be first-born, and, for this cause, in the antient World, they all were by right of their birth Priests of the Most High. By these and the like Precedents, it plainly enough appeareth, that in what Heart soever doth dwell unfeigned Religion, in the same there resteth also a willingness to bestow upon God that soonest, which is most dear. Amongst us the Law is, that sith Gold is the chiefest of Mettals, if it be any where found in the bowels of the Earth, it belongeth in right of honor, as all men know, to the King: Whence hath this Custom grown, but onely from a natural perswasion, whereby men judge it decent, for the highest Persons always to be honored with the choisest things? *If ye offer unto God the blinde,* saith the Prophet *Malachi, it is not evil; if the lame and sick, it is good enough. Present it unto thy Prince, and see if he will content himself, or accept thy Person, saith the Lord of Hosts.* When *Abel* presented God with an Offering, it was the fattest of all the Lambs in his whole Flock; he honored God not onely out of his

Mal. 1. 8. 3.

ſubſtance, but out of the very Chiefeſt therein, whereby we may ſomewhat judge, how religiouſly they ſtand affected towards God, who grudge that any thing worth the having ſhould be his. Long it were to reckon up particularly, what God was Owner of under the Law: For of this ſort was all which they ſpent in Legal Sacrifices; of this ſort, their uſual Oblations and Offerings; of this ſort, Tythes and Firſt-fruits; of this ſort, that which by extraordinary occaſions they vowed unto God; of this ſort, all that they gave to the building of the Tabernacle; of this ſort, all that which was gathered amongſt them for the erecting of the Temple, and the [a] adorning of it erected; of this ſort, whatſoever their Corban contained, wherein that bleſſed Widow's Deodate was laid up. Now either this kinde of Honor was prefiguratively altogether Ceremonial, and then our Saviour accepteth it not; or, if we finde that to him alſo it hath been done, and that with divine approbation given for encouragement of the World, to ſhew, by ſuch kinde of ſervice, their dutiful hearts towards Chriſt, there will be no place left for men to make any queſtion at all, whether herein they do well or no.

[a] Becauſe (ſaith *David*) I have a delight in the Houſe of my God, therefore I have given thereunto of my own both Gold and Silver to adorn it with, 2 *Chron.* 2. 5.

Wherefore to deſcend from the Synagogue unto the Church of Chriſt, albeit Sacrifices, wherewith ſometimes God was highly honored, be not accepted as heretofore at the hands of men: Yet, foraſmuch as [b] *Honor God with thy Riches* is an Edict of the inſeparable Law of Nature, ſo far forth as men are therein required by ſuch kinde of homage to teſtifie their thankful mindes, this Sacrifice God doth accept ſtill. Wherefore, as it was ſaid of Chriſt, *That all Kings ſhould worſhip him, and all Nations do him ſervice*; ſo this very kinde of worſhip or ſervice was likewiſe mentioned, leſt we ſhould think that our Lord and Saviour would allow of no ſuch thing. *The Kings of Tarſhiſh, and of the Iſles ſhall bring Preſents, the Kings of Sheba and Seba ſhall bring Gifts.* And, as it maketh not a little to the praiſe of thoſe Sages mentioned in the Goſpel, that the firſt amongſt men which did ſolemnly honor our Saviour on Earth were they; ſo it ſoundeth no leſs to the dignity of this particular kinde, that the reſt by it were prevented; *They fell down and worſhipped him, and opened their Treaſures, and preſented unto him Gifts, Gold, Incenſe, and Mirrh.*

[b] Pſ. 50. 13, 14.

Phil. 4. 18. Pſal. 72. 11.

Matth. 2. 11.

Of all thoſe things which were done to the honor of Chriſt in his life-time, there is not one whereof he ſpake in ſuch ſort, as when *Mary*, to teſtifie the largeneſs of her affection, ſeemed to waſte away a Gift upon him, the price of which Gift might, as they thought who ſaw it, much better have been ſpent in works of Mercy towards the Poor, *Verily, I ſay unto you, whereſoever this Goſpel ſhall be preached throughout all the World, there ſhall alſo this that ſhe hath done be ſpoken of, for memorial of her.* Of ſervice to God, the beſt works are they which continue longeſt: And, for permanency, what like Donation, whereby things are unto him for ever dedicated? That the antient Lands and Livings of the Church were all in ſuch ſort given into the hands of God by the juſt Lords and Owners of them, that unto him they paſſed over their whole intereſt and right therein, the form of ſundry the ſaid Donations as yet extant, moſt plainly ſheweth. And where time hath left no ſuch evidence as now remaining to be ſeen, yet the ſame intention is preſumed in all Donors; unleſs the contrary be apparent. But to the end it may yet more plainly appear unto all men under what Title the ſeveral kinds of Eccleſiaſtical Poſſeſſions are held, *Our Lord himſelf* (ſaith Saint *Auguſtine*) *had Coffers to keep thoſe things which the Faithful* OFFERED *unto him. Then was the form of the Church-treaſury firſt inſtituted, to the end, that withal we might underſtand that in forbidding to be careful for to morrow, his purpoſe was not to bar his Saints from keeping money, but to with-draw them from doing God ſervice for Wealth's ſake, and from forſaking Righteouſneſs through fear of loſing their Wealth.*

Matth. 26. 13.

Joh. 15. 16.

Aug. cap. 15. de menda.

The firſt Gifts conſecrated unto Chriſt after his departure out of the World were ſummes of money, in proceſs of time other Moveables were added, and at length Goods unmoveable, Churches and Oratories hallowed to the honor of his glorious Name, Houſes and Lands for perpetuity conveyed unto him, Inheritance given to remain his as long as the World ſhould endure. *The Apoſtles* (ſaith *Melchiades*) *they foreſaw that God would have his Church amongſt the Gentiles, and for that cauſe in Judea they took no Lands, but price of Lands ſold.* This he conjecture reth to have been the cauſe why the Apoſtles did that which the Hiſtory reporteth of them.

C. 12. q. 1. cap. 15. & 16.

The

The truth is, that so the state of those times did require, as well other where, as in *Judea*: Wherefore when afterwards it did appear much more commodious for the Church, to dedicate such Inheritances; then, the value and price of them being sold, the former Custom was changed for this, as for the better. The Devotion of *Constantine* herein all the World, even till this very day, admireth: They that lived in the prime of the Christian World, thought no Testament Christianly made, nor any thing therein well bequeathed, unless something were thereby added unto Christ's Patrimony: Touching which men, what judgement the World doth now give, I know not; perhaps we deem them to have been herein but blinde and superstitious Persons. Nay, we in these cogitations are blinde; they contrariwise did with *Solomon* plainly know and perswade themselves, that thus to diminish their wealth, was not to diminish, but to augment it; according to that which God doth promise to his own People, by the Prophet *Malachi*, and which they by their own particular experience found true: If *Wickliff* therefore were of that opinion which his Adversaries ascribe unto him (whether truly, or of purpose to make him odious, I cannot tell, for in his Writings I do not finde it) namely, *That* Constantine, *and others following his steps did evil, as having no sufficient ground whereby they might gather, that such Donations are acceptable to Jesus Christ*, it was in *Wickliff* a palpable error. I will use but one onely Argument to stand in the stead of many: *Jacob* taking his Journey unto *Haran*, made in this sort his solemn vow, *If God will be with me, and will keep me in this Journey which I go, and will give me Bread to eat, and Cloathes to put on, so that I come again to my Fathers house in safety; then shall the Lord be my God, and this Stone which I have set up a Pillar shall be the House of God, and of all that thou shalt give me, will I give the Tenth unto thee.* May a Christian man desire as great things as *Jacob* did at the hands of God? may he desire them in as earnest manner? may he promise as great thankfulness in acknowledging the goodness of God? may he vow any certain kinde of publick acknowledgment before hand; or, though he vow it not, perform it after, in such sort that men may see he is perswaded how the Lord hath been his God? Are these particular kindes of testifying thankfulness to God, the erecting of Oratories, the dedicating of Lands and Goods to maintain them, forbidden any where? Let any mortal man living shew but one reason, wherefore in this point to follow *Jacob*'s example, should not be a thing both acceptable unto God, and in the eyes of the World for ever most highly commendable? Concerning Goods of this nature, Goods whereof when we speak, we term them τὰ τῷ Θεῷ ἀφιερωθέντα, The Goods that are consecrated unto God; and, as *Tertullian* speaketh, *Depositapietatis*, things which Piety and Devotion hath laid up, as it were in the bosom of God: Touching such Goods, the Law Civil following mere light of Nature, defineth them to be no mans, because no mortal man, or community of men, hath right of propriety in them.

Prov. 10. 3.

Mal. 3. 10. 2 Chro. 31. 10.

Th. Wald. tom. 1. lib. 4. c. 39.

Gen. 28. 20.

XXIII. Persons Ecclesiastical are God's Stewards, not onely for that he hath set them over his Family, as the Ministers of ghostly food; but even for this very cause also, that they are to receive and dispose his Temporal Revenues, the gifts, and oblations which men bring him. Of the Jews it is plain, that their Tyths they offered unto the Lord, and those [a] offerings the Lord bestowed upon the Levites. When the Levites gave the Tenth of their Tythes, this their Gift the Law doth term the Lord's Heave-offering, and [b] appoint that the High-Priest should receive the same. [c] Of spoils taken in War, that part which they were accustomed to separate unto God, they brought it before the Priest of the Lord, by whom it was laid up in the Tabernacle of the Congregation, for a memorial of their thankfulness towards God, and his goodness towards them, in fighting for them against their enemies. As therefore the Apostle magnifieth the honor of *Melchisedec*, in that he being an High-Priest, [d] did receive at the hands of *Abraham* the Tyths which *Abraham* did honor God with: so it argueth in the Apostles themselves great honor, that at their feet the price of those Possessions was laid, which men thought good to bestow on Christ. St. *Paul* commending the Churches which were in *Macedonia*, for their exceeding liberality this way, saith of them, That he himself would bear record; they had declared their forward mindes, according to their power, yea, beyond their power, [e] and

That Ecclesiastical Persons are Receivers of God's Rents; and that the honor of Prelates is, to be thereof his chief Receivers; not without liberty from him granted, of converting the same unto their own use, even in large manner.

a Num. 18. 24.
b Num. 18. 28.
c Numb. 31.
d Heb. 7. 3.
e Acts 4. 34.

2 Cor. 8. 5. and had so much exceeded his expectation of them; *that they seemed as it were even to give away themselves first to the Lord*, saith the Apostle, *and then by the will of God unto us*: To him, as the owner of such gifts; to us, as his appointed receivers and dispensers. The gift of the Church of *Antioch*, bestowed unto the use of distressed Brethren which were in *Judea*, *Paul* and *Barnabas* did deliver unto the Presbyters of *Jerusalem*; and the head of those Presbyters was *James*, he therefore the Chiefest disposer thereof.

Acts 11. 30. Acts 21. 18. & 12. 17.

Amongst those Canons which are entituled Apostolical, one is this, *We appoint, that the Bishop have care of those things which belong to the Church*; the meaning is, of Church-Goods, as the Reason following sheweth: *For if the precious Souls of men must be committed unto him of trust, much more it behoveth the charge of money to be given him, that by his Authority the Presbyters and Deacons may administer all things to them that stand in need.* So that he which hath done them the honor to be, as it were, his Treasurers, hath left them also authority and power to use these his Treasures, both otherwise, and for the maintenance even of their own Estate; the lower sort of the Clergy, according unto a meaner; the higher, after a larger proportion. The use of Spiritual goods and possessions, hath been a matter much disputed of; grievous complaints there are usually made against the evil and unlawful usage of them, but with no certain determination hitherto, on what things and Persons; with what proportion and measure they being bestowed, do retain their lawful use. Some men condemn it as idle, superfluous, and altogether vain, that any part of the Treasure of God should be spent upon costly Ornaments, appertaining unto his Service: who being best worshipped, when he is served in Spirit and truth, hath not for want of pomp and magnificence, rejected at any time those who with faithful hearts have adored him. Whereupon the Hereticks, termed *Henriciani* and *Petrobusiani*, threw down Temples and Houses of Prayer, erected with marvellous great charge, as being in that respect not fit for Christ by us to be honored in. We deny not, but that they who sometime wandred as Pilgrims on earth, and had no Temples, but made Caves and Dens to pray in, did God such honor as was most acceptable in his sight; God did not reject them for their poverty and nakedness sake: Their Sacraments were not abhorred for want of Vessels of Gold.

Can. 41. Et Concil. Antioch. c. 25. Ἐπίσκοπον ἔχειν τῶν τῆς ἐκκλησίας πραγμάτων ἐξουσίαν, ὥστε διοικεῖν εἰς πάντας δεομένους μετὰ πάσης εὐλαβείας καὶ φόβου Θεοῦ.

John 4. 24.

Heb. 11. 38.

Howbeit, let them who thus delight to plead, answer me, When *Moses* first, and afterwards *David*, exhorted the people of *Israel* unto matter of charge about the service of God; suppose we it had been allowable in them to have thus pleaded, *Our Fathers in* Egypt *served God devoutly, God was with them in all their afflictions, he heard their Prayers, pitied their Case, and delivered them from the tyranny of their Oppressors; what House, Tabernacle, or Temple had they?* Such Argumentations are childish and fond; God doth not refuse to be honored at all, where there lacketh wealth; but where abundance and store is, he there requireth the Flower thereof, being bestowed on him, to be employed even unto the Ornament of his Service: In *Egypt* the state of his People was servitude, and therefore his Service was accordingly. In the Desart they had no sooner ought of their own, but a Tabernacle is required; and in the Land of *Canaan*, a Temple. In the eyes of *David* it seemed a thing not fit, a thing not decent, that himself should be more richly seated than God.

But concerning the use of Ecclesiastical Goods bestowed this way, there is not so much contention amongst us, as what measure of allowance is fit for Ecclesiastical Persons to be maintained with. A better rule in this case to judge things by, we cannot possibly have, than the Wisdom of God himself; by considering what he thought meet for each degree of the Clergy to enjoy in time of the Law; what for Levites, what for Priests, and what for High-Priests, somewhat we shall be the more able to discern rightly, what may be fit, convenient, and right for the Christian Clergy likewise. Priests for their maintenance had those first-fruits of [a] Cattel, [b] Corn, Wine, Oyl, and [c] other Commodities of the Earth, which the Jews were accustomed yearly to present God with. They had [d] the price which was appointed for men to pay in lieu of the first-born of their Children, and the price of the first born also amongst Cattel, which were unclean: They had the vowed [e] Gifts of the People; or [f] the prices, if they were redeemable by the Donors after

a Num. 18. 15.
b Num. 12.
c Num. 13.
d Verse 15.
e Verse 8.
f Lev. 27. 11. Verse 14. Numb 18. 8.

after vow, as some things were: They had the free, and un-vowed Oblations of men: They had the remainder of things sacrificed: With Tythes, the Levites were maintained; and with the tythe of their Tythes, the High-Priest. Vers. 8, 9, 21, 28.

In a word, if the quality of that which God did assign to his Clergy be considered, and their manner of receiving it, without labour, expence, or charge, it will appear, that the Tribe of *Levi* being but the twelfth part of *Israel*, had in effect as good as four twelfth parts of all such Goods as the holy Land did yield: So that their Worldly Estate was four times as good as any other Tribes in *Israel* besides. But the High-Priest's condition, how ample? to whom belonged the Tenth of all the Tythe of this Land, especially the Law providing also, that as the people did bring the best of all things unto the Priests and Levites, so the Levite should deliver the choice and flower of all their Commodities to the High-Priest, and so his Tenth-part by that mean be made the very best part amongst ten: by which proportion, if the Levites were ordinarily in all not above thirty thousand men (whereas when *David* numbred them, he found almost thirty eight thousand above the age of thirty years) the High-Priest after this very reckoning, had as much as three or four thousand others of the Clergy to live upon. Over and besides all this, lest the Priests of *Egypt* holding Lands, should seem in that respect better provided for, than the Priests of the true God, it pleased him further to appoint unto them forty and eight whole Cities, with Territories of Land adjoyning, to hold as their own free Inheritance for ever. For to the end they might have all kinde of encouragement, not onely to do what they ought, but to take pleasure in that they did: albeit they were expresly forbidden to have any part of the Land of *Canaan* laid out whole to themselves, by themselves, in such sort as the rest of the Tribes had, forasmuch as the will of God was, rather that they should throughout all Tribes be dispersed, for the easier access of the People unto knowledge: Yet were they not barred altogther to hold Land, nor yet otherwise the worse provided for, in respect of that former restraint; for God by way of special preheminence, undertook to feed them at his own Table, and out of his own proper Treasury to maintain them, that want and penury they might never feel, except God himself did first receive injury. A thing most worthy our consideration, is the wisdom of God herein; for the Common sort being prone unto envy and murmur, little considereth of what necessity, use and importance, the sacred duties of the Clergy are, and for that Cause hardly yieldeth them any such honor, without repining and grudging thereat; they cannot brook it, that when they have laboured, and come to reap, there should so great a portion go out of the fruit of their Labours, and be yielded up unto such as sweat not for it. But when the Lord doth challenge this as his own due, and require it to be done by way of homage unto him, whose mere liberality and goodness had raised them from a poor and servile estate, to place them where they had all those ample and rich possessions, they must be worse than Brute beasts, if they would storm at any thing which He did receive at their hands. And for him to bestow his own on his own Servants (which liberty is not denied unto the meanest of men) what man liveth that can think it other than most reasonable? Wherefore no cause there was, why that which the Clergy had, should in any man's eye seem too much, unless God himself were thought to be of an over-having disposition. 1 Chron. 2. 3. Gen. 47. 22. Numb 35. 7. Josh. 14. 4. Deut. 18. 8. Lev. 25. 33, 34.

This is the mark whereat all those speeches drive, *Levi hath no part nor inheritance with his Brethren, the Lord is his inheritance*; again, *To the Tribe of Levi, he gave no inheritance, the Sacrifices of the Lord God of Israel an inheritance of Levi*; again, *The tyths of the which they shall offer as an offering unto the Lord, I have given the Levites for an inheritance*; and again, *All the heave-offerings of the holy things which the children of Israel shall offer unto the Lord, I have given thee, and thy sons, and thy daughters with thee, to be a duty for ever; it is a perpetual Covenant of salt before the Lord.* Now that, if such provision be possible to be made, the Christian Clergy ought not herein to be inferior unto the Jewish, What sounder proof than the Apostles own kinde of Argument? *Do ye not know, that they which minister about the holy things, eat of the things of the Temple? and they which partake of the Altar are partakers with the Altar? So, (even So,) hath the Lord ordained, that they which preach the Gospel should live of the Gospel.* Deut. 10. 9. Josh. 13. 14. Numb. 18. 24. Verse 19. 1 Cor. 9. 13.

Upon

Upon which words I thus conclude; that if the People of God do abound, and abounding can ſo farr forth finde in their hearts to ſhew themſelves towards Chriſt their Saviour, thankful as to honor him with their riches (which no Law of God or Nature forbiddeth) no leſs than the antient Jewiſh people did honor God; the plain Ordinance of Chriſt appointeth as large, and as ample proportion out of his own treaſure unto them that ſerve him in the Goſpel, as ever the Prieſts of the Law did enjoy? What further proof can we deſire? It is the bleſſed Apoſtles teſtimony, That *even ſo the Lord hath ordained.* Yea, I know not whether it be found to interpret the Apoſtle otherwiſe than that, whereas he judgeth the Presbyters *which rule well in the Church of Chriſt to be worthy of double honor*, he means double unto that which the Prieſts of the Law received; *For if that Miniſtry which was of the Letter were ſo glorious, how ſhall not the Miniſtry of the Spirit be more glorious?* If the Teachers of the Law of *Moſes*, which God delivered written with Letters in Tables of Stone, were thought worthy of ſo great honor, how ſhall not the Teachers of the Goſpel of Chriſt be in his ſight moſt worthy, the Holy Ghoſt being ſent from Heaven to ingrave the Goſpel on their Hearts who firſt taught it, and whoſe Succeſſors they that teach it at this day are? So that according to the Ordinance of God himſelf, their Eſtate for worldly maintenance ought to be no worſe than is granted unto other ſorts of men, each according to that degree they were placed in. Neither are we ſo to judge of their worldly condition, as if they were Servants of men, and at mens hands did receive thoſe earthly benefits by way of ſtipend in lieu of pains whereunto they are hired; nay that which is paid unto them is homage and tribute due unto the Lord Chriſt. His Servants they are, and from him they receive ſuch goods by way of ſtipend. Not ſo from men: For at the hands of men, he himſelf being honored with ſuch things, hath appointed his Servants therewith according to their ſeveral degrees and places to be maintained. And for their greater encouragement who are his Labourers he hath to their comfort aſſured them for ever, that they are, in his eſtimation, *worthy the hire* which he alloweth them; and therefore if men ſhould withdraw from him the ſtore, which thoſe his Servants that labour in his Work are maintained with, yet he in his Word ſhall be found everlaſtingly true, their labour in the Lord ſhall not be forgotten; the hire he accounteth them worthy of, they ſhall ſurely have either one way or other anſwered.

1 Tim. 5. 17. 2 Cor. 3. 8. Vide 22 q. 77. art. 1.

1 Tim. 5. 18.

In the prime of the Chriſtian world, that which was brought and laid down at the Apoſtles feet, they diſpoſed of by diſtribution, according to the exigence of each man's need. Neither can we think, that they, who, out of Chriſt's treaſury made proviſion for all others, were careleſs to furniſh the Clergy with all things fit and convenient for their Eſtate: And as themſelves were chiefeſt in place of Authority, and Calling, ſo no man doubteth, but that proportionably they had power to uſe the ſame for their own decent maintainance. The Apoſtles, with the reſt of the Clergy in *Jeruſalem* lived at that time according to the manner of a Fellowſhip, or Collegiate Society maintaining themſelves and the poor of the Church with a common purſe, the reſt of the Faithful keeping that Purſe continually ſtored. And in that ſenſe it is, that the Sacred Hiſtory ſaith, *All which believed were in one place, and had all things common.* In the Hiſtories of the Church, and in the Writings of the Antient Fathers for ſome hundreds of years after, we finde no other way for the maintenance of the Clergy but onely this, the Treaſury of Jeſus Chriſt furniſhed through mens Devotion, beſtowing ſometimes Goods, ſometimes Lands that way, and out of his Treaſury the charge of the ſervice of God was defrayed, the Biſhop and the Clergy under him maintained, the poor in their neceſſity miniſtred unto. For which purpoſe, every Biſhop had ſome one of the Presbyters under him to be a Treaſurer of the Church, to receive, keep, and deliver all; which Office in Churches Cathedral remaineth even till this day, albeit the uſe thereof be not altogether ſo large now as heretofore. The diſpoſition of theſe goods was by the appointment of the Biſhop. Wherefore [b] *Proſper* ſpeaking of the Biſhops care herein, ſaith, *It was neceſſary for one to be troubled therewith, to the end that the reſt under him might be freer to attend quietly their Spiritual buſineſſes.* And leſt any man ſhould imagine, that Biſhops by this means were hindred themſelves from attending the ſervice of God, *Even herein*, ſaith he, *they do God ſervice; for if thoſe things which are*

Acts 4. 35.

Acts 2. 44.

a Diſpenſ. Proſp. de vita contemp. l. 2. c. 12. Oecon. l. 14. C. de Sacr. Eccleſ. & Novel. 7. in Princip.

b Proſp. de vita Contempl. lib. 2. cap. 16.

beſtowed

bestowed on the Church be God's; he doth the work of God, who, not of a covetous minde, but with purpose of most faithful administration, taketh care of things consecrated unto God. And forasmuch as the Presbyters of every Church could not all live with the Bishop, partly for that their number was great, and partly because the People being once divided into Parishes, such Presbyters as had severally charge of them were by that mean more conveniently to live in the midst each of his own particular flock, therefore a competent number being fed at the same [a] Table with the Bishop, the rest had their whole allowance apart, which several allowances were called *Sportulæ*, and they who received them, *Sportulantes fratres.* Touching the Bishop, as his Place and Estate was higher, so likewise the proportion of his Charges about himself, being for that cause in all equity and reason greater; yet, forasmuch as his stint herein was no other than it pleased himself to set, the rest (as the manner of Inferiours is to think that they which are over them alwayes have too much) grudged many times at the measure of the Bishops private expence, perhaps not without cause: Howsoever, by this occasion, there grew amongst them great heart-burning, quarrel and strife: where the Bishops were found culpable, as eating too much beyond their tether, and drawing more to their own private maintenance than the proportion of Christ's Patrimony being not greatly abundant could bear, sundry Constitutions hereupon were made to moderate the same, according to the Churches condition in those times. Some before they were made Bishops, having been Owners of ample Possessions, sold them, and gave them away to the Poor: [b] Thus did *Paulinus*, *Hilary*, *Cyprian*, and sundry others. Hereupon, they, who entring into the same Spiritual and high Function, held their Secular Possessions still, were hardly thought of: And even when the Case was fully resolved, that so to do was not unlawful, yet it grew a question, *Whether they lawfully might then take any thing out of the Publick Treasury of Christ?* a question, *Whether Bishops, holding by Civil Title sufficient to live of their own, were bound in Conscience to leave the Goods of the Church altogether to the use of others.* Of contentions about these matters there was no end, neither appeared there any possible way for quietness, otherwise than by making partition of Church-Revenues, according to the several ends and uses for which they did serve, that so the Bishops part might be certain. Such partition being made, the Bishop enjoyed his portion several to himself; the rest of the Clergy likewise theirs; a third part was severed to the furnishing and upholding of the Church; a fourth to the erection and maintenance of Houses wherein the Poor might have relief. After which separation made, Lands and Livings began every day to be dedicated unto each use severally, by means whereof every of them became in short time much greater than they had been for worldly maintenance, the fervent devotion of men being glad that this new opportunity was given, of shewing zeal to the House of God in more certain order.

By these things it plainly appeareth, what proportion of maintenance hath been ever thought reasonable for a Bishop; sith in that very partition agreed on, to bring him unto his certain stint, as much is allowed unto him alone, as unto all the Clergy under him, namely, a fourth part of the whole yearly Rents and Revenues of the Church. Nor is it likely, that, before those Temporalities, which now are such eye-sores, were added unto the honour of Bishops, their state was so mean, as some imagine: For if we had no other evidence than the covetous and ambitious humour of Hereticks, whose impotent desires of aspiring thereunto, and extreme discontentment as oft as they were defeated, even this doth shew, that the state of Bishops was not a few degrees advanced above the rest. Wherefore of grand Apostates which were in the very prime of the Primitive Church, thus *Lactantius* above thirteen hundred years sithence, testified, *Men of a slippery faith they were, who feigning that they knew and worshipped God, but seeking onely that they might grow in WEALTH and Honour, affected the Place of the HIGHEST PRIESTHOOD; whereunto, when their Betters were chosen before them, they thought it better to leave the Church, and to draw their Favourers with them, than to endure those men their Governours, whom themselves desired to govern.* Now, whereas against the present estate of Bishops, and the greatness of their port, and the largeness of their expences at this day, there is not any thing more commonly objected than those antient Canons, whereby they are restrained

a *Cypr.* lib. 4. Ep. 5. Presbyterii honorem designasse nos illis jam sciatis ut & sportulis eisdem cum Presbyteris honorentur, & divisiones mensurnas æquatis quantitatibus partiantur, sensuri nobiscum provectis & corroboratis annis suis. Which words of *Cyprian* do shew, that every Presbyter had his standing allowance out of the Church treasury; that besides the same allowance called *Sportula*, some also had their portion in that dividend which was the remainder of every months expence; thirdly that out of the Presbyters under him, the Bishop as then had a certain number of the graveſt, who lived and commoned always with him.

b Prosp. de vita contempl. l. 2. c. 9. Pont. Diacon. in vita Cypr.

Lact. de vera. sap. l. 5. c. 30.

reſtrained unto a far more ſparing life, their Houſes, their Retinue, their Diet limited within a farr more narrow compaſs than is now kept; we muſt know, that thoſe Laws and Orders were made, when Biſhops lived of the ſame Purſe, which ſerved a well for a number of others, as them, and yet all at their diſpoſing: So that convenient it was to provide, that there might be a moderate ſtint appointed to meaſure their expences by, leſt others ſhould be injured by their waſtefulneſs. Contrariwiſe, there is now no cauſe wherefore any ſuch Law ſhould be urged, when Biſhops live onely of that which hath been peculiarly allotted unto them: They having therefore Temporalities and other Revenues to beſtow for their own private uſe, according to that which their ſtate requireth, and no other having with them any ſuch common intereſt therein, their own diſcretion is to be their Law for this matter; neither are they to be preſſed with the rigour of ſuch antient Canons as were framed for other times, much leſs ſo odiouſly to be upbraided with unconformity unto the Pattern of our Lord and Saviour's eſtate, in ſuch circumſtances as himſelf did never minde to require, that the reſt of the World ſhould of neceſſity be like him. Thus againſt the wealth of the Clergy, they alledge how meanly Chriſt himſelf was provided for; againſt Biſhops Palaces, his want of a hole to hide his Head in; againſt the ſervice done unto them, that he came to miniſter, not to be miniſtred unto in the World. Which things, as they are not unfit to controul covetous, proud, or ambitious deſires of the Miniſters of Chriſt, and even of all Chriſtians, whatſoever they be; and to teach men contentment of minde, how mean ſoever their eſtate is, conſidering that they are but Servants to him, whoſe condition was farr more abaſed than theirs is, or can be; ſo to prove ſuch difference in State between us and him unlawful, they are of no force or ſtrength at all. If one convented before their Conſiſtories, when he ſtandeth to make this Anſwer, ſhould break out into Invectives againſt their Authority, and tell them, that Chriſt, when he was on Earth, did not ſit to judge, but ſtand to be judged; would they hereupon think it requiſite to diſſolve their Elderſhip, and to permit no Tribunals, no Judges at all, for fear of ſwerving from our Saviour's example? If thoſe men, who have nothing in their mouths more uſual, than the poverty of Jeſus Chriſt and his Apoſtles, alledge not this as *Julian* ſometime did, *Beati pauperes*, unto Chriſtians, when his meaning was to ſpoyl them of that they had; our hope is then, that as they ſeriouſly and ſincerely wiſh, that our Saviour Chriſt in this point may be followed, and to that end onely propoſe his bleſſed example; ſo, at our hands again, they will be content to hear with like willingneſs, the holy Apoſtle's Exhortation, made unto them of the Laity alſo, *Be ye Followers of us, even as we are of Chriſt; let us be your example, even as the Lord Jeſus Chriſt is ours, that we may all proceed by one and the ſame rule.*

1 Cor. 11. 1. Phil. 3. 16.

That for their unworthineſs, to deprive both them and their Succeſſors of ſuch Goods, and to convey the ſame unto men of Secular Calling, were extreme Sacralegious injuſtice.

XXIV. But beware we of following Chriſt, as Thieves follow True-men, to take their Goods by violence from them. Be it, that Biſhops were all unworthy, not onely of Livings, but even of Life, yet what hath our Lord Jeſus Chriſt deſerved, for which men ſhould judge him worthy to have the things that are his given away from him, unto others that have no right unto them? For at this mark it is, that the head Lay-Reformers do all aim. Muſt theſe unworthy Prelates give place; What then? Shall Better ſucceed in their rooms? Is this deſired, to the end that others may enjoy their Honours, which ſhall doe Chriſt more faithful ſervice than they have done? Biſhops are the worſt men living upon Earth; therefore let their ſanctified Poſſeſſions be divided: Amongſt whom? O bleſſed Reformation! O happy men, that put to their helping-hands for the furtherance of ſo good and glorious a Work! Wherefore, albeit the whole World at this day do already perceive, and Poſterity be like hereafter a great deal more plainly to diſcern; not that the Clergy of God is thus heaved at, becauſe they are wicked, but that means are uſed to put it into the heads of the ſimple multitude, that they are ſuch indeed; to the end that thoſe who thirſt for the ſpoyl of Spiritual Poſſeſſions, may, till ſuch time as they have their purpoſe, be thought to covet nothing but onely the juſt extinguiſhment of un-reformable Perſons; ſo that in regard of ſuch mens intentions, practices, and machinations againſt them,

them, the part that suffereth these things, may most fitly pray with *David*, *Judge thou me, O Lord, according to my Righteousness, and according unto mine innocency: O let the malice of the wicked come to an end, and be thou the guide of the just.* Notwithstanding, forasmuch as it doth not stand with Christian humility otherwise to think, then that this violent outrage of men, is a rod in the ireful hands of the Lord our God, the smart whereof we deserve to feel: Let it not seem grievous in the eyes of my reverend L L. the Bishops, if to their good consideration I offer a view of those sores which are in the kind of their heavenly function, most apt to breed, and which being not in time cured, may procure at the length that which God of his infinite mercy avert. Of Bishops in his time St. *Jerome* complaineth, that they took it in great disdain to have any fault, great or small found with them. *Epiphanius* likewise before *Jerome*, noteth their impatiency this way, to have been the very cause of a Schism in the Church of Christ; at what time one *Audius*, a Man of great integrity of life, full of faith and zeal towards God, beholding those things which were corruptly done in the Church, told the B B. and Presbyters their faults in such sort as those men are wont, who love the truth from their hearts, and walk in the paths of a most exact life. Whether it were covetousness, or sensuality in their lives; absurdity or error in their teaching; any breach of the Laws and Canons of the Church wherein he espied them faulty, certain and sure they were to be thereof most plainly told. Which thing, they whose dealings were justly culpable, could not bear; but, instead of amending their faults, bent their hatred against him who sought their amendment, till at length they drove him by extremity of infestation, through weariness of striving against their injuries, to leave both them, and with them the Church. Amongst the manifold accusations, either generally intended against the Bishops of this our Church, or laid particularly to the charge of any of them, I cannot find that hitherto their spitefullest adversaries have been able to say justly, that any man for telling them their personal faults in good and Christian sort, hath sustained in that respect much persecution. Wherefore, notwithstanding mine own inferior estate and calling in Gods Church, the consideration whereof assureth me, that in this kind the sweetest Sacrifice which I can offer unto Christ, is meek Obedience, reverence and aw unto the Prelates which he hath placed in seats of higher Authority over me, emboldned I am, so far as may conveniently stand with that duty of humble subjection, meekly to crave, my good L L. your favourable pardon, if it shall seem a fault thus far to presume; or, if otherwise, your wonted courteous acceptation.

Psal. 7. 8.

Epiph. contra hæres. l. 3. to 1. hær. 70.

——*Sinite hæc haud mollia fatu* *Æneid. l. 12.*
Sublatis aperire dolis

In government, be it of what kind soever, but especially if it be such kind of Government as Prelates have over the Church, there is not one thing publiquely more hurtful then that an hard opinion should be conceived of Governors at the first: and a good opinion how should the World ever conceive of them for their after-proceedings in Regiment, whose first access and entrance thereunto, giveth just occasion to think them corrupt men, which fear not that God, in whose name they are to rule? Wherefore a scandalous thing it is to the Church of God, and to the Actors themselves dangerous, to have aspired unto rooms of Prelacy by wicked means. We are not at this day troubled much with that tumultuous kind of ambition wherewith the elections of [a] *Damasus* in S. *Jeromes* age, and of [b] *Maximus* in *Gregories* time, and of others, were long sithence stained. Our greatest fear is rather the evil which [c] *Leo* and *Anthemius* did by Imperial constitution, endeavour as much as in them lay to prevent. He which granteth, or he which receiveth the office and dignity of a Bishop, otherwise then beseemeth a thing Divine and most holy; he which bestoweth and he which obteineth it after any other sort then were honest and lawful to use, if our Lord Jesus Christ were present himself on earth to bestow it even with his own hands, sinneth a sin by so much more grievous then the sin of *Balshazar*, by how much Offices and Functions heavenly are more precious then the meanest ornaments

[a] Ammian. Marcel. lib. 37
[b] Vide in vita Greg. Naz.
[c] Nemo gradum sacerdotii pretii venalitate mercetur quantum quisque mereatur non quantum dare sufficiat,

æstimetur. Profecto enim, quis locus tutus & quæ causa esse poterit excusata, si veneranda Dei templa pecuniis expugnentur? Quem murum integritatis aut vallum providebimus, si auri sacra fames in penetralia veneranda proserpat? quid deniq; cautum esse poterit aut securum, si sanctitas incorrupta corrumpatur? Cesset alijs imminere profanus ardor avaritiæ, & à sacris adytis repellatur piaculare flagitium. Itaq; castus & humilis nostris temporibus eligatur Episcopus, ut quocunq; loco rum pervenerit, omnia vitæ propriæ integritate purificet. Nec pretio sed precibus ordinetur Antistes. l. 31. C. de Epis. & Cler.

or implements which thereunto appertain. If it be, as the Apostle saith, that the Holy Ghost doth make Bishops, and that the whole action of making them is Gods own deed, men being therein but his Agents; what spark of the fear of God can there possibly remain in their hearts, who representing the person of God in naming worthy men to Ecclesiastial charge, do sell that which in his name they are to bestow, or who standing as it were at the Throne of the Living God do bargain for that which at his hands they are to receive? Wo worth such impious and irreligious prophanations. The Church of Christ hath been hereby made, not a den of thieves, but in a manner the very dwelling place of foul spirits; for undoubtedly, such a number of them have been in all ages who thus have climbed into the seat of Episcopal Regiment.

2. Men may by orderly means be invested with spiritual Authority, and yet do harm by reason of ignorance how to use it to the good of the Church. It is saith *Chrysostom*, πολλοῦ μὲν ἀξιώματος δυσκολὸν δὲ ἐπισκοπεῖν; *a thing highly to be accompted of, but a hard thing to be that which a Bishop should be.* Yea a hard and a toilsom thing it is, for a Bishop to know the things that belong unto a Bishop. A right good man may be a very unfit Magistrate. And for discharge of a Bishops Office, to be well minded is not enough, no not to be well learned also. Skill to instruct is a thing necessary, skill to govern much more necessary in a Bishop. It is not safe for the Church of Christ, when Pishops learn what belongeth unto Government, as Empericks learn physick by killing of the sick. Bishops were wont to be men of great learning in the Laws both Civil and of the Church; and while they were so, the wisest men in the land for Counsel and Government were Bishops.

3. Know we never so well what belongeth unto a charge of so great moment, yet can we not therein proceed but with hazard of publique detriment, if we relye on our selves alone, and use not the benefit of conference with others. A singular mean to unity and concord amongst themselves, a marvellous help unto uniformity in their dealings, no small addition of weight and credit unto that which they do, a strong bridle unto such as watch for occasions to stir against them; finally, a very great stay unto all that are under their Government, it could not chuse but be soon found, if Bishops did often and seriously use the help of mutual consultation. These three rehearsed are things onely preparatory unto the course of Episcopal proceedings. But the hurt is more manifestly seen which doth grow to the Church of God by faults inherent in their several actions, as when they carelesly Ordein, when they Institute negligently, when corruptly they bestow Church-Livings, Benefices, Prebends, and rooms especially of Jurisdiction, when they visit for gain-sake, rather then with serious intent to do good, when their Courts erected for the maintenance of good Order are disordered; when they regard not the Clergy under them; when neither Clergy nor Laity are kept in that aw for which this authority should serve; when any thing appeareth in them rather then a fatherly affection towards the flock of Christ when they have no respect to posterity; and finally, when they neglect the true and requisite means whereby their authority should be upheld. Surely the hurt which groweth out of these defects must needs be exceeding great. In a Minister, ignorance and disability to teach is a maim, nor is it held a thing allowable to ordain such, were it not for the avoiding of a greater evil which the Church must needs sustain, if in so great scarcity of able men, and unsufficiency of most Parishes throughout the Land to maintain them, both publick Prayer and the Administration of Sacraments should rather want, then any man thereunto be admitted lacking dexterity and skill to perform that which otherwise was most requisite. Wherefore the necessity of ordaining such, is no excuse for the rash and careless ordaining of every one that hath but a friend to bestow some two or three words of ordinary commendation in his behalf. By reason whereof the Church groweth burdened with silly creatures more then need, whose noted baseness and insufficiency bringeth their very Order it self into contempt.

It may be that the fear of a *Quare impedit* doth cause Institutions to pass more easily then otherwise they would. And to speak plainly the very truth, it may be that Writs of *Quare non impedit*, were for these times most necessary in the others place: Yet where Law will not suffer men to follow their own judgment, to shew their judgment

ment they are not hindred. And I doubt not but that even conſcienceleſs and wicked Patrons, of which ſort the ſwarms are too great in the Church of *England*, are the more imboldened to preſent unto Biſhops any refuſe, by finding ſo eaſie acceptation thereof. Somewhat they might redreſs this ſore, notwithſtanding ſo ſtrong impediments, if it did plainly appear that they took it indeed to heart, & were not in a manner contented with it.

Shall we look for care in admitting whom others preſent, if that which ſome of your ſelves confer, be at any time corruptly beſtowed? A foul and an ugly kind of deformity it hath, if a man do but think what it is for a Biſhop to draw commodity and gain from thoſe things whereof he is left a free beſtower, and that in truſt, without any other obligation then his ſacred Order only, and that religious Integrity which hath been preſumed on in him. Simoniacal corruption I may not for honors ſake ſuſpect to be amongſt men of ſo great place. So often they do not, I truſt, offend by ſale; as by unadviſed gift of ſuch preferments, wherein that ancient Canon ſhould ſpecially be remembred, which forbiddeth a Biſhop to be led by humane affection, in beſtowing the things of God. A fault no where ſo hurtful, as in beſtowing places of jurisdiction, and in furniſhing Cathedral Churches, the Prebendaries and other Dignities whereof are the very true ſucceſſors of thoſe ancient Presbyters which were at the firſt as Counſellers unto Biſhops. A foul abuſe it is, that any one man ſhould be loaded as ſome are with Livings in this kind, yea ſome even of them who condemn utterly the granting of any two Benefices unto the ſame man, whereas the other is in truth a matter of far greater ſequel, as experience would ſoon ſhew, if Churches Cathedral being furniſhed with the reſidence of a competent number of vertuous, grave, wiſe and learned Divines, the reſt of the Prebends of every ſuch Church were given within the Dioceſs unto men of worthieſt deſert, for their better encouragement unto induſtry and travel; unleſs it ſeem alſo convenient to extend the benefit of them unto the learned in Univerſities, and men of ſpecial imployment otherwiſe in the affairs of the Church of God. But howſoever, ſurely with the publick good of the Church it will hardly ſtand, that in any one perſon ſuch favours be more multiplied, then law permitteth, in thoſe Livings which are with Cure. Can. Apoſt. 75

Touching Biſhops Viſitations, the firſt inſtitution of them was profitable, to the end that the ſtate and condition of Churches being known, there might be for evils growing convenient remedies provided in due time. The obſervation of Church Laws, the correction of faults in the ſervice of God and manners of men, theſe are things that viſitors ſhould ſeek. When theſe things are inquired of formally, and but for cuſtom ſake, fees and penſions being the only thing which is ſought, and little elſe done by Viſitations; we are not to marvel if the baſeneſs of the end doth make the action it ſelf loathſom. The good which Biſhops may do not only by theſe Viſitations belonging ordinarily to their Office, but alſo in reſpect of that power which the Founders of Colledges have given them of ſpecial truſt, charging even fearfully their conſciences therewith: the good I ſay which they might do by this their authority, both within their own Dioceſs, and in the well-ſprings themſelves, the Univerſities, is plainly ſuch as cannot chuſe but add weight to their heavy accounts in that dreadful Day, if they do it not.

In their Courts where nothing but ſingular integrity and Juſtice ſhould prevail, if palpable and groſs corruptions be found, by reaſon of Offices ſo often granted unto men who ſeek nothing but their own gain, and make no account what diſgrace doth grow by their unjuſt dealings unto them under whom they deal the evil hereof ſhall work more then they which procure it do perhaps imagine.

At the hands of a Biſhop the firſt thing looked for, is a care of the Clergy under him, a care that in doing good they may have whatſoever comforts and encouragements his countenance, authority, and place may yield. Otherwiſe what heart ſhall they have to proceed in their painful courſe, all ſorts of men beſides being ſo ready to malign, deſpiſe, and every way oppreſs them? Let them find nothing but diſdain in Biſhops; in the enemies of preſent Government, if that way they liſt to betake themſelves, all kind of favourable and friendly help; unto which part think we it likely that men having wit, courage, and ſtomack will incline?

As great a fault is the want of ſeverity when need requireth, as of kindneſs and courteſie in Biſhops. But touching this, what with ill uſage of their powe amongſt the meaner and what with diſuage amongſt the higher ſort, they are in the eyes of both ſorts as Bees have loſt their ſting. It is a long time ſithence any great one hath felt, or almoſt any

one much feared the edge of that Ecclesiastical severity, which sometime held Lords and Dukes in a more religious aw then now the meanest are able to be kept.

A Bishop, in whom there did plainly appear the marks and tokens of a fatherly affection towards them are under his charge, what good might he do ten thousand ways more then any man knows how to set down? But the souls of men are not loved; that which Christ shed his blood for, is not esteemed precious. This is the very root, the fountain of all negligence in Church-Government.

Most wretched are the terms of mens estate when once they are at a point of wrechlesness so extream, that thy bend not their wits any further than only to shift out the present time, never regarding what shall become of their Successors after them. Had our Predecessors so loosely cast off from them all care and respect to posterity, a Church Christian there had not been, about the regiment whereof we should need at this day to strive. It was the barbarous affection of *Nero*, that the ruine of his own Imperial Seat he could have been well enough contented to see, in case he might also have seen it accompanied with the fall of the whole World: An affection not more intolerable then theirs, who care not to overthrow all posterity, so they may purchase a few days of Ignominious safety unto themselves, and their present estates; if it may be termed a safety which tendeth so fast unto their very overthrow, that are the Purchasers of it in so vile and base manner.

Men whom it standeth upon to uphold a reverend estimation of themselves in the minds of others, without which the very best things they do are hardly able to escape disgrace, must before it be over-late remember how much easier it is to retain credit once gotten, then to recover it being lost. The Executors of Bishops are sued if their Mansion-house be suffered to go to decay: But whom shall their Successors sue for the dilapidations which they make of that Credit, the unrepaired diminutions whereof will in time bring to pass, that they which would most do good in that calling, shall not be able; by reason of prejudice generally setled in the minds of all sorts against them. By what means their estimation hath hitherto decayed, it is no hard thing to discern. *Herod* and *Archelaus* are noted to have sought out purposely the dullest and most ignoble that could be found amongst the people, preferring such to the High-Priests Office, thereby to abate the great opinion which the multitude had of that Order, and to procure a more expedite course for their own wicked Counsels, whereunto they saw the High-Priests were no small impediment, as long as the common sort did much depend upon them. It may be, there hath been partly some show and just suspition of like practice in some, in procuring the undeserved preferments of some unworthy persons, the very cause of whose advancement hath been principally their unworthiness to be advanced. But neither could this be done altogether without the inexcusable fault of some preferred before, and so oft we cannot imagine it to have been done, that either onely or chiefly from thence this decay of their estimation may be thought to grow. Somewhat it is that the malice of their cunning Adversaries, but much more which themselves have effected against themselves. A Bishops estimation doth grow from the excellency of vertues suitable unto his place. Unto the place of a Bishop those high Divine Vertues are judged suitable, which vertues being not easily found in other sorts of great men, do make him appear so much the greater in whom they are found.

Egisip. l. 2. c. 1.

Devotion, and the feeling sense of Religion are not usual in the noblest, wisest, and chiefest Personages of State, by reason their wits are so much imployed another way, and their mindes so seldom conversant in heavenly things. If therefore wherein themselves are defective, they see that Bishops do blessedly excel, it frameth secretly their hearts to a stooping kinde of disposition, clean opposite to contempt: The very countenance of *Moses* was glorious after that God had conferred with him. And where Bishops are the powers and faculties of whose souls God hath possest, those very actions, the kind whereof is common unto them with other men, have notwithstanding in them a more high and heavenly form, which draweth correspondent estimation unto it, by vertue of that celestial impression, which deep meditation of holy things, and as it were conversation with God doth leave in their mindes. So that Bishops which will be esteemed of as they ought, must frame themselves to that very pattern from whence those *Asian* Bishops unto whom St. *John* writeth were denominated, even so far forth as this our frailty will permit; shine they must as Angels of God in the midst of perverse men. They are not to look that the world should always

always carry the affection of *Constantine*, to bury that which might derogate from them, and to cover their imbecillities. More then high time it is, that they bethink themselves of the Apostles admonition; *Attende tibi*, *Have a vigilant eye to thy self.* They erre if they do not perswade themselves that whersoever they walk or sit, be it in their Churches or in their Consistories, abroad or at home, at their Tables or in their Closets, they are in the midst of snares laid for them: Wherefore as they are with the Prophet every one of them to make it their hourly prayer unto God, *Lead me, O Lord, in thy righteousness, because of enemies*; so it is not safe for them, no not for a moment to slacken their industry in seeking every way that estimation which may further their labours unto the Churches good. Absurdity, tho ugh but in words, must needs be this way a maim, where nothing but wisdom, gravity, and judgement is looked for. That which the son of *Syrach* hath concerning the Writings of the old Sages, *Wise sentences are found in them*; should be the proper mark and character of Bishops speeches; whose lips, as doors, are not to be opened, but for egress of instruction and sound knowledge. If base servility and dejection of minde be ever espied in them, how should men esteem them as worthy the rooms of the great Ambassadors of God? A wretched desire to gain by bad and unseemly means, standeth not with a mean mans credit, much less with that reputation which Fathers of the Church should be in. But if besides all this, there be also coldness in works of Piety and Charity, utter contempt even of Learning it self, no care to further it by any such helps as they easily might and ought to afford, no not as much as that due respect unto their very Families about them, which all men that are of account do order as neer as they can in such sort, that no grievous offensive deformity be therein noted; if there still continue in that most Reverend Order, such as by so many Engines, work day and night to pull down the whole frame of their own estimation amongst men; some of the rest secretly also permitting others their industrious opposites, every day more and more to seduce the multitude, how should the Church of God hope for great good at their hands?

What we have spoken concerning these things, let not malicious accusers think themselves therewith justified: no more then *Shimei* was by his Soveraigns most humble and meek acknowledgment even of that very crime which so impudent a Caitiffs tongue upbraided him withal; the one in the virulent rancour of a canckred affection, took that delight for the present, which in the end did turn to his own more tormenting wo; the other in the contrite patience even of deserved malediction, had yet this comfort, *It may be the Lord will look on mine affliction, and do me good for his cursing this day.* As for us over whom Christ hath placed them to be the chiefest Guides and Pastors of our souls, our common fault is, that we look for much more in our Governors then a tolerable sufficiency can yield, and bear much less, then Humanity and Reason do require we should. Too much perfection over rigorously exacted in them, cannot but breed in us perpetual discontentment, and on both parts cause all things to be unpleasant. It is exceedingly worth the noting, which *Plato* hath about the means whereby men fall into an utter dislike of all men with whom they converse: *This sowreness of minde which maketh every mans dealings unsavoury in our taste, entereth by an unskilful over-weening, which at the first we have of one, and so of another, in whom we afterwards find our selves to have been deceived; they declaring themselves in the end to be frail men, whom we judged demi-gods: When we have oftentimes been thus beguiled, and that far besides expectation, we grow at the length to this plain conclusion, That there is nothing at all sound in any man. Which bitter conceit is unseemly, and plain to have risen from lack of mature judgment in humane affairs; which if so be we did handle with art, we would not enter into dealings with men, otherwise then being beforehand grounded in this perswasion, that the number of persons notably good or bad, is but very small; that the most part of good have some evil, and of evil men, some good in them.* So true our experience doth find those Aphorisms of *Mercurius Trismegistus*, Ἀδυνατὸν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐνθάδε καθαρεύειν τῶν κακῶν, To purge gooddness quite and clean from all mixture of evil here, is a thing impossible. Again, Τὸ μὴ λίαν κακὸν ἐν τῷδε τῷ ἀγαθὸν ἔστι, When in this World we term a thing good, we cannot by exact construction have any other true meaning, then that the said thing so termed, is not noted to be a thing exceeding evil. And again, Μόνον ὦ Ἀσκληπιὲ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποις, τοῦ ἔργου οὐδαμοῦ, Amongst men, O *Esculapius*, The name of that which is good we finde, but no where the very true thing it self. When we censure the deeds and dealings of our Superiors, to bring with us a fore-conceit thus qualified, shall be as well on our part as theirs, a thing available

2. Sam. 16 12.

Plat. in Phæd.

M. Tris. in Pimandro. dial. 6.

availeable unto quietneſs: But howſoever the caſe doth ſtand with mens either good or bad quality, the verdict which our Lord and Saviour hath given, ſhould continue for ever ſure, *Quæ Dei ſunt, Deo*, let men bear the burthen of their own iniquity, as for thoſe things which are Gods, let not God be deprived of them. For if only to withhold that which ſhould be given, be no better then to rob God? if to withdraw any mite of that which is but in purpoſe only bequeathed, though as yet undelivered into the ſacred treaſure of God, be a Sin for which *Ananias* and *Sapphyra* felt ſo heavily the dreadful hand of Divine revenge; quite and clean to take that away which we never gave, and that after God hath for ſo many ages therewith been poſſeſſed, and that without any other ſhew of cauſe, ſaving only that it ſeemeth in their eyes who ſeek it, to be too much for them which have it in their hands, can we term it, or think it, leſs then moſt impious injuſtice, moſt hainous ſacriledge? Such was the Religious affection of *Joſeph*, that it ſuffered him not to take that advantage, no not againſt the very Idolatrous Prieſts of *Egypt*, which he took for the purchaſing of other mens lands to the King; but he conſidered, that albeit their Idolatry deſerved hatred, yet for the honors ſake due unto Prieſthood, better it was the King himſelf ſhould yield them relief in publique extremity, then permit that the ſame neceſſity ſhould conſtrain alſo them to do as the reſt of the people did. But, it may be, men have now found out, that God hath propoſed the Chriſtian Clergy, as a prey for all men freely to ſeize upon; that God hath left them as the fiſhes of the Sea, which every man that liſteth to gather into his net may; or that there is no God in Heaven to pity them, and to regard the injuries which man doth lay upon them: Yet the publique good of this Church and Commonwealth doth, I hope, weigh ſomewhat in the hearts of all honeſtly diſpoſed men. Unto the publique good, no one thing is more directly availeable, then that ſuch as are in place, whether it be of Civil, or of Eccleſiaſtical Authority, be ſo much the more largely furniſhed even with external helps and ornaments of this life, how much the more highly they are in power and calling advanced above others. For nature is not contented with bare ſufficiency unto the ſuſtenance of man, but doth evermore covet a decency proportionable unto the place which man hath in the body or ſociety of others: For according unto the greatneſs of mens calling, the meaſure of all their actions doth grow in every mans ſecret expectation, ſo that great men do always know, that great things are at their hands expected. In a Biſhop great liberality, great hoſpitality, actions in every kinde great are looked for: And for actions which muſt be great, mean inſtruments will not ſerve. Men are but men, what room ſoever amongſt men they hold: If therefore the meaſure of their Worldly habilities be beneath that proportion which their calling doth make to be looked for at their hands, a ſtronger inducement it is then perhaps men are aware of, unto evil and corrupt dealings, for ſupply of that defect. For which cauſe, we muſt needs think it a thing neceſſary unto the common good of the Church, that great Juriſdiction being granted unto Biſhops over others, a ſtate of wealth proportionable ſhould likewiſe be provided for them: where wealth is had in ſo great admiration, as generally in this golden age it is, that without it Angelical perfections are not able to deliver from extreme contempt, ſurely to make Biſhops poorer then they are, were to make them of leſs account and eſtimation then they ſhould be. Wherefore if detriment and diſhonor do grow to Religion, to God, to his Church, when the publique account which is made of the chief of the Clergy decayeth, how ſhould it be, but in this reſpect, for the good of Religion, of God, of his Church, that the wealth of Biſhops be carefully preſerved from further diminution? The travels and croſſes wherewith Prelacy is never unaccompanied, they which feel them know how heavy, and how great they are. Unleſs ſuch difficulties therefore, annexed unto that eſtate, be tempered by co-annexing thereunto things eſteemed of in this World, how ſhould we hope that the minds of men, ſhunning naturally the burthens of each function, will be drawn to undertake the burthen of Epiſcopal care and labour in the Church of Chriſt? Wherefore if long we deſire to enjoy the peace, quietneſs, order and ſtability of Religion, which Prelacy (as hath been declared) cauſeth, then muſt we neceſſarily, even in favour of the publiqne good, uphold thoſe things, the hope whereof being taken away, it is not the meer goodneſs of the charge, and the Divine acceptation thereof, that will be able to invite

Mal. 3. 8. Acts 5. 2.

Gen. 47. 22.

many

many thereunto. What shall become of that Commonwealth or Church in the end, which hath not the eye of Learning to beautifie, guide, and direct it? At the length, what shall become of that Learning, which hath not wherewith any more to encourage her industrious followers? And finally, what shall become of that courage to follow learning, which hath already so much failed through the onely diminution of her chiefest rewards, Bishopricks? Surely, whersoever this wicked intendment of overthrowing Cathedral Churches, or of taking away those Livings, Lands, and Possessions, which Bishops hitherto have enjoyed, shall once prevail, the hand maids attending thereupon will be Paganism, and extreme Barbarity. In the Law of *Moses*, how careful provision is made that goods of this kind might remain to the Church for ever: *Ye shall not make common the holy things of the children of Israel, lest ye dye, saith the Lord.* Touching the fields annexed unto Levitical Cities, the Law was plain, they might not be sold; and the reason of the Law, this, *for it was their possession for ever.* He which was Lord and owner of it, his will and pleasure was, that from the Levites it should never pass, to be enjoyned by any other. The Lords own portion, without his own Commission and Grant, how should any man justly hold? They which hold it by his appointment, had it plainly with this condition, *They shall not sell of it, neither change it, nor alienate the first-fruits of the Land; for it is holy unto the Lord.* It falleth sometimes out, as the Prophet *Habbakkuk* noteth, that the very *prey of Savage Beasts becometh dreadful unto themselves.* It did so in *Judas*, *Achan*, *Nebuchadnezzar*; their evil-purchased goods were their snare, and their prey their own terror: A thing no where so likely to follow, as in those goods and possessions, which being laid where they should not rest, have by the Lords own testimony, his most bitter curse, their undividable companion. These perswasions we use for other mens cause, not for theirs with whom God and Religion are parts of the abrogated Law of Ceremonies. Wherefore not to continue longer in the cure of a Sore desperate, there was a time when the Clergy had almost as little as these good people wish. But the Kings of this Realm and others, whom God had blest, considered devoutly with themselves, as *David* in like case sometimes had done, *Is it meet that we at the hands of God should enjoy all kindes of abundance, and Gods Clergy suffer want?* They considered that of *Solomon*, *Honor God with thy substance, and the chiefest of all thy revenue; so shall thy barns be filled with corn, and thy vessels shall run over with new wine.* They considered how the care which *Jehoshaphat* had, in providing that the Levites might have encouragement to do the work of the Lord chearfully, was left of God as a fit pattern to be followed in the Church for ever. They considered what promise our Lord and Saviour hath made unto them, at whose hands his Prophets should receive but the least part of the meanest kind of friendlines, though it were but a draught of water: Which promise seemeth not to be taken, as if Christ had made them of any higher courtesie uncapable, and had promised reward not unto such as give them but that, but unto such as leave them but that. They considered how earnest the Apostle is, that if the Ministers of the Law were so amply provided for, less care then ought not to be had of them, who under the Gospel of Jesus Christ, possess correspondent rooms in the Church. They considered how needful it is, that they who provoke all others unto works of Mercy and Charity, should especially have wherewith to be examples of such things, and by such meons to win them, with whom other means, without those, do commonly take very small effect.

Numb. 18. 32. Levit. 25. Ezek. 46. 8. Habak. 2. 17. Mal. 3. 9. Prov. 3. 9. 2. Chron. 9. chap. 19.

In these and the like considerations, the Church-Revenues were in ancient times augmented, our Lord thereby performing manifestly the promise made to his servants, that they which did *leave either Father, or Mother, or Lands, or goods for his sake, should receive even in this World an hundred fold.* For some hundreds of years together, they which joyned themselves to the Church, were fain to relinquish all worldly emoluments, and to endure the hardnes of an afflicted estate. Afterward the Lord gave rest to his Church, Kings and Princes became as Fathers thereunto, the hearts of all men inclined towards it, and by his providence there grew unto it every day earthly possessions in more and more abundance, till the greatnes thereof bred envy, which no diminutions are able to satisfie: For, as those ancient Nursing

Fathers

Fathers thought they did never beſtow enough; even ſo in the eye of this preſent age as long as any thing remaineth, it ſeemeth to bee too much. Our Fathers we imitate *in perverſum*, as *Tertullian* ſpeaketh; like them we are, by being in equal degree the contrary unto that which they were. Unto thoſe earthly bleſſings which God as then did with ſo great abundance pour down upon the Eccleſiaſtical ſtate, we may in regard of moſt neer reſemblance, apply the ſelf ſame words which the Prophet hath, Pſa. 105. 4, 25 *God bleſſed them exceedingly; and, by this very mean, turned the hearts of their own Brethren to hate them, and to deal politiquely with his ſervants.* Computations are made, and there are huge ſums ſet down for Princes, to ſee how much they may amplifie and enlarge their own treaſure; how many publique burthens they may eaſe; what preſent means they have to reward their ſervants about them, if they pleaſe but to grant their aſſent, and to accept of the ſpoil of Biſhops, by whom Church-goods are but abuſed unto pomp and vanity. Thus albeit they deal with one, whoſe princely vertue giveth them ſmall hope to prevail in impious and ſacrilegious motions; yet ſhame they not to move her Royal Majeſty even with a ſuit not much unlike unto that wherewith the Jewiſh High-Prieſt tried *Judas*, whom they ſollicited unto Treaſon againſt his Maſter and propoſed unto him a number of ſilver-pence in lieu of ſo vertuous and honeſt a ſervice. But her ſacred Majeſty diſpoſed to be always like her ſelf, her heart ſo far eſtranged from willingneſs to gain by pillage of that eſtate, the only awe whereof under God ſhe hath been unto this preſent hour as of all other parts of this noble Commonwealth whereof ſhe hath vowed her ſelf a Protector till the end of her days on earth, which, if nature could permit, we wiſh, as good cauſe we have, endleſs: this her gracious inclination is more then a ſeven times ſealed warrant, upon the ſame aſſurance whereof touching time and action, ſo diſhonourable as this, we are on her part moſt ſecure, not doubting but that unto all poſterity, it ſhall for ever appear, that from the firſt to the very laſt of her Soveraign proceedings, there hath not been one authorized deed, other then conſonant with that *Symmachus* ſaith, *Fiſcus bonorum Principum, non ſacerdotum damnis ſed hoſtium ſpoliis augeatur*; conſonant with that imperial law, *Lib. 10. Ep. 54. DDD. Valent Theodoſ. & Archad.* *Ea quæ ad beatiſſimæ eccleſiæ jura pertinent, tanquam ipſam ſacroſanctam & religioſam Eccleſiam intacta convenit venerabiliter cuſtodiri; ut ſicut ipſa religionis & fidei mater perpetua eſt, ita ejus patrimonium jugiter ſervetur illæſum.* As for the caſe of publique burthens, let any polititian living, make it appear, that by confiſcation of Biſhops livings, and their utter diſſolution at once, the Common-wealth ſhall ever have half that relief and eaſe which it receiveth by their continuance as now they are, and it ſhall give us ſome cauſe to think, that albeit we ſee they are impiouſly and irreligiouſly minded, yet we may eſteem them at leaſt to be tolerable Common-wealths-men. But the caſe is too clear and manifeſt, the World doth but too plainly ſee it, that no one Order of ſubjects whatſoever within this Land doth bear the ſeventh part of that proportion which the Clergy beareth in the burthens of the Commonwealth; No revenue of the Crown like unto it, either for certainty or for greatneſs. Let the good which this way hath grown to the Common-wealth by the diſſolution of religious houſes, teach men what eaſe unto publique burthens there is like to grow, by the overthrow of the Clergy. My meaning is not hereby to make the ſtate of Biſhopricks, and of thoſe diſſolved Companies alike, the one no leſs unlawful to be removed then the other. For thoſe Religious perſons were men which followed only a ſpecial kind of Contemplative life in the Commonwealth, they were properly no portion of Gods Clergy (only ſuch amongſt them excepted, as were alſo Prieſts) their goods (that excepted, which they unjuſtly held through the Popes uſurped power of appropriating Eccleſiaſtical livings unto them) may in part ſeem to be of the nature of Civil poſſeſſions, held by other kinds of Corporations ſuch as the City of *London* hath divers. Wherefore, as their inſtitution was human, and their end for the moſt part ſuperſtitious, they had not therein meerly that holy and divine intereſt which belongeth unto Biſhops, who being imployed by Chriſt in the principal ſervice of his Church, are receivers and diſpoſers of his patrimony, as hath been ſhowed, which whoſoever ſhall with-hold or with-draw at any time from them, he undoubtedly robbeth God himſelf. If they abuſe the goods of the Church unto pomp and vanity, ſuch faults we do not excuſe in them, Only we wiſh it to be conſidered whether ſuch faults be verily in them, or elſe but objected againſt them by

L. 14 C. de ſacroſ. eccleſ.

ſuch,

such as gape after spoil; and therefore are no competent judges what is moderate and what excessive in them, whom under this pretence they would spoil. But the accusation may be just, In plenty and fulness it may be we are of God more forgetful then were requisite. Notwithstanding men should remember how not to the Clergy alone it was said by *Moses* in *Deuteronomy*, *Ne cum manducaveris & biberis & domos optimas ædificaveris:* If the remedy prescribed for this disease be good, let it unpartially be applied. *Interest Reip. ut re sua* QUIS QUE *bene utatur.* Let all states be put to their moderate pensions, let their livings and lands be taken away from them whosoever they be, in whom such ample possessions are found to have been matters of grievous abuse: Were this just? would Noble Families think this reasonable? The Title which Bishops have to their livings is as good as the title of any sort of men unto whatsoever we accompt to be most justly held by them; yea, in this one thing, the claim of *B. B.* hath preheminence above all secular Titles of right, in that Gods own interest is the tenure whereby they hold, even as also it was to the Priests of the Law an assurance of their spiritual goods and possessions, whereupon though they many times abused greatly the goods of the Church, yet was not Gods patrimony therefore taken away from them, and made saleable unto other Tribes. To rob God, to ransack the Church, to overthrow the whole Order of Christian Bishops, and to turn them out of Land and Living, out of House and Home, what man of common honesty can think it for any manner of abuse to be a remedy lawful or just? We must confess that God is righteous in taking away that which men abuse: But doth that excuse the violence of Thieves and Robbers? Complain we will not, with S. *Jerom*, *that the hands of men are so straightly tyed, and their liberal minds so much bridled and held back from doing good by augmentation of the Church-Patrimony.* For we confess that herein mediocrity may be and hath been sometime exceeded. There did want heretofore a *Moses* to temper mens liberality, to say unto them who enriched the Church, *Sufficit*, Stay your hands lest fervour of zeal do cause you to empty your selves too far. It may be the largeness of mens hearts being then more moderate, had been after more dureable; and one state by too much over-growing the rest, had not given occasion unto the rest to undermine it. That evil is now sufficiently cured: the Church treasury, if then it were over-ful, hath since been reasonable well emptyed. That which *Moses* spake unto givers, we must now inculcate unto takers away from the Church, Let there be some stay, some stint in spoiling. [b] If *Grape-gatherers came unto them*, saith the Prophet, *would they not leave some remnant behind?* But it hath fared with the wealth of the Church as with a Tower which being built at the first with the highest, overthroweth it self after by its own greatness; neither doth the ruine thereof cease, with the only fall of that, which hath exceeded mediocrity, but one part beareth down another, till the whole be laid prostrate. For although the state Ecclesiastical, both others and even Bishops themselves, be now fallen to so low an ebb, as all the World at this day doth see; yet because there remaineth still somewhat which unsatiable minds can thirst for, therefore we seem not to have been hitherto sufficiently wronged. Touching that which hath been taken from the Church in Appropriations known to amount to the value of one hundred twenty six thousand pounds yearly, we rest contentedly, and quietly without it, till it shall please God to touch the hearts of men, of their own voluntary accord to restore it to Him again; judging thereof no otherwise then some others did of those goods which were by *Sylla* taken away from the Citizens of *Rome*, that albeit they were in truth *malè capta*, unconscionably taken away from the right owners at the first, nevertheless seeing that such as were after possessed of them held them not without some title, which Law did after a sort make good, *repetitio eorum proculdubio labefactabat compositam civitatem*; what hath been taken away as dedicated unto uses superstitious, and consequently not given unto God, or at the least-wise not so rightly given, we repine not thereat. That which hath gone by means secret and indirect, through corrupt compositions or compacts we cannot help. What the hardness of mens hearts doth make them loath to have exacted, though being due by Law even thereof the want we do also bear. Out of that which after all these Deductions cometh clearly unto our hands, I hope it will not be said that towards the publique charge, we disburse nothing. And, doth the residue seem yet excessive? The ways whereby temporal men provide for themselves and their Families, are fore-closed unto

[a] Pudet dicere, sacerdotes idolorum, aurigæ, mimi & scorta hæreditates capiunt, soris clericis & monachis. i. l lege prohibetur & prohibetur non à persecutoribus sed Principibus Christianis. Nec de lege conqueror sed doleo quod meruerimus hanc legem. Ad Nepot. 7.

[b] *Obad.* vers. 5

Flor. lib. 3. c. 13.

us. All that we have to ſuſtain our miſerable life with, is but a remnant of God's own treaſure, ſo farr already diminiſhed and clipt, that if there were any ſenſe of common humanity left in this hard-hearted World, the impoveriſhed eſtate of the Clergy of God, would at the length even of very commiſeration be ſpared. The mean Gentleman that hath but an hundred pound Land to live on, would not be haſty to change his Worldly eſtate and condition with many of theſe ſo over-abounding Prelates; a common Artiſan or Tradeſman of the City, with ordinary Paſtors of the Church. It is our hard and heavy lot that, no other ſort of men being grudged at how little benefit ſoever the Publick Weal reap by them, no ſtate complained of for holding that which hath grown unto them by lawful means; only the Governors of our Souls, they that ſtudy day and night ſo to guide us, that both in this World we may have comfort and in the World to come endleſs felicity and joy, (for even ſuch is the very ſcope of all their endeavours; this they wiſh, for this they labour, how hardly ſoever we uſe to conſtrue of their intents;) hard, that only they ſhould be thus continually lifted at for poſſeſſing but that whereunto they have by Law both of God and man moſt juſt Title. If there ſhould be no other remedy but that the violence of men, in the end muſt needs bereave them of all ſuccour, further than the inclinations of others ſhall vouchſafe to caſt upon them, as it were by way of Alms for their relief but from hour to hour; better they are not than their Fathers, who have been contented with as hard a portion at the World's hands: let the light of the Sun and Moon, the common benefit of Heaven and Earth be taken away from *B B.* if the Queſtion were, Whether God ſhould loſe his glory, and the ſafety of his Church be hazarded, or they relinquiſh the right and intereſt which they have in the things of this World. But ſith the Queſtion in truth is, Whether *Levi* ſhall be deprived of the portion of God or no, to the end that *Simeon* or *Reuben* may devour it as their ſpoyl, the comfort of the one in ſuſtaining the injuries which the other would offer, muſt be that Prayer powred out by *Moſes* the Prince of Prophets, in moſt tender affection to *Levi*, *Bleſs O Lord his ſubſtance, accept*
Deut. 33. 10, 11. *thou the work of his hands; ſmite through the loyns of them that riſe up againſt him, and of them which hate him, that they riſe no more.*

OF

OF THE

LAWS

OF

Ecclesiastical Polity.

Book VIII.

Containing their Seventh Assertion, That to no Civil Prince or Governor, there may be given such power of Ecclesiastical Dominion, as by the Laws of this Land belongeth unto the Supreme Regent thereof.

WE come now to the last thing whereof there is Controversie moved namely, *The Power of Supreme Jurisdiction*, which for distinction sake we call, *The Power of Ecclesiastical dominion*. It was not thought fit in the *Jews Commonwealth*, that the exercise of *Supremacy Ecclesiastical* should be denied unto him, to whom the exercise of *Chiefty Civil* did appertain; and therefore their Kings were invested with both. This power they gave unto *Simon*, when they consented that he should be their Prince, not only to set men over their Works, and Countrey, and Weapons, but also to provide for the Holy things; and that he should be obeyed of every man, and that the Writings of the Country should be made in his name, and that it should not be lawful for any of the people, or Priests, to withstand his words, or to call any Congregation in the Country without him. And if haply it be surmised, that thus much was given to *Simon*, as being both Prince and High-Priest; which otherwise (being their *Civil Governor*) he could not lawfully have enjoyed; We must note, that all this is no more then the ancient Kings of that People had, being Kings, and not Priests. By this power, *David*, *Asa*, *Jehoshaphat*, *Josias*, and the rest, made those Laws and Orders which sacred History speaketh of, concerning matters of meer Religion, the affairs of the Temple, and service of God. Finally, had it not been by the vertue of this power, how should it possibly have come to pass, that the piety or impiety of the Kings did always accordingly change the publique face of Religion, which things the Prophets by themselves never did, nor at any time could hinder from being done: Had the Priests alone been possest of all power in spiritual affairs, how should any thing concerning matter of Religion have been made but only by them; in them it had been, & not in the King, to change the face of religion at any time; the altering of religion, the making of Ecclesiastical Laws, with other the like actions belonging unto the power of Dominion, are still termed *the deeds of the King*; to shew, that in him was placed the supremacy of power in this kinde over all,

Maccab. 14.

and that unto their Prieſts the ſame was never committed, ſaving only at ſuch times as the Prieſts were alſo Kings and Princes over them. According to the pattern of which example, the like power in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical is by the Laws of this Realm annexed unto the Crown; and there are which do imagine, that Kings being meer Lay-perſons, do by this means exceed the lawful bounds of their callings; which thing to the end that they may perſwade, they firſt make a neceſſary ſeparation perpetual and perſonal between *the Church* and *the Common-wealth*. Secondly, they ſo tie all kind of *power Eccleſiaſtical* unto the Church, as if it were in every degree their only right, who are by proper ſpiritual functions termed Church-Governours, and might not unto Chriſtian Princes in any wiſe appertain. To lurk under ſhifting ambiguities, and equivocations of words in matter of principal weight, is childiſh. A Church and a Common-wealth, we grant, are things in nature one diſtinguiſhed from the other: a Common-wealth is one way, and a Church an other way defined. In their opinions the Church and Common-wealth are corporations, not diſtinguiſhed only in nature and definition, but in ſubſtance perpetually ſevered: ſo that they which are of the one, can neither appoint, nor execute, in whole nor in part, the duties which belong to them which are of the other, without open breach of the Law of God which hath divided them; and doth require, that ſo being divided, they ſhould diſtinctly or ſeverally work, as depending both upon God, and not hanging one upon the others approbation. For that which either hath to do, we ſay that the care of Religion being common to all ſocieties Politique, ſuch ſocieties as do embrace the true Religion have the name of the Church given unto every one of them for diſtinction from the reſt; ſo that every body Politique hath ſome Religion, but the Church that Religion which is only true. Truth of Religion is the proper difference whereby a Church is diſtinguiſhed from other Politique ſocieties of men; we here mean true Religion in groſs, and not according to every particular: for they which in ſome particular points of Religion do ſever from the truth, may nevertheleſs truly (if we compare them to men of an heatheniſh Religion) be ſaid to hold and profeſs that Religion which is true, For which cauſe there being of old ſo many Politique ſocieties ſtabliſhed through the world, only the Common-wealth of Iſrael, which had the truth of Religion, was in that reſpect the Church of God: and the Church of Jeſus Chriſt is every ſuch Politique ſociety of men, as doth in Religion hold that truth which is proper to Chriſtianity. As a Politiqne ſociety it doth maintain Religion, as a Church, that Religion which God hath revealed by Jeſus Chriſt: with us, therefore, the name of a Church importeth onely a ſociety of men, firſt united into ſome publique form of Regiment, and ſecondly diſtinguiſhed from other ſocieties by the exerciſe of Religion, With them on the other ſide, the name of the Church in this preſent queſtion, importeth not only a multitude of men ſo united, and ſo diſtinguiſhed, but alſo further, the ſame divided neceſſarily and perpetually from the body of the Common-wealth: ſo that even in ſuch a Politique ſociety as conſiſteth of none but Chriſtians, yet the Church and Common-wealth are too Corporations, independently ſubſiſting by it ſelf.

We hold that ſeeing there is not any man of the Church of *England* but the ſame man is alſo a member of the Common-wealth; nor any, member of the Common-wealth, which is not alſo of the Church of *England*. Therefore as in a figure Triangle, the baſe doth differ from the ſides thereof, and yet one and the ſelf ſame line is both a baſe and alſo a ſide; a ſide ſimply, a baſe if it chance to be the bottom and under-ly the reſt. So albeit, properties and actions of one do cauſe the name of a Common-wealth; qualities and functions of another ſort, the name of the Church to be given to a multitude; yet one and the ſelf-ſame multitude may in ſuch ſort be both. Nay, it is ſo with us, that no perſon appertaining to the one, can be denied alſo to be of the other: contrariwiſe, unleſs they againſt us ſhould hold that the Church and the Common-wealth are two, both diſtinct and ſeparate ſocieties; of which two, one comprehendeth alwayes perſons not belonging to the other, (that which they do) they could not conclude out of the difference between the Church and the Common-wealth, namely that the Biſhops may not meddle with the affairs of the Common-wealth, becauſe they are Governours of an other Corporation, which is the Church; nor Kings, with making Lawes for the Church, becauſe they have

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government not of this Corporation, but of another divided from it; the Common-wealth and the walls of ſeparation between theſe two, muſt for ever be upheld: they hold the neceſſity of perſonal ſeparation which clean excludeth the power of one mans dealing with both; we of natural, but that one and the ſame perſon may in both bear principal ſway.

The cauſes of common received Errors in this Point ſeem to have been eſpecially two: One, That they who embrace true Religion, living in ſuch Common-wealths as are oppoſite thereunto; and in other publike affairs, retaining civil Communion with ſuch as are conſtrained for the exerciſe of their Religion, to have a ſeveral Communion with thoſe who are of the ſame Religion with them. This was the ſtate of the Jewiſh Church both in *Egypt* and *Babylon*, the ſtate of Chriſtian Churches a long time after Chriſt. And in this caſe, becauſe the proper affairs and actions of the Church, as it is the Church, hath no dependance on the Laws, or upon the Government of the civil State; an opinion hath thereby grown, that even ſo it ſhould be always: This was it which deceived *Allen* in the writing of his Apology: *The Apoſtles* (ſaith he) *did govern the Church in* Rome, *when* Nero *bare rule, even as at this day in all the Churches dominions: The Church hath a ſpiritual Regiment without dependance, and ſo ought ſhe to have amongſt Heathens, or with Chriſtians.* Another occaſion of which miſ-conceit is, That things appertaining to Religion are both diſtinguiſhed from other affairs, and have always had in the Church ſpiritual perſons choſen to be exerciſed about them. By which diſtinction of Spiritual affairs, and perſons therein employed from Temporal, the Error of perſonal ſeparation always neceſſary between the Church and Common-wealth hath ſtrengthened it ſelf. For of every Politick Society, that being true which *Ariſtotle* ſaith, namely, *That the ſcope thereof is not ſimply to live, nor the duty ſo much to provide for the life, as for means of living well:* And that even as the ſoul is the worthier part of man, ſo humane Societies are much more to care for that which tendeth properly to the ſouls eſtate, then for ſuch temporal things which the life hath need of. Other proof there needeth none to ſhew, that as by all men the Kingdom of God is to be ſought firſt, for ſo in all Common-wealths things ſpiritual ought above temporal to be ſought for; and of things ſpiritual, the chiefeſt is Religion. For this cauſe, perſons and things imployed peculiarly about the affairs of Religion, are by an excellency termed Spiritual. The Heathens themſelves had their ſpiritual Laws, and Cauſes, and Affairs, always ſevered from their temporal; neither did this make two Independent eſtates among them. God by revealing true Religion doth make them that receive it his Church. Unto the *Jews* he ſo revealed the truth of Religion, that he gave them in ſpecial Conſiderations, Laws, not only for the adminiſtration of things ſpiritual, but alſo temporal. The Lord himſelf appointing both the one and the other in that Common-wealth, did not thereby diſtract it into ſeveral independent Communities, but inſtitute ſeveral Functions of one and the ſelf-ſame Communitie: Some Reaſons therefore muſt there be alledged why it ſhould be otherwiſe in the Church of Chriſt.

Ariſt. pol. l. 3. cap. 16.

Maccab. 7.

Ariſt. pol. lib. 3 cap. 20.

Liv. lib. 1.

I ſhall not need to ſpend any great ſtore of words in anſwering that which is brought out of the Holy Scripture to ſhew that Secular and Eccleſiaſtical affairs and offices are diſtinguiſhed; neither that which hath been borrowed from antiquity, uſing by phraſe of ſpeech to oppoſe the Common-weal to the Church of Chriſt; neither yet their Reaſons which are wont to be brought forth as witneſſes, that the Church and Common-weal were always diſtinct: for whether a Church or Common-weal do differ, is not the queſtion we ſtrive for; but our controverſie is, concerning the kind of diſtinction, whereby they are ſevered the one from the other; whether as under heathen Kings the Church did deal with her own affairs within her ſelf, without depending at all upon any in Civil authority; and the Common-weal in hers, altogether without the privity of the Church: ſo it ought to continue ſtill even in ſuch Common-weals as have now publikely embraced the truth of Chriſtian Religion; whether they ought evermore to be two ſocieties in ſuch ſort, ſeveral and diſtinct: I ask therefore what ſociety was that in *Rome*, whereunto the Apoſtle did give the name of the Church of *Rome* in his time? If they anſwer (as needs they muſt) that the Church of *Rome* in thoſe dayes was that whole ſociety of men, which in *Rome* profeſſed the Name of Chriſt, and not that Religion which the Laws of the Common-weal did

Three kinds of their proofs are taken from the difference of affairs and offices.

did then authorize; we say as much, and therefore grant, that the Common-weal of *Rome* was one society, and the Church of *Rome* another, in such sort that there was between them no mutual dependance. But when whole *Rome* became Christian, when they all embraced the Gospel, and made Laws in defence thereof, if it be held that the Church and Common-weal of *Rome* did then remain as before; there is no way how this could be possible, save only one, and that is, They must restrain the name of a Church in a Christian Common-weal to the Clergy, excluding all the rest of believers both Prince and People; For if all that believe be contained in the name of the Church, how should the Church remain by personal subsistence divided from the Common-weal, when the whole Common-weal doth believe? The Church and the Common-weal are in this case therefore personally one Society, which Society being termed a Common-weal as it liveth under whatsoever Form of Secular Law and Regiment, a Church as it liveth under the spiritual Law of Christ; forsomuch as these two Laws contain so many and different Offices, there must of necessity be appointed in it some to one charge, and some to another, yet without dividing the whole, and making it two several impaled Societies.

1 Chron. 14. 8, 11. Hebr. 9. 1. *Allain*, lib. 31. p. 151.

The difference therefore either of Affairs or Offices Ecclesiastical from Secular, is no Argument that the Church and Common-weal are always separate and independent, the one on the other; which thing even *Allain* himself considering somewhat better, doth in this Point a little correct his former judgement before mentioned, and confesseth in his defence of English Catholicks, that the power Political hath her Princes, Laws, Tribunals; the Spiritual, her Prelates, Canons, Councels, Judgments, and those (when the Temporal Princes were Pagans) wholly separate; but in Christian Common-weals, joyned though not confounded: Howbeit afterwards his former sting appeareth again; for in a Common-wealth he holdeth, that the Church ought not to depend at all upon the authority of any civil person whatsoever, as in *England* he saith it doth.

2. Taken from the speeches of the Fathers opposing the one to the other.

Euseb. de vita Constan. lib. 3. *Aug. Epist.* 167.

It will be objected, that the Fathers do oftentimes mention the Common-weal and the Church of God, by way of opposition. Can the same thing be opposed to it self? If one and the same society be both Church and Common-wealth, what sense can there be in that Speech; *That they suffer and flourish together?* What sense is that which maketh one thing to be adjudged to the Church, and another to the Common-weal? Finally, in that which putteth a difference between the causes of the Province and the Church, doth it not hereby appear, that the Church and the Common-weal, are things evermore personally separate? No, it doth not hereby appear that there is not perpetually any such separation; we speak of them as two, we may sever the rights and the causes of the one well enough from the other, in regard of that difference which we grant is between them, albeit we make no personal difference. For the truth is, that the Church and the Common-wealth, are names which import things really different: but those things are accidents, and such accidents as may and always should lovingly dwell together in one subject. Wherefore the real difference between the accidents signified by these names, doth not prove different subjects for them always to reside in. For albeit the subjects wherein they be resident be sometimes different, as when the people of God have their residence among Infidels; yet the nature of them is not such, but that their subject may be one, and therefore it is but a changeable accident; in those accidents they are to be divers: There can be no Errour in our conceit concerning this Point, if we remember still what accident that is, for which a society hath the name of a Common-wealth, and what accident that which doth cause it to be termed a Church: A Common-wealth we name it simply in regard of some regiment or policy under which men live; a Church for the truth of that Religion which they profess: Now Names betokening accidents inabstracted, betoken not only the Accidents themselves, but also together with them Subjects whereunto they cleave. As when we name a School-master and a Physitian, those names do not only betoken two accidents, Teaching and Curing, but also some person or persons in whom those accidents are. For there is no impediment but both may be in one man, as well as they are for the most part in divers. The Common-weal and

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the Church therefore being ſuch names, they do not only betoken theſe Accidents of civil Government and Chriſtian Religion, which we have mentioned, but alſo together with them ſuch multitudes as are the ſubjects of thoſe accidents: Again, their nature being ſuch as they may well enough dwell together in one ſubject, it followeth that their names though always implying that difference of accidents that hath been ſet down; yet do not always imply different ſubjects alſo: When we oppoſe therefore the Church and the Common-wealth in Chriſtian Society, we mean by the Common-wealth that Society with relation to all the publike affairs thereof, only the matter of true Religion excepted; by the Church, the ſame Society with only reference unto the matter of true Religion, without any affairs; Beſides, when that Society, which is both a Church and a Common-wealth, doth flouriſh in thoſe things which belong unto it as a Common-wealth, we then ſay, The Common-wealth doth flouriſh; when in both them, we then ſay, The Church and Common-wealth do flouriſh together.

The Prophet *Eſay* to note corruptions in the Common-wealth complaineth, *That where juſtice and judgement had lodged, now were murtherers; Princes were become companions of Thieves, every one loved gifts, and rewards; but the fatherleſs was not judged, neither did the widows cauſe come before them.* To ſhew abuſes in the Church, *Malachy* doth make his complaint, *Ye offer unclean bread upon mine Altar. If ye offer the blind for ſacrifice, it is not evill as ye think; if the lame and the ſick, nothing is amiſs.* The treaſure which *David* beſtowed upon the Temple, did argue the love which he bore unto the Church: The pains which *Nehemiah* took for building the walls of the Citie, are tokens of his care for the Common-wealth. Cauſes of the Common-wealth, or Province, are ſuch as *Gallio* was content to be judge of. *If it were a matter of wrong, or an evill deed (O ye Jews) I would according to reaſon maintain you.* Cauſes of the Church, are ſuch as *Gallio* there reciteth; *if it be a queſtion of your Law, look ye to it, I will be no judge thereof:* In reſpect of this difference therefore the Church and the Common-wealth may in ſpeech be compared or oppoſed aptly enough the one to the other; yet this is no Argument, that they are two Independent Societies.

Iſai. 1. 21. Mal. 1. 8. 1 Chron. 29. 3. Nehem. 2. 17. Acts 18. 14.

Some other Reaſons there are which ſeem a little more neerly to make for the purpoſe, as long as they are but heard, and not ſifted: For what though a man being ſevered by Excommunication from the Church be not thereby deprived of freedom in the City, or being there diſcommoned, is not therefore forthwith excommunicated and excluded the Church? What though the Church be bound to receive them upon Repentance, whom the Common-weal may refuſe again to admit? If it chance the ſame man to be ſhut out of both, diviſion of the Church and Common-weal which they contend for, will very hardly hereupon follow: For we muſt note, that members of a Chriſtian Common-weal have a triple ſtate; a natural, a civil, and a ſpiritual: No mans natural eſtate is cut off otherwiſe then by that capital execution. After which, he that is none of the body of the Common-wealth, doth not I think remain fit in the body of that viſible Church. And concerning mans civil eſtate, the ſame is ſubject partly to inferiour abatements of liberty, and partly to diminution in the higheſt degree, ſuch as baniſhment is; ſith it caſteth out quite and clean from the body of the Common-weal, it muſt needs alſo conſequently caſt the baniſhed party even out of the very Church he was of before; becauſe that Church and the Common-weal he was of, were both one and the ſame Society; So that whatſoever doth utterly ſeparate a mans perſon from the one, it ſeparateth from the other alſo. As for ſuch abatements of civil eſtate as take away only ſome priviledge, dignity or other benefit, which a man enjoyeth in the Common-weal they reach only to our dealing with publike affairs, from which what may lett, but that men may be excluded, and thereunto reſtored again, without diminiſhing or augmenting the number of perſons, in whom either Church or Common-wealth conſiſteth. He that by way of puniſhment loſeth his voice in a publike election of Magiſtrates, ceaſeth not thereby to be a Citizen; A man diſ-franchiſed may notwithſtanding enjoy as a Subject the common benefit of Protection under Laws and Magiſtrates; ſo that theſe inferiour diminutions which touch men civilly, but neither do clean extinguiſh their eſtates, as they belong to the Common-wealth, nor impair a whit

3. Taken from the effect of puniſhment inflicted by the one or the other.

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their condition as they are of the Church of God; Theſe, I ſay, do clearly prove a difference of the one from the other, but ſuch a difference as maketh nothing for their ſurmiſe of diſtracted Societies.

And concerning Excommunication, it cutteth off indeed from the Church, and yet not from the Commonwealth; howbeit ſo, that the party Excommunicate is not thereby ſevered from one body which ſubſiſteth in it ſelf, and retained by another in like ſort ſubſiſting; but he which before had fellowſhip with that ſociety whereof he was a member, as well touching things ſpiritual as civil, is now by force of Excommunication, although not ſevered from the body in Civil affairs, nevertheleſs for the time cut off from it as touching Communion in thoſe things which belong to the ſame body as it is the Church: A man which having been both Excommunicated by the Church, and deprived of Civil dignity in the Common-wealth; is upon his repentance neceſſarily reunited into the one, but not of neceſſity into the other. What then? That which he is admitted unto, is a Communion in things Divine, whereof both parts are partakers; that from which he is withheld, is the benefit of ſome humane previledge, or right, which other Citizens happily enjoy. But are not theſe Saints and Citizens, one and the ſame people? are they not one and the ſame Society? Doth it hereby appear that the Church which received an Excommunicate, can have no dependency on any perſo which hath chief Authority and Power of theſe things in the Commonwealth whereunto the ſame party is not admitted. Wherefore to end this point, I conclude; Firſt, that under the dominions of Infidels, the Church of Chriſt, and their Common-wealth, were two Societies independent. Secondly, that in thoſe Common-wealths, where the Biſhop of *Rome* beareth ſway, one Society is both the Church and the Common-wealth: But the Biſhop of *Rome* doth divide the body into two divers bodies, and doth not ſuffer the Church to depend upon the power of any civil Prince and Potentate. Thirdly, that within this Realm of *England*, the caſe is neither as in the one, nor as in the other of the former two: but from the ſtate of Pagans we differ, in that with us one Society is both the Church and Common-wealth, which with them it was not; as alſo from the ſtate of thoſe Nations which ſubjected themſelves to the Biſhop of *Rome*, in that our Church hath dependance from the Chief in our Common-wealth, which it hath not when he is ſuffered to rule. In a word, our ſtate is according to the pattern of Gods own antient elect people, which people was not part of them the Common-wealth, and part of them the Church of God; but the ſelf-ſame people whole and entire were both under one Chief Governour, on whoſe Supream Authority they did all depend. Now the drift of all that hath been alledged to prove perpetual ſeparation and independency between the Church and the Commonwealth, is, that this being held neceſſary, it might conſequently be thought fit, that in a Chriſtian Kingdom, he whoſe power is greateſt over the Common-wealth, may not lawfully have ſupremacy of power alſo over the Church, that is to ſay, ſo far as to order thereby and to diſpoſe of ſpiritual affairs, ſo far as the higheſt uncommanded Commander in them. Whereupon it is grown a Queſtion, whether Government Eccleſiaſtical, and power of Dominion in ſuch degrees as the Laws of this Land do grant unto the Soveraign Governour thereof, may by the ſaid ſupream Governour lawfully be enjoy'd and held: For reſolution wherein; we are, Firſt, to define what the power of dominion is. Secondly, then to ſhew by what right. Thirdly, after what ſort. Fourthly, in what meaſure. Fiftly in what inconveniency. According to whoſe example Chriſtian Kings may have it. And when theſe generals are opened, to examine afterwards how lawful that is which we in regard of Dominion do attribute unto our own: namely the title of headſhip over the Church, ſo far as the bounds of this Kingdom do reach. Secondly, the Prerogative of calling and diſſolving great aſſemblies, about ſpiritual affairs publick. Thirdly, the right of aſſenting unto all thoſe orders concerning Religion, which muſt after be in force as Law. Fourthly, the advancement of Principal Church-Governours to their rooms of Prelacy. Fifthly, judicial authority higher then others are capable of. And ſixthly, exemption from being puniſhable with ſuch kind of Cenſures as the platform of Reformation doth teach, that they ought to be ſubject unto.

What the Power of Dominion is.

WIthout order there is no living in publick Society, because the want thereof is the mother of confusion, whereupon division of necessity followeth; and out of division, destruction. The Apostle therefore giving instruction to publike Societies, requireth that all things be orderly done: Order can have no place in things, except it be settled amongst the persons that shall by office be conversant about them. And if things and persons be ordered, this doth imply that they are distinguished by degrees. For order is a gradual disposition: The whole world consisting of parts so many, so different, is by this only thing upheld; he which framed them, hath set them in order: The very Deity it self both keepeth and requireth for ever this to be kept as a Law, that whersoever there is a coagmentation of many, the lowest be knit unto the highest, by that which being interjacent, may cause each to cleave to the other, and so all to continue one. This order of things and persons in publike Societies, is the work of Policie, and the proper instrument thereof in every degree is power, power being that hability which we have of our selves, or receive from others for performance of any action. If the action which we have to perform be conversant about matters of meer Religion, the power of performing it is then spiritual; And if that power be such as hath not any other to overrule it, we term it Dominion, or Power Supream; so far as the bounds thereof extend. When therefore Christian Kings are said to have Spiritual Dominion or Supream Power in Ecclesiastical affairs and causes, the meaning is, that within their own Precincts and Territories, they have an authority and power to command even in matters of Christian Religion, and that there is no higher nor greater that can in those cases overcommand them, where they are placed to raign as Kings. But withal we must likewise note that their power is termed supremacy, as being the highest, not simply without exception of any thing. For what man is so brain-sick, as not to except in such speeches God himself the King of all Dominion? Who doubteth, but that the King who receiveth it, must hold it of, and order the Law according to that old axiom, *Attribuat Rex legi, quod lex attribuit ei potestatem:* And again, *Rex non debet esse sub homine, sed sub Deo & lege.* Thirdly, whereas it is altogether without reason, *That Kings are judged to have by vertue of their Dominion, although greater power then any, yet not than all the state of those Societies conjoyned, wherein such Soveraign rule is given them*; there is not any thing hereunto to the contrary by us affirmed, no not when we grant supream Authority unto Kings; because Supremacy is not otherwise intended or meant to exclude partly forraign powers, and partly the power which belongeth in several unto others, contained as parts in that politick body over which those Kings have Supremacy; *Where the King hath power of Dominion, or Supream power, there no forrain State, or Potentate, no State or Potentate Domestical, whether it consisteth of one or many, can possibly have in the same affairs and causes Authority higher than the King.* Power of Spiritual Dominion, therefore, is in causes Ecclesiastical, that ruling Authority, which neither any forraign State, nor yet any part of that politick body at home, wherein the same is established, can lawfully over-rule. It hath been declared already in general, how *the best established dominion is, where the Law doth most rule the King*; the true effect whereof particularly is found as well in Ecclesiastical as Civil affairs: In these the King, through his Supream Power, may do sundry great things himself, both appertaining to Peace and War, both at home, and by command and by commerce with States abroad, because the Law doth so much permit. Sometimes on the other side, *The King alone hath no right to do without consent of his Lords and Commons in Parliament: The King himself cannot change the nature of Pleas, nor Courts, no not so much as restore blood*; because the Law is a bar unto him: the positive Laws of the Realm have a priviledg therein, and restrain the Kings power; which positive Laws, whether by custom or otherwise established without repugnancy to the Laws of God, and nature, ought not less to be in force even in supernatural affairs of the Church, whether in regard of Ecclesiastical Laws, we willingly embrace that of *Ambrose, Imperator bonus intra Ecclesiam, non supra Ecclesiam, est. Kings have Dominion to exercise in Ecclesiastical causes, but according to the Laws of the Church*; whether it be therefore the nature of Courts, or the form of Pleas, or the kind of Governours, or the order of proceeding in whatsoever business, for the received Laws and Liberty of the Church, *the King hath Supream Authority and power, but against them never*; What such positive Laws hath appointed to be done by others than the

Luke 22.
1 Cor. 14.

King, or by others with the King, and in what form they have appointed the doing of it, the ſame of neceſſity muſt be kept; neither is the Kings ſole Authority to alter it: yet, as it were a thing unreaſonable, if in civil affairs the King, albeit the whole univerſal body did joyn with him, ſhould do any thing by their abſolute power for the ordering of their ſtate at home, in prejudice of thoſe ancient Laws of Nations, which are of force throughout all the World, becauſe the neceſſary commerce of Kingdoms dependeth on them: So in principal matters belonging to Chriſtian Religion, a thing very ſcandalous and offenſive it muſt needs be thought, if either Kings or Laws ſhould diſpoſe of the Law of God, without any reſpect had unto that which of old hath been reverently thought of throughout the World, and wherein there is no Law of God which forceth us to ſwerve from the ways wherein ſo many and holy Ages have gone: Wherefore not without good conſideration, the very Law it ſelf hath provided, *That Judges Eccleſiaſtical appointed under the Kings Commiſſion, ſhall not adjudg for hereſie any thing but that which heretofore hath been adjudged by the Authority of the Canonical Scriptures, or by the firſt four general Counbels, or by ſome other general Council, wherein the ſame hath been declared hereſie, by the expreſs words of the ſaid Canonical Scriptures, or ſuch as hereafter ſhall be determined to be hereſie by the high Court of Parliament of this Realm, with the aſſent of the Clergy in the Convocation, An. 1. Reg. Eliz.* By which words of the Law, Who doth not plainly ſee, how that in one branch of proceeding by vertue of the Kings ſupream authority, the credit which thoſe four firſt general Councels have throughout all Churches, and evermore had, was judged by the making of the aforeſaid Act a juſt cauſe wherefore they ſhould be mentioned in that caſe, as a requiſite part of that rule wherewith Dominion was to be limited? But of this we ſhall further conſider, when we come unto that which Soveraign Power may do in making Eccleſiaſtical Laws.

Unto which Supream Power in Kings, two kinds of adverſaries there are which have oppoſed themſelvs: one ſort defending *That Supream power in cauſes Eccleſiaſtical throughout the world, appertaineth of Divine Right to the Biſhop of Rome:* Another ſort, *That the ſaid power belongeth in every national Church unto the Clergy thereof aſſembled.* We which defend as well againſt the one, as againſt the other, *That Kings within their own Precincts may have it*, muſt ſhew by what right it muſt come unto them. Firſt unto me, it ſeemeth almoſt out of doubt & controverſie, that every independent multitude before any certain form of Regiment eſtabliſhed, hath under God Supream Authority, full Dominion over it ſelf, even as a man not tyed with the band of ſubjection as yet unto any other, hath over himſelf the like power. God, creating mankind, did endue it naturally with power to guide it ſelf, in what kind of Society ſoever he ſhould chuſe to live. A man which is born Lord of himſelf, may be made an others ſervant. And that power which naturally whole ſocieties have, may be derived unto many, few, or one; under whom the reſt ſhall then live in ſubjection: Some multitudes are brought into ſubjection by force, as they who being ſubdued, are fain to ſubmit their necks unto what yoak it pleaſeth their Conquerors to lay upon them; which Conquerors by juſt and lawful Wars do hold their power over ſuch multitudes as a thing deſcending unto them; Divine Providence it ſelf ſo diſpoſing. For it is God who giveth victory in the day of War, and unto whom Dominion in this ſort is derived, the ſame they enjoy according to the Law of Nations; which Law authorizeth Conquerours to reign as abſolute Lords over them whom they vanquiſh. Sometimes it pleaſeth God himſelf by ſpecial appointment to chuſe out and nominate ſuch, as to whom Dominion ſhall be given; which thing he did often in the Commonwealth of *Iſrael*: They which in this ſort receive power immediately from God, have it by meer Divine Right; they by humane, on whom the ſame is beſtowed, according to mens diſcretion, when they are left freely by God to make choice of their own Governours. By which of theſe means ſoever it happen, that Kings or Governors be advanced unto their Eſtates, we muſt acknowledg both their lawful choice to be approved of God, and themſelves to be Gods Lievtenants; and confeſs their Power which they have to be his. As for Supream Power in Eccleſiaſtical affairs, the Word of God doth no where appoint that all Kings ſhould have it, neither that any ſhould not have it; for which cauſe, it ſeemeth to ſtand altogether by humane Right, that unto Chriſtian Kings there is ſuch Dominion given.

The Right which men give, God ratifies.

Corona eſt poteſtas delegata à Deo. Bracton.

Again, on whom the ſame is beſtowed at mens diſcretions, they likewiſe do hold it by Divine Right. If God in his revealed Word, hath appointed ſuch

Power

Power to be, although himself extraordinarily bestow it not, but leave the appointment of persons to men; yea, albeit God do neither appoint nor assign the person: nevertheless, when men have assigned and established both, Who doth doubt but that sundry duties and affairs depending thereupon are prescribed by the Word of God, and consequently by that very right to be exacted? For example sake, the power which *Romane* Emperors had over foreign Provinces, was not a thing which the Law of God did ever Institute: Neither was *Tiberius Cæsar* by especial Commission from Heaven therewith invested, and yet paiment of Tribute unto *Cæsar* being now made Emperor, is the plain Law of Jesus Christ: unto Kings by humane Right, Honor by very Divine Right, is due; mans Ordinances, are many times proposed as grounds in the Statutes of God: And therefore of what kind soever the means be, whereby Governors are lawfully advanced to their States, as we by the Laws of God stand bound meekly to acknowledg them for Gods Lieutenants; and to confess their Power his: So by the same Law they are both authorized, and required to use that Power as far as it may be in any State available to his Honor. The Law appointeth no man to be a husband: but if a man hath betaken himself unto that condition, it giveth him power & Authority over his own Wife. That the Christian world should be ordered by the Kingly Regiment, the Law of God doth not any where command: and yet the Law of God doth give them, which once are exalted unto that place of Estate, right to exact at the hands of their Subjects general obedience in whatsoever affairs their power may serve to command; and God doth ratifie works of that Soveraign Authority, which Kings have received by men. This is therefore the right whereby Kings do hold their power; but yet in what sort the same doth rest and abide in them, it somewhat behoveth further to search, where that we be not enforced to make overlarge discourses about the different conditions of Soveraign or Supream Power; that which we speak of Kings, shall be in respect of the State, and according to the nature of this Kingdom, where the people are in no subjection, but such as willingly themselves have condescended unto for their own most behoof and security. In Kingdoms therefore of this quality, the highest Governor hath indeed universall Dominion, but with dependency upon that whole entire body, over the several parts whereof he hath Dominion: so that it standeth for an Axiom in this case; The King is *Major singulis, universis minor*. The Kings dependency, we do not construe as some have done, who are of opinion that no mans birth can make him a King; but every particular person, advanced to such Authority, hath at his entrance into his Raign, the same bestowed on him as an estate in condition by the voluntary deed of the people, in whom it doth lie to put by any one, and to preferr some other before him, better liked of or judged fitter for the place, and that the party so rejected hath no injury done unto him; no although the same be done in a place where the Crown doth go διὰ γένους by succession, and to a person which is capital and hath apparently if blood be respected the neareſt right. They plainly affirm in all well appointed Kingdoms, the custom evermore hath been, and is, that children succeed not their Parents, till the people after a sort have created them anew, neither that that they grow to their Fathers as natural and proper Heirs, but are then to be reckoned for Kings when at the hands of such as represent the Kings Majesty, they have by a Scepter and a Diadem received, as it were, the investure of Kingly power: Their very words are, *That where such power is setled into a family or kindred, the Stock it self is thereby chosen, but not the twig that springeth of it. The next of the Stock unto him that raigneth, are not through nearness of blood made Kings, but rather set forth to stand for the Kingdom; where Regal Dominion is hereditary, it is notwithstanding (if we look to the persons which have it) altogether elective.* To this purpose are selected heaps of Scriptures concerning the Solemn Coronation or Inauguration of *Saul*, of *David*, of *Solomon*, and others, by the Nobles, Ancients, and people of the Common-weal of *Israel*; as if these solemnities were a kind of deed, whereby the right of Dominion is given. Which strange, untrue, and unnatural conceits, set abroad by seeds-men of Rebellion, onely to animate unquiet spirits, and to feed them with possibility of aspiring to Thrones, if they can win the hearts of the people, what hereditary title soever any other before them may have. I say unjust and insolent positions, I would not mention, were it not thereby to make the countenance of truth more orient; for unless we will openly proclaim defiance unto all law, equity, and reason we must (there is no remedy) acknowledge, that in kingdoms hereditary birth giveth right unto Soveraign Dominion; and the death of the predecessor putteth

Junius Brutus vindic. pag. 83.

pag. 85.

putteth the ſucceſſor by blood in ſeiſin. Thoſe publick ſolemnities before ſpecified, do but ſerve for an open teſtification of the Inheritors right, or belong unto the form of inducting him into poſſeſſion of that thing he hath right unto: therefore in caſe it doth happen, that without right of blood a man in ſuch wiſe be poſſeſſed, all theſe new elections and inveſtings are utterly void; they make him no indefeaſable eſtate; the inheritor by blood may diſpoſſeſs him as an uſurper. The caſe thus ſtanding, albeit we judge it a thing moſt true, that Kings, even inheritors, do hold their right in the Power of Dominion, with dependency upon the whole Body politick, over which they have Rule as Kings; yet ſo it may not be underſtood as if ſuch dependency did grow, for that every ſupream Governor doth perſonally take from thence his power by way of gift, beſtowed of their own free accord upon him at the time of his entrance into the ſaid place of his ſoveraign Government. But the cauſe of dependency is that firſt Original conveyance, when power was derived from the whole into One; to paſs from him unto them, whom out of him nature by lawful births ſhould produce, and no natural or legal inability make uncapable: *Neither can any man with reaſon think, but that the firſt inſtitution of Kings, a ſufficient conſideration wherefore their power ſhould always depend on that from which it did always flow by Original influence of power, from the body into the King, is the cauſe of Kings dependency in Power upon the body.* By dependency we mean ſubordination and ſubjection: A manifeſt token of which dependency may be this; as there is no more certain Argument, that Lands are held under any as Lords, then if we ſee that ſuch lands in defect of heirs fall unto them by eſcheat: In like manner, it doth follow rightly, that ſeeing Dominion when there is none to inherit it, returneth unto the body; therefore, they which before were inheritors thereof, did hold it with dependency upon the body, ſo that by comparing the body with the head, as touching power, it ſeemeth always to reſide in both; fundamentally and radicially in the one, in the other derivatively; in the one the Habit, in the other the Act of Power. May a body politick then at all times, withdraw in whole or in part the influence of Dominion which paſſeth from it, if inconveniencies do grow thereby? It muſt be preſumed, that ſupream Governors will not in ſuch caſe oppoſe themſelves, and be ſtiff in detaining that, the uſe whereof is with publick detriment: but ſurely without their conſent I ſee not how the body by any juſt means ſhould be able to help it ſelf, ſaving when Dominion doth eſcheat; ſuch things therefore muſt be thought upon before hand, that Power may be limited ere it be granted, which is the next thing we are to conſider.

Tully de Offic.

In what Meaſure.

IN power of Dominion, all Kings have not an equal latitude: Kings by conqueſt make their own Charter; ſo, that how large their power, either Civil or Spiritual, is, we cannot with any certainty define further, then onely to ſet them in the line of the Law of God and Nature for bounds. Kings by Gods own ſpecial appointment, have alſo that largeneſs of power which he doth aſſign or permit with approbation touching Kings which were firſt inſtituted by agreement and compoſition made with them over whom they raign, how far their power may extend; the Articles of Compact between them is to ſhew not only the Articles of Compact at the firſt beginning, which for the moſt part are either clean worn out of knowledg, or elſe known to very few; but whatſoever hath been after in free and voluntary manner condiſcended unto, whether by expreſs conſent, (whereof poſitive laws are witneſſes,) or elſe by ſilent allowance, famouſly notified through cuſtome, reaching beyond the memory of man. By which means of after-Agreement, it cometh many times to paſs in Kingdoms, that they whoſe ancient predeceſſors were by violence and force made ſubject, do by little and little grow into that ſweet form of Kingly Government, which Philoſophers define, *Regency willingly ſuſtained, and indued with Chiefty of power in the greateſt things.* Many of the ancients in their writings do ſpeak of Kings with ſuch high and ample terms, as if univerſality of Power, even in regard of things and not of perſons, did appertain to the very being of a King: The reaſon is, becauſe their

Ariſt. Pol. lib. 3. Cap. 1.

ſpeech

ſpeech concerning Kings, they frame according to the ſtate of thoſe Monarchs, to whom unlimited authority was given; which ſome not obſerving, imagine, that all Kings, even in that they are Kings, ought to have whatſoever power they judge any Soveraign Ruler lawfully to have enjoyed. But the moſt judicious Philoſopher, whoſe eye ſcarce any things did eſcape which was to be found in the boſome of nature, he conſidering how far the power of one Soveraign Ruler may be different from another Regal Authority, noteth in *Spartan* Kings, *That of all others they were moſt tied to Law, and ſo the moſt reſtrained power.* A King which hath not ſupream power in the greateſt things, is rather intituled a King, then inveſted with reall Soveraignty. We cannot properly term him a King, of whom it may not be ſaid, at the leaſt wiſe, as touching certain the chiefeſt affairs of the State, ἄρχειν, ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ δέντος, his right in them is to have rule, not ſubject to any other predominancy. I am not of opinion that ſimply in Kings the moſt, but the beſt limited power is beſt, both for them and the people: the moſt limited is that which may deal in feweſt things, the beſt, that which in dealing is tyed unto the ſoundeſt, perfecteſt, and moſt indifferent Rule, which Rule is the Law: I mean not only the Law of Nature, and of God; but the National Law conſonant thereunto. *Happier that people whoſe Law is their King in the greateſt things, then that whoſe King is himſelf their Law: where the King doth guide the State, and the Law the King, that Common-wealth is like an Harp or Melodious Inſtrument, the ſtrings whereof are turned and handled all by one hand, following as Laws, the Rules and Canons of Muſical Science.* Moſt divinely therefore *Archytas* maketh unto publike felicity theſe four ſteps and degrees, every of which doth ſpring from the former, as from another cauſe, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς νόμῳ, ὁ δὲ ἄρχων ἀκολούθως, ὁ δὲ ἀρχόμενος ἀπόλυπος, ἡ δὲ ὅλη κοινωνία εὐδαιμων, *The King ruling by Law, the Magiſtrate following, the Subject free, and the whole Society happy.* Adding on the contrary ſide, that where this order is not, it cometh by tranſgreſſion thereof to paſs that a King groweth a Tyrant; he that ruleth under him abhorreth to be guided by him or commanded; the people ſubject unto both, have freedome under neither, and the whole Community is wretched. In which reſpect, I cannot chuſe but commend highly their wiſdom, by whom the Foundations of the Common-wealth hath been laid; wherein though no manner of Perſon, or cauſe be unſubject unto the Kings Power, yet ſo is the Power of the King over all, and in all limited, that unto all his proceedings the Law it ſelf is a rule. The Axioms of our Regal Government are theſe, *Lex facit regem*: The Kings Grant of any favour made contrary to the Law is void; *Rex nihil poteſt niſi quod jure poteſt*: Our Kings therefore, when they are to take poſſeſſion of the Crown they are called unto, have it pointed out before their eyes, even by the very Solemnities and Rites of their Inauguration, to what affairs by the ſame Law their Supream Power and Authority reacheth; crowned we ſee they are, enthronized and annointed; the Crown a Sign of a Military Dominion; the Throne of Sedentary or Judicial; the Oyl of Religious and Sacred Power. It is not on any ſide denied, that Kings may have Authority in Secular affairs. The Queſtion then is, *What power they may lawfully have, and exerciſe in cauſes of God. A Prince, or Magiſtrate, or a Community* (ſaith Doctor *Stapleton*) *may have power to lay corporal puniſhment on them which are teachers of perverſe things; power to make Laws for the Peace of the Church; Power to proclaim, to defend, and even by revenge to preſerve* dogmata *the very Articles of Religion themſelves from violation.* Others, in affection no leſs devoted unto the Papacy, do likewiſe yield, that the Civil Magiſtrate may by his Edicts and Laws keep all Eccleſiaſtical Perſons within the bounds of their duties, and conſtrain them to obſerve the Canons of the Church, to follow the rule of ancient Diſcipline. That if *Joaſh* was commended for his care and proviſion, concerning ſo ſmall a part of Religion, as the Church-treaſure; it muſt needs be both unto Chriſtian Kings themſelves greater honour, and to Chriſtianity a larger benefit, when the cuſtody of Religion, and the worſhip of God in general is their charge. If therefore all theſe things mentioned be moſt properly the affairs of Gods Eccleſiaſtical cauſes; if the actions ſpecified be works of power; and if that power be ſuch as Kings may uſe of themſelves, without the fear of any other power ſuperiour in the ſame thing; it followeth neceſſarily, that Kings may have ſupream power, not only in Civil, but alſo in Eccleſiaſtical affairs, and conſequently, that

Pythagoras apud Erdant. de Regno.

Stapl. de. Princip. lib. 5, 6, 17.

that they may withstand what Bishop or Pope soever shall, under the pretended claim of higher Spiritual Authority, oppose themselves against their proceedings. But they which have made us the former grant, will never hereunto condescend; what they yield that Princes may do, it is with secret exception always understood, If the Bishop of *Rome* give leave, if he enterpose no prohibition; wherefore, somewhat it is in shew, in truth nothing which they grant. Our own Reformers do the very like, when they make their discourse in general, concerning the Authority which Magistrates may have, a man would think them to be far from withdrawing any jot of that, which with reason may be thought due. *The Prince and Civil Magistrate* (saith one of them) *hath to see the Laws of God, touching his Worship, and touching all Matters, and all Orders of the Church to be executed, and duly observed; and to see every Ecclesiastical Person do that office, whereunto he is appointed; and to punish those which fail in their office accordingly.* Another acknowledgeth, *That the Magistrate may lawfully uphold all truth by his Sword, punish all persons, enforce all to their duties towards God and men; maintain by his Laws every point of Gods Word, punish all vice in all men; see into all causes, visit the Ecclesiastical Estate, and correct the abuses thereof: Finally to look to his Subjects, that under him they may lead their lives in all godlines and honesty.* A third more frankly professeth, *That in case their Church Discipline were established, so little it shorteneth the Arms of Soveraign Dominion in causes Ecclesiastical, that Her Gracious Majesty, for any thing they teach or hold to the contrary, may no less then now remain still over all persons, in all things Supream Governess even with that full and Royal Authority, Superiority, and Preheminence, Supremacy, and Prerogative, which the Laws already established do give her; and her Majesties Injunctions, and the Articles of the Convocation house, and other writings Apologetical of her Royal Authority, and supream Dignity, do declare and explain.* *Possidonius* was wont to say of the Epicure, *That he thought there were no Gods, but that those things which he spake concerning the Gods, were only given out for fear of growing odious amongst men: and therefore that in words he left gods remaining, but in very deed overthrew them, in so much as he gave them no kind of Action.* After the very self same manner, when we come unto those particular effects, Prerogatives of Dominion which the Laws of this Land do grant unto the Kings thereof, it will appear how these men, notwithstanding their large and liberal Speeches abate such parcels out of the afore alleadged grant and flourishing shew, that a man comparing the one with the other, may half stand in doubt, lest their Opinion in very truth be against that Authority, which by their Speeches they seem mightily to uphold, partly for the avoiding of publike obloquie, envie, and hatred; partly to the intent they may both in the end by the establishment of their Discipline, extinguish the force of Supream Power, which Princes have, and yet, in the mean while, by giving forth these smooth Discourses, obtain that their favourers may have somewhat to alleadge for them by way of Apologie, and that such words only sound towards all kind of fulness of Power. But for my self, I had rather construe such their contradictions in the better part, and impute their general acknowledgment of the lawfullness of Kingly Power, unto the force of truth, presenting it self before them sometimes above their particular contrarieties, oppositions, denyals, unto that errour which having so fully possest their minds, casteth things inconvenient upon them; of which things in their due place. Touching that which is now in hand, we are on all sides fully agreed, First, that there is not any restraint or limitation of matter for regal Authority and Power to be conversant in, but of Religion onely; and of whatsoever cause thereunto appertaineth Kings may lawfully have charge, they lawfully may therein exercise Dominion, and use the temporal Sword. Secondly, that some kind of actions conversant about such affairs are denyed unto Kings: As namely, Actions of Power and Order, and of Spiritual Jurisdiction, which hath with it inseparably joyned Power to Administer the Word and Sacraments, power to Ordain, to Judge as an Ordinary, to bind and loose, to Excommunicate, and such like. Thirdly, that even in those very actions, which are proper unto Dominion, there must be some certain rule whereunto Kings in all their proceedings ought to be strictly tyed; which rule for proceeding in Ecclesiasticall affairs and causes by Regal Power, hath not hitherto been agreed upon with such uniform consent, and certainty, as might be wished. The different sentences of men herein I will now go about

to

T. C. l. 1. p. 192.

Farmers def. of the Godly Magistrate.

Humble motion. page. 36.

Cicero lib. 1. de nat. Deor.

Kinds.

By what Rule.

to examine, but it shall be enough to propose what Rule doth seem in this case most reasonable.

The case of deriving Supream Power from a whole intire multitude into some special part thereof; as partly the necessity of expedition in publick affairs, partly the inconvenience of confusion and trouble, where a multitude of Equals dealeth; and partly the dissipation which must needs ensue, in companies where every man wholly seeketh his own particular (as we all would do, even with other mens hurts) and haply the very overthrow of themselves, in the end also; if for the procurement of the common good of all men, by keeping every several man in order, some were not invested with Authority over all, and encouraged with Prerogative-Honour to sustain the weighty burthen of that charge. The good which is proper unto each man belongeth to the common good of all, as part to the whole perfection; but these two are things different; for men by that which is proper, are severed; united they are by that which is common. Wherefore, besides that which moveth each man in particular to seek his own private good, there must be of necessity in all publick Societies also a general mover, directing unto common good, and framing every mans particular unto it. The end whereunto all Government was instituted, was *Bonum publicum*, the *Universal or Common good.* Our question is of Dominion, for that end and purpose derived into one; such as all in one publick State have agreed, that the Supream charge of all things should be committed unto one: They, I say, considering what inconveniency may grow, where States are subject unto sundry Supream Authorities, have for fear of these inconveniencies withdrawn from liking to establish many; οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκοιρανίη, the multitude of Supream Commanders is troublesome, *No Man* (saith our Saviour) *can serve two Masters*; surely two supream Masters would make any ones service somewhat uneasie in such cases as might fall out, Suppose that to morrow the Power which hath Dominion in Justice, require thee at the Court; that which in War, at the Field; that which in Religion, at the Temple; all have equal Authority over thee, and impossible it is, that then in such case thou shouldst be obedient unto all: By chusing any one whom thou wilt obey, certain thou art for thy disobedience to incur the displeasure of the other two.

Ob utilitatem publicam rei per unum consuli oportere, prudentissimi docent. *L. C.* 11. *ff.* de origine juris Civilis.

According to what example.

But there is nothing for which some comparable reason or other may not be found; are we able to shew any commendable State of Government, which by experience and practice hath felt the benefit of being in all causes subject unto the Supream Authority of one? Against the policy of the *Israelites*, I hope there will no man except, where *Moses* deriving so great a part of his burthen in Government unto others, did notwithstanding retain to himself Universal Supremacy; *Jehosaphat* appointing one to be chosen in the affairs of God, and another in the Kings affair's, did this as having Dominion over them in both. If therefore from approbation of Heaven, the Kings of Gods own chosen people had in the affairs of Jewish Religion Supream Power, why not Christian Kings the like also in Christian Religion? First, unless men will answer, as some have done, *That the* Jews *Religion was of far less perfection and dignity then ours, ours being that truth whereof theirs was but a shadowish prefigurative resemblance.* Secondly, *That all parts of their Religion, their Laws, their Sacrifices, and their Rights and Ceremonies, being fully set down to their hands, and needing no more, but only to be put in execution; the Kings might well have highest Authority to see that done; whereas with us there are a number of Mysteries even in Belief, which were not so generally for them, as for us necessary to be with sound expres acknowledgement understood: A number of things belonging to external Government, and our manner of serving God, not set down by particular Ordinances, and delivered to us in writing, for which cause the State of the Church doth now require, that the Spiritual Authority of Ecclesiastical persons be large, absolute, and not subordinate to Regal power.* Thirdly, *That whereas God armeth Religion Jewish as Christian with the Temporal sword; But of Spiritual punishment, the one with power to imprison, to scourge, to put to death: The other with bare authority to Censure and excommunicate: There is no reason that the Church which hath no visible sword, should in Regiment be subject unto any other power, then only unto theirs which have authority to bind and loose.* Fourthly, *That albeit whilst the Church was restrained unto one people, it seemed not incommodious to grant their King the general Chiefty of Power; yet now the Church having spread it self over all Nations, great inconveniences must*

Stapl. de prin. Doct. pag. 19. Stapl. 10.

Idem ib.

must thereby grow, if every Christian King in his several Territory shall have the like power. Of all these differences, there is not one which doth prove it a thing repugnant to the Law, either of God, or of Nature, that all Supremacy of external Power be in Christian Kingdoms granted unto Kings thereof, for preservation of quietness, unity, order, and peace, in such manner as hath been shewed.

Of the Title of Headship.

FOr the Title or State it self, although the Laws of this Land have annexed it to the Crown, yet so farr we should not strive, if so be men were nice and scrupulous in this behalf only; because they do wish that, for reverence to Christ Jesus, the Civil Magistrate did rather use some other form of speech wherewith to express that Soveraign Authority which he lawfully hath over all, both Persons and Causes of the Church. But I see that hitherto they which condemn utterly the name so applyed, do it because they mislike that such Power should be given to Civil Governours. The great exception that Sir *Thomas Moor* took against that Title, who suffered death for denyal of it, was, *for that it maketh a Lay, a Secular Person, the head of the State Spiritual or Ecclesiastical*; as though God himself did not name *Saul*, the Head of all the Tribes of *Israel*; and consequently of that Tribe also among the rest, whereunto the State Spiritual or Ecclesiastical belonged; when the Authors of the Centuries reprove it in Kings and Civil Governours, the reason is, *Istis non competit iste Primatus*; such kinde of Power is too high for them, they fit it not: In excuse of Mr. *Calvin*, by whom this Realm is condemned of Blasphemy, for intituling, *H. 8. Supream Head of this Church under Christ*, a charitable conjecture is made, that he spake by misinformation; howbeit as he professeth utter dislike of that name, so whether the name be used or no, the very Power it self which we give unto Civil Magistrates, he much complaineth of, and protesteth, *That their Power over all things was it which had ever wounded him deeply: That un-advised Persons had made them too Spiritual; that throughout* Germany *this fault did reign; that in those very parts where* Calvin *himself was, it prevailed more than was to be wished; that Rulers by imagining themselves so Spiritual, have taken away Ecclesiastical Government; that they think they cannot reign unless they abolish all the Authority of the Church, and be themselves the chief Judges, as well in Doctrine, as in the whole Spiritual Regency.* So that, in truth, the Question is, Whether the Magistrate by being Head in such sense as we term him, do use or exercise any part of that Authority, not which belongeth unto Christ, but which other men ought to have.

Rasensis, Epist. p 5. 17. Pref. cont. 7. Calvin. in com. 7. Amos 7. 13.

These things being first considered thus, it will be easier to judge concerning our own estate, whether by force of Ecclesiastical Government, Kings have any other kinde of Prerogative than they may lawfully hold and enjoy. It is, as some do imagine, too much, that Kings of *England* should be termed Heads in relation of the Church. That which we do understand by *Headship*, is, their only Supreme Power in Ecclesiastical Affairs and Causes; That which lawful Princes are, what should make it unlawful for men in Spiritual Stiles or Titles to signifie? If the having of Supream Power be allowed, why is the expressing thereof, by the Title of *Head*, condemned? They seem in words, (at leastwise some of them) now at the length to acknowledge, that Kings may have Dominion or Supream Government even over all, both Persons and Causes. We in terming our Princes, *Heads of the Church*, do but testifie that we acknowledge them such Governours. Again, to this it will peradventure be replyed, *That howsoever we interpret our selves, it is not fit for a mortal man, and therefore not fit for a Civil Magistrate to be intituled the Head of the Church, which was given to our Saviour Christ, to lift him above all Powers, Rules, Dominions, Titles, in Heaven or in Earth. Where, if this Title belong also to Civil Magistrates, then it is manifest, that there is a Power in Earth whereunto our Saviour Christ is not in this point superiour. Again, if the Civil Magistrate may have this Title, he may be termed also the first-begotten of all Creatures. The first begotten of all the Dead, yea the Redeemer of his People. For these are alike given him as Dignities whereby he is lifted up above all Creatures. Besides this, the whole Argument of the Apostle in both places doth lead to shew that this Title,* Head of the Church, *cannot be said of any Creature. And further, the very demonstrative Articles amongst the* Hebrews,

T.C. l. 2. p. 4. 11.

Ephes. 1. 21. Col. 1. 18.

Hebrews, *especially whom St.* Paul *doth follow, serveth to tye that which is verified of one, unto himself alone: so that when the Apostle doth say that Christ is* Κεφαλὴ, *the Head, it is as if he should say; Christ, and none other, is the Head of the Church.* Thus have we against the entituling of the Highest Magistrate, *head*, with relation unto the Church, four several Arguments gathered by strong surmise out of words marvellous unlikely to have been written to any such purpose, as that whereunto they are now used and urged. To the *Ephesians*, the Apostle writeth, *That Christ, God had set on his right hand in the Heavenly places above all Regency and Authority, and Power, and Dominion, and whatsoever name is named, not in this World only, but in that which shall be also: and hath under his feet set all things, and hath given him head above all things unto the Church, which is his Body, even the fulness of him which accomplisheth all in all.* To the *Colossians* in like manner, *That he is the head of the body of the Church, who is a first born Regency out of the dead, to the end he might be made amongst them all such an one as hath the Chiefty*: He meaneth, amongst all them whom he mentioned before, saying, *By him all things that are, were made; the things in the Heavens, and the things in the Earth, the things that are visible, and the things that are invisible, whether they be Thrones, or Dominions, or Regencies*, &c. Unto the fore-alledged Arguments therefore we answer: First, that it is not simply the title of *Head*, in such sort understood, as the Apostle himself meant it; so that the same being imparted in another sense unto others, doth not any wayes make those others his Equals; in as much as diversity of things is usually to be understood, even when of words there is no diversity; and it is onely the adding of one and the same thing unto divers Persons, which doth argue equality in them. If I term Christ and *Cæsar* Lords, yet this is no equalizing *Cesar* with Christ, because it is not thereby intended: *To term the Emperor Lord*, (saith Tertullian) *I, for my part, will not refuse, so that I be not required to call him Lord in the same sense that God is so termed.* Neither doth it follow, which is objected in the second place, that if the Civil Magistrate may be intituled a *Head*, he may as well be termed *the first begotten of all Creatures, the first begotten of the Dead, and the Redeemer of his People.* For albeit the former dignity doth lift him up no less than these, yet these terms are not applyable and apt to signifie any other inferior dignity, as the former term of *Head* was. The Argument of matter which the Apostle followeth hath small evidence or proof, that his meaning was to appropriate unto Christ, that the aforesaid title; otherwise than only in such sense as doth make it, being so understood, too high to be given to any Creature.

Ephes. 1. 20, 21, 22, 23.

Col. 1. 18. Col. 15.

As for the force of the Article where our Lord and Saviour is called the *Head*, it serveth to tye that unto him by way of excellency, which in meaner degrees is common to others; it doth not exclude any other utterly from being termed *Head*, but from being intituled as Christ is *the Head*, by way of the very highest degree of excellency: Not in the communication of Names, but in the confusion of things, there is errour. Howbeit, if *Head* were a Name that could not well be, nor never had been used to signifie that which a Magistrate may be in relation to some Church; but were by continual use of speech appropriated unto the onely thing it signifieth, being applyed unto Jesus Christ; then, although we must carry in our selves a right understanding, yet ought we otherwise rather to speak, unless we interpret our own meaning by some clause of plain speech, because we are else in manifest danger to be understood according to that construction and sense, wherein such words are personally spoken. But here the rarest construction, and most removed from common sense, is that which the Word doth import being applyed unto Christ; that which we signifie by it in giving it to the Magistrate, it is a great deal more familiar in the common conceit of men.

The word is so fit to signifie all kindes of Superiority, Preheminence, and Chiefty, that nothing is more ordinary than to use it in vulgar speech, and in common understanding so to take it: If therefore Christian Kings may have any preheminence or chiefty above all others, although it be less than that which *Theodore Beza* giveth, who placeth Kings amongst the principal Members, whereunto publick Function in the Church belongeth; and denyeth not, but that of them which have publick Function, the Civil Magistrates power hath all the rest at command, in regard of that part of his Office, which is to procure that Peace and good Order be especially

Esay 7. 9. *Tekah* is termed the head of *Samaria.*

cially kept in things concerning the first Table; if even hereupon they term him *the Head of the Church*, which is *his Kingdom*, it should not seem so unfit a thing; Which Title surely we could not communicate to any other, no not although it should at our hands be exacted with torments: but that our meaning herein is made known to the World, so that no man which will understand can easily be ignorant, that we do not impart unto Kings, when we term them *Heads*, the honor which is properly given to our Lord and Saviour Christ, when the blessed Apostle in Scripture doth term him the *Head of the Church*.

The power which we signifie in that name, differeth in three things plainly from that which Christ doth challenge.

First, it differeth in order, because God hath given to his Church for the Head,

Ephes. 1. 21. ὑπὲρ πάσης, ὑπεράνω πάσης ἀρχῆς *Farr above all Principalities, and Powers, and Might, and Dominion, and every Name that is named, not in this World only, but also in that which is to come*: Whereas the Power which others have, is subordinate unto his.

Secondly, again, as he differeth in order, so in measure of Power also; because

Psal. 2. 8. God hath given unto him the ends of the Earth for his Possession; unto him, Dominion from Sea to Sea, unto him all power both in Heaven and Earth, unto him such Soveraignty, as doth not only reach over all places, persons, and things, but doth rest in his own only Person, and is not by any succession continued; he reigneth as Head and King, nor is there any kinde of law which tyeth him, but his own proper will and wisdom, his power is absolute, the same joyntly over all which it is severally over each: not so the Power of any other Headship. How Kings are restrained, and how their Power is limited, we have shewed before; so that unto him is given by the title of *Headship over the Church* that largeness of Power, wherein neither Man, nor Angel, can be matched nor compared with him.

Thirdly, the last and greatest difference between him and them, is in the very kinde of their Power. The Head being, of all other parts of the Body, most divine, hath dominion over all the rest; it is the fountain of sense, of motion, the throne where the guide of the Soul doth reign; the Court from whence direction of all things human proceedeth. Why Christ is called *the Head of the Church*, these Causes themselves do yield. As the Head is the chiefest part of a man, above which there is none, alwayes joyned with the Body; so Christ the highest in his Church, is alwayes knit to it. Again, as the Head giveth sense and motion unto all the Body, so he quickneth us, and, together with understanding of heavenly things, giveth strength to walk therein. Seeing therefore that they cannot affirm Christ sensibly present, or alwayes visibly joyned unto his Body the Church which is on Earth, in as much as his Corporal residence is in Heaven; again, seeing they do not affirm (it were intolerable if they should) that Christ doth personally administer the external Regiment of outward Actions in the Church, but, by the secret inward influence of his Grace, giveth Spiritual life, and the strength of ghostly motions thereunto: Impossible it is, that they should so close up their eyes, as not to discern what odds there is between that kinde of operation, which we imply in the *Headship* of Princes, and that which agreeth to our Saviours dominion over the Church. The *Headship* which we give unto Kings, is altogether visibly exercised, and ordereth only the external frame of the Church-affairs here amongst us; so that it plainly differeth from Christ's, even in very nature and kinde. To be in such sort united unto the Church as he is; to work as he worketh, either on the whole Church or upon any particular Assembly, or in any one man; doth neither agree, nor hath any possibility of agreeing unto any one besides him.

T. C. l. 2. p. 411. Against the first distinction or difference, it is to be objected, *That to entitle a Magistrate head of the Church, although it be under Christ, is not absurd. For Christ hath a two-fold Superiority; over his, and over Kingdoms: according to the one, he hath a Superiour, which is his Father; according to the other, none but immediate Authority with his Father; that is to say, of the Church he is Head and Governor onely as the Son of Man; Head and Governor of Kingdoms onely as the Son of God. In the Church, as Man, he hath Officers under him, which Officers are Ecclesiastical*

T. C. l. 2. p. 418. *Persons: As for the Civil Magistrate, his Office belongeth unto Kingdoms, and to Common-wealths, neither is he there an under or subordinate Head, considering that*

his

his Authority cometh from God, ſimply and immediately, even as our Saviour Chriſt's doth. Whereunto the ſum of our Anſwer is, Firſt, that as Chriſt being Lord or Head over all, doth, by vertue of that Soveraignty, rule all; ſo he hath no more a Superiour in governing his Church, than in exerciſing Soveraign Dominion upon the reſt of the World beſides. Secondly, That all Authority, as well Civil as Eccleſiaſtical, is ſubordinate unto him. And Thirdly, the Civil Magiſtrate being termed Head, by reaſon of that Authority in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs which hath been already declared that themſelves do acknowledge to be lawful: It followeth, that he is a Head even ſubordinated of Chriſt, and to Chriſt. For more plain explication whereof, unto God we acknowledge daily, that Kingdom, Power, and Glory, are his; that he is the immortal and inviſible King of Ages, as well the future which ſhall be, as the preſent which now is. That which the Father doth work as Lord and King over all, he worketh not without, but by the Son, who, through coeternal generation, receiveth of the Father that Power, which the Father hath of himſelf. And for that cauſe our Saviours words concerning his own Dominion, are, *To me all Power both in Heaven and in Earth is given*: The Father by the Son did create, and doth guide all; wherfore Chriſt hath Supream dominion over the whole univerſal World. Chriſt is God, Chriſt is λογος, the conſubſtantial Word of God, Chriſt is alſo that conſubſtantial Word which made man. As God, he ſaith of himſelf, *I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end: he which was, and which is, and which is to come, even the very Omnipotent.* As the conſubſtantial Word of God, he hath with God, before the beginning of the World, that glory, which, as he was Man, he requireth to have: *Father, glorifie thy Son with that glory which with thee he enjoyed before the World was.* Further, it is not neceſſary, that all things ſpoken of Chriſt ſhould agree to him, either as God, or elſe as Man; but ſome things as he is the conſubſtantial Word of God, ſome things as he is that Word incarnate. The Works of Supream Dominion which have been ſince the firſt beginning wrought by the power of the Son of God, are now moſt properly and truly the Works of the Son of Man: the Word made Fleſh doth ſit for ever, and reign, as Soveraign Lord over all. Dominion belongeth unto the Kingly Office of Chriſt, as Propitiation and Mediation unto his Prieſtly; Inſtruction, unto his Paſtoral and Prophetical Office. His Works of Dominion are, in ſundry degrees and kindes, according to the different conditions of them that are ſubject unto it: he preſently doth govern, and hereafter ſhall judge the World, intire and wholly; and therefore his Regal power cannot be with truth reſtrained unto a proportion of the World only. Notwithſtanding, foraſmuch as all do not ſhew and acknowledge, with dutiful ſubmiſſion, that Obedience which they owe unto him; therefore ſuch as do, their Lord he is termed by way of excellency, no otherwiſe than the Apoſtle doth term God the Saviour generally of all, but eſpecially of the Faithful; theſe being brought to the obedience of Faith, are every where ſpoken of, as men tranſlated into that Kingdom, wherein whoſoever is comprehended, Chriſt is the Author of eternal Salvation unto them; they have a high and ghoſtly fellowſhip with God and Chriſt, and Saints; or, as the Apoſtle in more ample manner ſpeaketh, *Aggregated they are unto Mount Sion, and to the City of the living God; the Celeſtial Jeruſalem, and to the company of innumerable Angels, and to the Congregation of the firſt born, which are written in Heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the Spirits of juſt and perfect men, and to Jeſus the Mediator of the new Teſtament.* In a word, they are of that Myſtical body, which we term the Church of Chriſt. As for the reſt we account them *Aliens from the Common-wealth of Iſrael, and that live in the Kingdom of Darkneſs, and that are in this preſent World without God.* Our Saviours Dominion is therefore over theſe, as over Rebels; over them, as over dutiful and loving Subjects; which things being in holy Scriptures ſo plain, I ſomewhat muſe at that ſtrange poſition, That Chriſt in the Government of his Church, and Superiority over the Officers of it, hath himſelf a Superiour which is the Father; but in governing of Kingdoms and Common-wealths, and in the Superiority which he hath over Kingdoms, no Superiour.

Vpoc. 1. 8.

John 17. 5.

Heb. 12. 22.

Again, *That the Civil Magiſtrates Authority commeth from God immediately, as Chriſts doth, and is ſubordinate unto Chriſt.* In what Evangeliſt, Apoſtle, or Prophet, is it found, that Chriſt (Supream Governour of the Church) ſhould be ſo unequal to himſelf, as he is Supream Governour of Kingdoms? The works of his Providence

T. C. l. 4. p. 411

for the preſervation of Mankinde, by upholding Kingdoms, not only obedient unto, but alſo obſtinate and rebellious againſt him, are ſuch as proceed from Divine Power; and are not the works of his Providence for ſafety of God's Elect, by gathering, inſpiring, comforting, and every way preſerving his Church, ſuch as proceed from the ſame Power likewiſe? Surely, if Chriſt, as God and Man, hath ordained certain means for the gathering and keeping of his Church, ſeeing this doth belong to the Government of that Church; it muſt in reaſon follow, I think, that, as God and Man, he worketh in Church Regiment; and conſequently hath no more there any Superiours, than in the Government of the Common-wealth. Again, to be in the midſt of his, whereſoever they are aſſembled in his Name, and to be with them to the World's end, are comforts which Chriſt doth perform to his Church as Lord and Governour; yea, ſuch as he cannot perform but by that very Power wherein he hath no Superiour. Wherefore, unleſs it can be proved, that all the works of our Saviours Government in the Church, are done by the mere and onely force of his Human nature, there is no remedy but to acknowledge it a manifeſt errour, that Chriſt, in the Government of the World, is equal to the Father, but not in the Government of the Church. Indeed, to the honour of this Dominion, it cannot be ſaid, that God did exalt him otherwiſe than only according to that Human nature, wherein he was made low. For, as the Son of God, there could no advancement or exaltation grow unto him: And yet the Dominion, whereunto he was in his Human nature lifted up, is not without Divine Power exerciſed. It is by Divine Power, that the Son of man, who ſitteth in Heaven, doth work as King and Lord upon us which are on Earth. The exerciſe of his Dominion over the Church Militant cannot chooſe but ceaſe, when there is no longer any Militant Church in the World. And therefore, as Generals of Armies when they have finiſhed their Work, are wont to yield up ſuch Commiſſions as were given for that purpoſe, and to remain in the ſtate of Subjects, and not as Lords, as concerning their former authority; even ſo, when the end of all things is come, the Son of man (who till then reigneth) ſhall do the like, as touching Regiment over the Militant Church on the Earth. So that between the Son of man and his Brethren, over whom he reigneth now in this their War-fare, there ſhall be then, as touching the exerciſe of that Regiment, no ſuch difference; they not warfaring any longer under him; but he, together with them, under God, receiving the joyes of everlaſting triumph, that ſo God may be in all; all miſery in all the Wicked, through his Juſtice; in all the Righteous, through his love, all felicity and bliſſe. In the mean while he reigneth over the World as King, and doth thoſe things wherein none is Superiour unto him, whether we reſpect the works of his Providence and Kingdom, or of his Regiment over the Church. The cauſe of Errour in this point, doth ſeem to have been a miſconceit, that Chriſt, as Mediatour, being inferiour to his Father, doth, as Mediatour, all Works of Regiment over the Church, when, in truth, Regiment doth belong to his Kingly Office; Mediatourſhip to his Prieſtly.

T.C. l. 2 p. 15. For, as the High-Prieſt both offered Sacrifices, for expiation of the People's ſins, and entred into the holy Place, there to make interceſſion for them: So, Chriſt

Heb. 9. 25. having finiſhed upon the Croſs that part of his Prieſtly Office, which wrought the propitiation for our Sinnes, did afterwards enter into very Heaven, and doth there, as Mediatour of the New Teſtament, appear in the ſight of God for us. A like ſleight of Judgement it is, when they hold, that Civil Authority is from God, but not immediately through Chriſt, nor with any ſubordination to God, nor doth any thing from God, but by the hands of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. They deny

Pſal. 7. 25. Rom. 13. 1. Prov. 8. 15. Humble motion, p. 63. Rev. 1. 5. it not, to be ſaid of Chriſt in the Old Teſtament, *By me Princes rule, and the Nobles, and all the Judges of the Earth.* In the New as much is taught, *That Chriſt is the Prince of the Kings of the Earth.* Wherefore, to the end it may more plainly appear, how all Authority of Man is derived from God through Chriſt, and muſt by Chriſtian men be acknowledged to be no otherwiſe held then of, and under him; we are to note, that, becauſe whatſoever hath neceſſary being, the Son of God doth cauſe it to be, and thoſe things without which the World cannot well continue, have neceſſary being in the World: a thing of ſo great uſe as Government, cannot chooſe but be originally from Him. Touching that Authority which Civil Magiſtrates have in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, it being from God by Chriſt,

as all other good things are, cannot chuſe but be held as a thing received at his hands; and, becauſe ſuch power is of neceſſity for the ordering of Religion, wherein the eſſence and very being of the Church conſiſteth, can no otherwiſe flow from him, than according to that ſpecial care which he hath to govern and guide his own People: it followeth, that the ſaid Authority is of and under him after a more ſpecial manner, in that *he is Head of the Church*, and not in reſpect of his general Regency over the World. *All things* (ſaith the Apoſtle, ſpeaking unto the Church) *are yours, and ye are Chriſts, and Chriſt is God's.* 1 Cor. 3. 22. Kings are Chriſt's as Saints, becauſe they are of the Church, if not collectively, yet diviſively underſtood. It is over each particular Perſon within that Church where they are Kings: Surely, Authority reacheth both unto all mens perſons, and to all kindes of cauſes alſo: It is not denyed, but that they may have and lawfully exerciſe it; ſuch Authority it is, for which, and for no other in the World, we term them Heads; ſuch Authority they have under Chriſt, becauſe he in all things is Lord over all; and even of Chriſt it is that they have received ſuch Authority, in as much as of him all lawful Powers are; therefore the Civil Magiſtrate is, in regard of this Power, an under and ſubordinate Head of Chriſt's People.

It is but idle where they ſpeak, *That although, for ſeveral Companies of Men, there may be ſeveral Heads or Governours, differing in the meaſure of their Authority from the Chiefeſt, who is Head over all; yet it cannot be in the Church, for that the reaſon why Head-Magiſtrates appoint others for ſuch ſeveral places is, Becauſe they cannot be preſent every where to perform the Office of an Head. But Chriſt is never from his Body, nor from any part of it, and therefore needeth not to ſubſtitute any, which may be Heads, ſome over one Church, and ſome over another.* T.C.l.p 413. Indeed the conſideration of Man's imbecillity, which maketh many Heads neceſſary, where the burthen is too great for one, moved *Jethro* to be a Perſwader of *Moſes*, that a number of Heads or Rulers might be inſtituted for diſcharge of that duty by parts, which in whole he ſaw was troubleſome. Now, although there be not in Chriſt any ſuch defect, or weakneſs; yet other cauſes there be divers, more than we are able to ſearch into, wherefore it might ſeem unto him expedient to divide his Kingdom into many Provinces, and place many Heads over it, that the Power which each of them hath in particular with reſtraint, might illuſtrate the greatneſs of his unlimited Authority. Beſides, howſoever Chriſt be Spiritually alwayes united unto every part of his Body, which is the Church: Nevertheleſs, we do all know, and they themſelves who alledge this, will, I doubt not, confeſs alſo, that from every Church here viſible, Chriſt, touching viſible and corporal preſence, is removed as farr as Heaven from the Earth is diſtant. Viſible Government is a thing neceſſary for the Church; and it doth not appear, how the exerciſe of viſible Government over ſuch Multitudes every where diſperſed throughout the World, ſhould conſiſt without ſundry viſible Governours; whoſe Power being the greateſt in that kinde, ſo farr as it reacheth, they are in conſideration thereof termed ſo farr Heads. Wherefore, notwithſtanding the perpetual conjunction, by vertue whereof our Saviour, alwayes remaineth ſpiritually united unto the parts of his Myſtical Body; Heads indeed with Supream Power, extending to a certain compaſſe, are for the exerciſe of a viſible Regiment not unneceſſary. Some other reaſons there are belonging unto this branch, which ſeem to have been objected, rather for the exerciſe of mens wits, in diſſolving Sophiſmes, than that the Authors of them could think in likelyhood, thereby to ſtrengthen their cauſe. For example, *If the Magiſtrate be Head of the Church within his own Dominion, then is he none of the Church: For all that are of the Church make the Body of Chriſt, and every one of the Church fulfilleth the place of one member of the Body: By making the Magiſtrate therefore Head, we do exclude him from being a Member ſubject to the Head, and ſo leave him no place in the Church.* T.C. l. p.419. Ut *Hen.*8.6 9. By which reaſon, the name of a Body Politick, is ſuppoſed to be alwayes taken of the inferiour ſort alone, excluding the Principal Guides and Governors, contrary to all Mens cuſtomes of ſpeech. The Errour ariſeth by miſconceiving of ſome Scripture-ſentences, where Chriſt as the Head, and the Church as the Body, are compared or oppoſed the one to the other. And, becauſe in ſuch compariſons oppoſitions, the Body is taken for thoſe only parts which are ſubject unto the Head, they

they imagine, that who ſo is the Head of any Church, he is therefore even excluded from being a part of that Church; That the Magiſtrate can be none of the Church, if ſo we make him the Head of the Church in his own Dominions: A chief and principal part of the Church therefore. Next, this is ſurely a ſtrange concluſion, A Church doth indeed make the Body of Chriſt, being wholly taken together; and every one in the ſame Church fulfilleth the place of a Member in the Body, but not the place of an inferiour Member, the which hath Supream Authority and Power over all the reſt. Wherefore, by making the Magiſtrate Head in his own Dominions, we exclude him from being a Member ſubject unto any other Perſon, which may viſibly there rule in place of a Superiour or Head over him; but ſo farr are we off from leaving him by this means no place in the Church, that we do grant him the Chief place. Indeed the Heads of thoſe viſible Bodies, which are many, can be but parts inferiour in that Spiritual Body which is but one; yea, they may from this be excluded clean, who notwithſtanding ought to be honoured, as poſſeſſing in order the higheſt rooms: But for the Magiſtrate to be termed, in his Dominions, an Head, doth not barr him from being any way a Part or Member of the Church of God.

As little to the purpoſe are thoſe other Cavils: *A Church which hath the Magiſtrate for Head, is perfect man without Chriſt*: So that the knitting of our Saviour thereunto, ſhould be an addition of that which is too much. Again, *If the Church be the Body of Chriſt, and of the Civil Magiſtrate, it ſhall have two heads, which being monſtrous, is to the great diſhonour of Chriſt and his Church.* Thirdly, *If the Church be planted in a popular eſtate, then, foraſmuch as all govern in common, and all have Authority, all ſhall be Heads there, and no Body at all, which is another Monſter.* It might be feared what this birth of ſo many Monſters together might portend, but that we know how things, natural enough in themſelves, may ſeem monſtrous, through miſconceit; which errour of minde is indeed a Monſter: and the skilful in Nature's myſteryes, have uſed to term it the Wombe of Monſters; if any be, it is that troubled Underſtanding, wherein, becauſe things lye confuſedly mixt together, what they are it appeareth not. A Church perfect without Chriſt, I know not how a man ſhall imagin; unleſs there may be either Chriſtianity without Chriſt, or elſe a Church without Chriſtianity. If Magiſtrates be Heads of the Church, they are of neceſſity Chriſtians, then is their Head Chriſt. The adding of Chriſt univerſal Head over all, unto Magiſtrates particular Headſhip, is no more ſuperfluous in any Church than, in other Societyes: each is to be both ſeverally ſubject unto ſome Head, and to have a Head alſo general for them all to be ſubject unto. For ſo in Armys, in Civil Corporations, we ſee it fareth: A Body Politick, in ſuch reſpects, is not like a Natural Body; in this, more Heads than one is ſuperfluous; in that, not. It is neither monſtrous, nor yet uncomely for a Church to have different Heads: for if Chriſtian Churches be in number many, and every of them a perfect Body by it ſelf, Chriſt being Lord and Head over all; Why ſhould we judge it a thing more monſtrous for one Body to have two Heads, than one Head ſo many Bodyes? Him that God hath made the Supream Head of the whole Church; the Head, not only of that Myſtical Body, which the eye of man is not able to diſcern, but even of every Chriſtian Politick Society, of every viſible Church in the World? And whereas, Laſtly, it is thought ſo ſtrange, that in Popular-States, a Multitude to it ſelf ſhould be both Body and Head, all this Wonderment doth grow from a little over-ſight, in deeming that the Subject wherein Headſhip ought to reſide, ſhould be evermore ſome one Perſon; which thing is not neceſſary. For in the collective Body that hath not derived as yet the Principality of power into ſome one or few, the whole of neceſſity muſt be Head over each part; otherwiſe it could not have power poſſibly to make any one certain Perſon head; inaſmuch as the very power of making a Head belongeth unto Headſhip. Theſe ſuppoſed *Monſters* we ſee therefore are no ſuch *Giants*, as that there ſhould need any *Hercules* to tame them.

The laſt difference which we have between the Title of Head when we give it unto Chriſt, and when we give it to other Governours, is, that the kinde of Dominion which it importeth, is not the ſame in both: Chriſt is Head, as being the Fountain of Life and Ghoſtly nutriment, the Well-ſpring of Spiritual Bleſſings powred into the Body of the Church; they Heads, as being the principal

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inſtruments for the Churches outward Government; he Head, as Founder of the Houſe; they, as his chiefeſt Overſeers. Againſt this is exception eſpecially taken, and our Purveyours are herein ſaid to have their proviſion from the Popiſh Shambles: for by *Pighius* and *Harding*, to prove that Chriſt alone is not Head of the Church, this diſtinction, they ſay, is brought, that, according to the inward influence of Grace, Chriſt only is Head: but, according to the outward Government, the being of Head is a thing common to him with others. To raiſe up Falſhoods of old condemned, and bring it for confirmation of any thing doubtful, which already hath ſufficiently been proved an error, and is worthily ſo taken, this would juſtly deſerve cenſuring. But, ſhall manifeſt truth therefore be reproached, becauſe men convicted in ſome things of manifeſt untruth, have at any time thought or alledged it? If too much eagerneſs againſt their Adverſaries had not made them forget themſelves, they might remember, where being charged as Maintainers of thoſe very things, for which others before them have been condemned of Hereſie, yet, leſt the name of any ſuch Heretick, holding the ſame which they do, ſhould make them odious; they ſtick not frankly to confeſs, *That they are not afraid to conſent in ſome points, with Jews and Turks*: which defence, for all that, were a very weak Buckler for ſuch as ſhould conſent with Jews and Turks, in that which they have been abhorred and hated for in the Church. But as for this diſtinction of Headſhip, Spiritual and Myſtical of Jeſus Chriſt, miniſterial and outward in others beſides Chriſt; what cauſe is there to miſlike either *Harding*, or *Pighius*, or any other beſides for it? That which they have been reproved for, is, not becauſe they did therein utter an untruth, but ſuch a Truth as was not ſufficient to bear up the Cauſe which they did thereby ſeek to maintain. By this diſtinction, they have both truly and ſufficiently proved, that the name of *Head* importing Power and Dominion over the Church, might be given to others beſides Chriſt, without prejudice to any part of his honor. That which they ſhould have made manifeſt, was, The name of *Head*, importing the power of univerſal Dominion over the whole Church of Chriſt militant, doth, and that by divine right, appertain to the Pope of *Rome*: They did prove it lawful to grant unto others, beſides Chriſt, the power of Headſhip in a different kinde from his; but they ſhould have proved it lawful to challenge, as they did to the Biſhop of *Rome*, a Power univerſal in that different kinde. Their fault was therefore in exacting wrongfully ſo great Power as they challenged in that kinde, and not in making two kindes of Power, unleſs ſome reaſons can be ſhewed for which this diſtinction of Power ſhould be thought erroneous and falſe. A little they ſtirr, (although in vain) to prove, that we cannot with truth make ſuch diſtinction of Power, whereof the one kinde ſhould agree unto Chriſt onely, and the other be further communicated. Thus therefore they argue, *If there be no Head but Chriſt, in reſpect of Spiritual Government, there is no Head but he in reſpect of the Word, Sacraments, and Diſcipline adminiſtred by thoſe whom he hath appointed, for as much alſo as it is his Spiritual Government*: Their meaning is, that whereas we make two kindes of Power, of which two, the one being Spiritual, is proper unto Chriſt; the other, men are capable of, becauſe it is viſible and external: We do amiſs altogether in diſtinguiſhing, they think, foraſmuch as the viſible and external power of Regiment over the Church, is onely in relation unto the Word, Sacraments, and Diſcipline, adminiſtred by ſuch as Chriſt hath appointed thereunto, and the exerciſe of this Power is alſo his Spiritual Government: Therefore we do but vainly imagin a viſible and external Power in the Church differing from his Spiritual Power. Such Diſputes as this, do ſomewhat reſemble the practiſing of Well-willers upon their Friends in the pangs of Death; whoſe manner is, even then, to put ſmoak in their Noſtrils, and ſo to fetch them again, although they know it a matter impoſſible to keep them living. The kinde of affection which the Favourers of this laboring-cauſe bear towards it, will not ſuffer them to ſee it dye, although by what means they ſhould make it live, they do not ſee; but they may ſee that theſe wreſtlings will not help: Can they be ignorant how little it booteth to overcaſt ſo clear a light with ſome miſt of ambiguity in the name of Spiritual Regiment? To make things therefore ſo plain, that henceforward a Childes capacity may ſerve rightly to conceive our meaning, we make the Spiritual Regiment of Chriſt to be generally that whereby his Church is ruled and governed in things Spiritual. Of

T. C. l. 3. p. 63.

T. C. l. 2. P 45.

this

this general we make two distinct kindes; the one invisible, exercised by Christ himself in his own Person; the other outwardly administred by them, whom Christ doth allow, to be Rulers and Guiders of his Church. Touching the former of these two kindes, we teach that Christ, in regard thereof, is particularly termed *the Head of the Church of God*; neither can any other Creature, in that sense and meaning, be termed Head, besides him, because it importeth the conduct and government of our Souls, by the hand of that blessed Spirit wherewith we are sealed and marked, as being peculiarly his. Him onely therefore do we acknowledge to be the Lord, which dwelleth, liveth, and reigneth in our hearts; him only to be that Head, which giveth salvation and life unto his Body; him onely to be that Fountain from whence the influence of heavenly Graces distilleth, and is derived into all parts, whether the Word, or the Sacraments, or Discipline, or whatsoever, be the means whereby it floweth. As for the Power of administring these things in the Church of Christ, which Power we call the Power of Order, it is indeed both Spiritual and His; Spiritual, because such properly concerns the Spirit: His, because by him it was instituted. Howbeit, neither Spiritual, as that which is inwardly and invisibly exercised; nor His, as that which he himself, in Person, doth exercise. Again, that power of Dominion, which is indeed the point of this Controversie, and doth also belong to the second kinde of Spiritual Government, namely, unto that Regiment which is external and visible: this likewise being Spiritual in regard of the manner about which it dealeth; and being his, in as much as he approveth whatsoever is done by it, must notwithstanding be distinguished also from that Power whereby he himself in Person administreth the former kinde of his own Spiritual Regiment, because he himself in Person doth not administer this; we do not therefore vainly imagine, but truly and rightly discern a Power external and visible in the Church, exercised by men, and severed in nature from that Spiritual Power of Christ's own Regiment; which Power is termed Spiritual, because it worketh secretly, inwardly, and invisibly: His, because none doth, nor can it personally exercise, either besides, or together with him; seeing that him onely we may name our Head, in regard of His; and yet, in regard of that other Power from this, term others also, besides him, Heads, without any contradiction at all; which thing may very well serve for answer unto that also which they further alledge against the aforesaid distinction, namely, *That even the outward Societies and Assemblies of the Church, where one or two are gathered together in his Name, either for hearing of the Word, or for Prayer, or any other Church-exercise, our Saviour Christ being in the midst of them as Mediatour, must be their Head: and if he be not there idle, but doing the Office of a Head fully, it followeth, that even in the outward Societies and Meetings of the Church, no mere man can be called the Head of it, seeing that our Saviour Christ doing the whole Office of the Head himself alone, leaveth nothing to men, by doing whereof they may obtain that Title.* Which Objection I take as being made for nothing but onely to maintain Argument: for they are not so farr gone as to argue this in sooth and right good earnest. *God standeth* (saith the Psalmist) *in the midst of gods*; if God be there present, he must undoubtedly be present as God; if he be not there idle, but doing the Office of a God fully, it followeth, that God himself alone doing the whole Office of a God, leaveth nothing in such Assemblies to any other, by doing whereof they may obtain so high a Name. The Psalmist therefore hath spoken amiss, and doth ill to call Judges, Gods. Not so; for as God hath his Office differing from theirs, and doth fully discharge it even in the midst of them, so they are not hereby excluded from all kinde of Duty, for which that Name should be given unto them also, but in that Duty for which it was given them, they are encouraged Religiously and carefully to order themselves after the self-same manner. Our Lord and Saviour being in the midst of his Church as Head, is our comfort, without the abridgement of any one duty; for performance whereof, others are termed Heads in another kinde than he is. If there be of the antient Fathers, which say, *That there is but one Head of the Church, Christ; and that the Minister that baptizeth cannot be the Head of him that is baptized, because Christ is the Head of the whole Church: and that* Paul *could not be Head of the Church which he planted, because Christ is the Head of the whole Body*: They understand the name of Head in such sort as we grant, that it is not applicable to any other, no not in relation, to the least part of the whole Church; he

T. C. l. 1. p. 415.

T. C. l. 2. p. 413.

he which baptizeth, baptizeth into Christ; he which converteth, converteth into Christ; he which ruleth, ruleth for Christ. The whole Church can have but one to be Head as Lord and Owner of all; wherefore if Christ be Head in that kinde, it followeth, that no other besides can be so either to the whole or to any part.

To call and dissolve all solemn Assemblies about the Publick Affairs of the Church.

AMongst sundry Prerogatives of *Simons* Dominion over the Jews, there is reckoned, as not the least, *That no man might gather any great Assembly in the Land without him.* For so the manner of Jewish Regiment had alwayes been, that, whether the cause for which men assembled themselves in peaceable, good, and orderly sort were Ecclesiastical, or Civil, Supream Authority should assemble them; *David* gathered all *Israel* together unto *Jerusalem*; when the Ark was to be removed, he assembled the Sons of *Aaron* and the *Levites*. *Solomon* did the like at such time as the Temple was to be dedicated; when the Church was to be reformed, *Asa* in his time did the same: The same upon like occasions was done afterwards by *Joash*, *Hezekias*, *Josiah*, and others.

The Consuls of *Rome*, *Polybius* affirmeth to have had a kinde of Regal Authority, in that they might call together the Senate and People whensoever it pleased them. Seeing therefore the Affairs of the Church and Christian Religion, are Publick Affairs; for the ordering whereof more Solemn Assemblies sometimes are of as great importance and use, as they are for Secular Affairs: It seemeth no less an act of Supream Authority to call the one, then the other. Wherefore the Clergy, in such wise gathered together, is an Ecclesiastical Senate, which with us, as in former times, the chiefest Prelate at his discretion did use to assemble; so that afterwards in such considerations as have been before specified, it seemed more meet to annex the said Prerogative to the Crown. The plot of reformed Discipline not liking thereof so well, taketh order, that every former Assembly before it breaketh up, should it self appoint both the time and place of their After-meeting again. But, because I finde not any thing on that side particularly alledged against us herein, a longer disputation about so plain a cause shall not need. The antient Imperial Law forbiddeth such Assemblies as the Emperor's Authority did not cause to be made. Before Emperors became Christians, the Church had never any General Synod; their greatest Meeting consisting of Bishops, and others the gravest in each Province. As for the Civil Governor's Authority, it suffered them only as things not regarded, or not accounted of at such times as it did suffer them. So that what right a Christian King hath as touching Assemblies of that kinde, we are not able to judge, till we come to later times, when Religion had won the hearts of the highest Powers. *Constantine*, (as *Pighius* doth grant) was not only the first that ever did call any General Councel together, but even the first that devised the calling of them for consultation about the businesses of God. After he had once given the example, his Successors a long time followed the same; in so much that St. *Hierom* to disprove the Authority of a Synod, which was pretended to be general, useth this as a forcible Argument, *Dic, quis Imperator hanc Synodum jusserit convocari?* Their Answer hereunto, is no Answer, which say, *That the Emperors did not this without conference had with the Bishops*: for to our purpose it is enough, if the Clergy alone did it not otherwise than by the leave and appointment of their Soveraign Lords and Kings. Whereas therefore it is on the contrary side alledged, that *Valentinian* the elder being requested by Catholick Bishops, to grant that there might be a Synod for the ordering of matters called in question by the *Arians*, answered, that he being one of the Laity, might not meddle with such matters, and thereupon willed, that the Priests and Bishops, to whom the care of those things belongeth, should meet and consult together by themselves where they thought good. We must, with the Emperor's speech, weigh the occasion and drift thereof. *Valentinian* and *Valens*, the one a Catholick, the other an *Arian*, were Emperors together: *Valens*, the Governour of the East; and *Valentinian* of the West Empire. *Valentinian* therefore taking his Journey from the East, unto the West parts, and passing for that intent through *Thracia*, there the Bishops, which held the soundnesse of Christian Belief, because they knew that

Polyb. l. 6. de milit. ac domest. Rom. Discipl.

Lib. 1. de Col. illicit. & de conventiculis; cap. de Episc. & Presbyt.

Hierarch. lib. 6. cap. 1.

Constant. concil. à Theodosio. Sardicen. consil. à Con-

Hieron. cont. Ruffinum l. 2.

Sozomen, l. 6; cap. 7. Ambros. Epist. 32.

Valens was their professed Enemy, and therefore if the other was once departed out of those quarters, the Catholick Cause was like to finde very small favour, moved presently *Valentinian* about a Councel to be assembled under the countenance of his Authority; who by likelihood considering what inconvenience might grow thereby, inasmuch as it could not be but a means to incense *Valens* the more against them, refused himself to be Author of, or present at any such Assembly; and of this his denyal gave them a colourable reason, to wit, that he was, although an Emperour, yet a secular Person, and therefore not able, in matters of so great obscurity, to sit as a competent Judge. But if they which were Bishops and learned men, did think good to consult thereof together, they might; Whereupon, when they could not obtain that which they most desired, yet that which he granted unto them they took, and forthwith had a Councel. *Valentinian* went on towards *Rome*, they remaining in consultation, till *Valens*, which accompanied him, returned back; so that now there was no remedy, but either to incurr a manifest contempt, or else at the hands of *Valens* himself, to seek approbation of that they had done. To him therefore they became Suitors: his Answer was short; *Either Arianism, or Exile, which they would*; whereupon their Banishment ensued. Let reasonable men now therefore be Judges, how much this example of *Valentinian* doth make against the Authority, which we say that Soveraign Rulers may lawfully have, as concerning Synods and Meetings Ecclesiastical.

Of the Authority of making Laws.

THere are which wonder, that we should account any Statute a Law, which the High Court of Parliament in *England* hath established about the matters of *Church-Regiment*; the Prince and Court of Parliament, having (as they suppose) no more lawful means to give order to the Church and Clergy in those things, than they have to make Laws for the Hierarchies of Angels in Heaven; That the Parliament being a mere Temporal Court, can neither by the law of Nature, nor of God, have competent power to define of such matters; That Supremacy in this kinde cannot belong unto Kings, as Kings, because Pagan Emperours, whose Princely power was true Soveraignty, never challenged so much over the Church; That Power, in this kinde, cannot be the right of any Earthly Crown, Prince, or State, in that they be Christians, forasmuch as if they be Christians, they all owe subjection to the Pastors of their Souls; That the Prince therefore not having it himself, cannot communicate it to the Parliament, and consequently cannot make Laws here, or determine of the Churches Regiment by himself, Parliament, or any other Court subjected unto him.

The Parliament of *England*, together with the Convocation annexed thereunto, is that whereupon the very essence of all Government within this Kingdom doth depend; it is even the body of the whole Realm; it consisteth of the King, and of all that within the Land are subject unto him. The Parliament is a Court, not so merely Temporal, as if it might meddle with nothing but onely Leather and Wool: Those dayes of Queen *Mary* are not yet forgotten, wherein the Realm did submit it self unto the Legate of Pope *Julius*, at which time, had they been perswaded, as this man seemeth now to be, had they thought, that there is no more force in Laws made by Parliament concerning Church-Affairs, then if men should take upon them to make Orders for the Hierarchies of Angels in Heaven, they might have taken all former Statutes of that kinde as cancelled, and, by reason of nullity, abrogated. What need was there, that they should bargain with the Cardinal, and purchase their Pardon by promise made before-hand, that what Laws they had made, assented unto, or executed, against the Bishop of *Rome*'s Supremacy, the same they would, in that present Parliament, effectually abrogate and repeal? Had they power to repeal Laws made, and none to make Laws concerning the Regiment of the Church? Again, when they had by suit obtained his confirmation for such Foundations of Bishopricks, Cathedral Churches, Hospitals, Colledges, and Schools; for such Marriages before made, for such Institutions into Livings Ecclesiastical, and for all such Judicial Processes, as having been ordered according to the Laws before in force, but contrary unto the Canons and Orders of the Church of *Rome*; were in that respect thought defective, although

though the Cardinal in his Letters of Dispensation, did give validity unto those Acts, even *Apostolicæ firmitatis robur*, the very strength of Apostolical solidity; what had all these been without those grave authentical words? *Be it enacted by the Authority of this present Parliament, that all and singular Articles and Clauses contained in the said Dispensation, shall remain and be reputed and taken to all intents and constructions in the Laws of this Realm, lawful, good and effectual to be alledged and pleaded in all Courts Ecclesiastical and Temporal, for good and sufficient matter either for the Plaintiff or Defendant, without any Allegation or Objection to be made against the validity of them, by pretence of any General Councel, Canon, or Decree to the contrary.* Somewhat belike they thought there was in this mere Temporal Court, without which the Popes own mere Ecclesiastical Legate's Dispensation had taken small effect in the Church of *England*; neither did they, or the Cardinal imagine any thing committed against the Law of Nature, or of God, because they took order for the Churches Affairs, and that even in the Court of Parliament. The most natural and Religious course in making Laws, is, that the matter of them be taken from the judgement of the wisest in those things which they are to concern. In matters of God, to set down a form of Prayer, a solemn confession of the Articles of the Christian Faith, and Ceremonies meet for the exercise of Religion; It were unnatural not to think the Pastors and Bishops of our Souls a great deal more fit, than men of Secular Trades, and Callings: Howbeit, when all, which the wisdome of all sorts can do, is done for the devising of Laws in the Church, it is the general consent of all that giveth them the form and vigour of Laws, without which they could be no more unto us than the Councel of Physitians to the sick. Well might they seem as wholesom admonitions and instructions; but Laws could they never be, without consent of the whole Church, to be guided by them; whereunto both Nature and the practise of the Church of God set down in Scripture, is found every way so fully consonant, that God himself would not impose, no not his own Laws, upon his People, by the hand of *Moses*, without their free and open consent. Wherefore, to define and determine, even of the Churches Affairs by way of assent and approbation, as Laws are defined in that Right of Power, which doth give them the force of Laws; thus to define of our own Churches Regiment, the Parliament of *England* hath competent Authority.

[1] An. 1, & 2 Phil & Mar. cap. 8.

Touching that Supremacy of Power which our Kings have in this case of making Laws, it resteth principally in the strength of a negative voice; which not to give them, were to deny them that, without which they were Kings but by mere title, and not in exercise of Dominion. Be it in Regiment Popular, Aristocratical, or Regal, Principality resteth in that Person, or those Persons unto whom is given right of excluding any kinde of Law whatsoever it be, before establishment. This doth belong unto Kings, as Kings; Pagan Emperors, even *Nero* himself had no less; but much more than this in the Laws of his own Empire. That he challenged not any interest of giving voice in the laws of the Church, I hope no man will so construe, as if the cause were conscience, and fear to encroach upon the Apostles right. If then it be demanded, By what right from *Constantine* downward, the Christian Emperors did so far intermeddle with the Churches affairs, either we must herein condemn them, as being over presumptuously bold, or else judge that, by a Law, which is termed *Regia*, that is to say, Regal, the People having derived unto their Emperors their whole power for making of Laws, and by that means his Edicts being made Laws, what matter soever they did concern, as Imperial dignity endowed them with competent Authority and power to make Laws for Religion, so they were thought by Christianity to use their Power, being Christians, unto the benefit of the Church of Christ: was there any Christian Bishop in the world which did then judge this repugnant unto the dutiful subjection which Christians do ow to the Pastors of their Souls; to whom, in respect of their Sacred Order, it is not by us, neither may be denied, that Kings and Princes are as much, as the very meanest that liveth under them, bound in conscience to shew themselves gladly and willingly obedient, receiving the Seals of Salvation, the blessed Sacraments at their hands, as at the hands of our Lord Jesus Christ, with all reverence, not disdaining to be taught and admonished by them, nor with-holding from them as much as the least part of their due and decent honour? All which, for any thing that hath been alleadged,

Item quod Principi placuit, Legis habet vigorem. Inst. de J. N. G. & C.

may ſtand very well without reſignation of Supremacy of Power in making Laws, even Laws concerning the moſt Spiritual Affairs of the Church; which Laws being made amongſt us, are not by any of us ſo taken or interpreted, as if they did receive their force from power, which the Prince doth communicate unto the Parliament, or unto any other Court under him, but from Power which the whole Body of the Realm being naturally poſſeſt with, hath by free and deliberate aſſent derived unto him that ruleth over them, ſo farr forth as hath been declared; ſo that our Laws made concerning Religion, do take originally their eſſence from the power of the whole Realm and Church of *England*, than which, nothing can be more conſonant unto the law of Nature and the will of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.

T.C l.1.p.192. To let theſe go, and return to our own Men; *Eccleſiaſtical Governours*, they ſay, *may not meddle with making of Civil Laws, and of Laws for the Common-wealth; nor the Civil Magiſtrate, high or low, with making of Orders for the Church.* It ſeemeth unto me very ſtrange, that theſe men, which are in no cauſe more vehement and fierce than where they plead, that Eccleſiaſtical Perſons may not κυριεύειν be Lords, ſhould hold, that the power of making Eccleſiaſtical Laws, which thing of all other is moſt proper unto Dominion, belongeth to none but Eccleſiaſtical Perſons onely: Their overſight groweth herein for want of exact obſervation, what it is to make a Law. *Tully*, ſpeaking of the Law of Nature, ſaith, *That thereof God himſelf was* Inventor, Diſceptator, Lator, *the Deviſer, the Diſcuſſer, and Deliverer:* wherein he plainly alludeth unto the chiefeſt parts which then did appertain to his Publick action. For when Laws were made, the firſt thing was to have them deviſed; the ſecond to ſift them with as much exactneſs of Judgement as any way might be uſed; the next by ſolemn voyce of Soveraign Authority to paſs them, and give them the force of Laws. It cannot in any reaſon ſeem otherwiſe than moſt fit, that unto Eccleſiaſtical Perſons the care of deviſing Eccleſiaſtical Laws be committed, even as the care of Civil unto them which are in thoſe Affairs moſt skilful. This taketh not away from Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, all right of giving voyce with others, when Civil Laws are propoſed for Regiment of the Common-wealth, whereof themſelves, though now the World would have them annihilated, are notwithſtanding as yet a part; much leſs doth it cut off that part of the power of Princes, whereby, as they claim, ſo we know no reaſonable cauſe wherefore we may not grant them, without offence to Almighty God, ſo much Authority in making all manner of Laws within their own Dominions, that neither Civil, nor Eccleſiaſtical do paſs without their Royal aſſent.

In deviſing and diſcuſſing of Laws, Wiſdom eſpecially is required; but that which eſtabliſheth them, and maketh them, is Power, even Power of Dominion; the Chiefty whereof (amongſt us) reſteth in the Perſon of the King. Is there any Law of Chriſts, which forbiddeth Kings and Rulers of the Earth to have ſuch Soveraign and Supream Power in the making of Laws, either Civil or Eccleſiaſtical? If there be, our controverſie hath an end. Chriſt, in his Church, hath not appointed any ſuch Law, concerning Temporal Power, as God did of old unto the Common-wealth of *Iſrael*; but leaving that to be at the World's free choice, his chiefeſt care is, that the Spiritual Law of the Goſpel might be publiſhed farr and wide. They that received the Law of Chriſt, were, for a long time, People ſcattered in ſundry Kingdoms, Chriſtianity not exempting them from the Laws which they had been ſubject unto, ſaving only in ſuch caſes as thoſe Laws did injoyn that which the Religion of Chriſt did forbid: Hereupon grew their manifold Perſecutions throughout all places where they lived; as oft as it thus came to paſs, there was no poſſibility that the Emperours and Kings under whom they lived, ſhould meddle any whit at all with making Laws for the Church. From Chriſt, therefore, having received Power, who doubteth, but as they did, ſo they might binde them to ſuch Orders as ſeemed fitteſt for the maintenance of their Religion, without the leave of high or low in the Common-wealth; for as much as in Religion it was divided utterly from them, and they from it. But when the mightieſt began to like of the Chriſtian Faith; by their means, whole Free-States and Kingdoms became obedient unto Chriſt. Now the queſtion is, Whether Kings, by embracing Chriſtianity, do thereby receive any ſuch Law as taketh from them the weightieſt part of that Soveraignty which they had even when they were Heathens: Whether, being Infidels, they might do more in cauſes of Religion, than now they can by the Laws of God,

God, being true Believers. For, whereas in Regal States, the King or Supream Head of the Common-wealth, had, before Chriſtianity, a ſupream ſtroak in making of Laws for Religion; he muſt by embracing Chriſtian Religion utterly deprive himſelf thereof, and in ſuch cauſes become ſubject unto his Subjects, having even within his own Dominions them whoſe commandment he muſt obey; unleſſe his Power be placed in the Head of ſome foreign Spiritual Potentate: ſo that either a foreign or domeſtical Commander upon Earth, he muſt admit more now, than before he had, and that in the chiefeſt things whereupon Common-wealths do ſtand. But apparent it is unto all men which are not Strangers unto the Doctrine of Jeſus Chriſt, that no State of the World receiving Chriſtianity, is, by any Law therein contained, bound to reſign the Power which they lawfully held before: but over what Perſons, and in what cauſes ſoever the ſame hath been in force, it may ſo remain and continue ſtill. That which, as Kings, they might do in matters of Religion, and did in matter of falſe Religion, being Idolatrous and Superſtitious Kings, the ſame they are now even in every reſpect fully authorized to do in all affairs pertinent to the ſtate of true Chriſtian Religion. And, concerning the Supream Power of making Laws for T.C.l.3.p.51. all Perſons, in all cauſes to be guided by, it is not to be let paſſe, that the head Enemies of this Headſhip are conſtrained to acknowledge the King endued even with this very Power, ſo that he may and ought to exerciſe the ſame, taking order for the Church and her affairs, of what nature or kinde ſoever, in caſe of neceſſity: as when there is no lawful Miniſtry, which they interpret then to be (and this ſurely is a point very remarkable,) whereſoever the Miniſtry is wicked. A wicked Miniſtry is no lawful Miniſtry; and in ſuch ſort no lawful Miniſtry, that, what doth belong unto them as Miniſters by right of their calling, the ſame to be annihilated in reſpect of their bad qualities; their wickedneſs in it ſelf a deprivation of right to deal in the affairs of the Church, and a warrant for others to deal in them which are held to be of a clean other Society, the Members whereof have been before ſo peremptorily for ever excluded from power of dealing for ever with affairs of the Church. They which once have learned throughly this Leſſon, will quickly be capable perhaps of another equivalent unto it. For the wickedneſs of the Miniſtery transfers their right unto the King; In caſe the King be as wicked as they, to whom then ſhall the right deſcend? There is no remedy, all muſt come by devolution at length, even as the Family of *Brown* will have it, unto the godly among the people, for confuſion unto the wiſe and the great, by the poor and the ſimple: Some *Kniperdoling*, with his retinue, muſt take this work of the Lord in hand; and the making of Church-Laws and Orders, muſt prove to be their right in the end: If not for love of the truth, yet for ſhame of groſſe abſurdities, let theſe contentions and ſtifling fancies be abandoned. The cauſe which moved them for a time to hold a wicked Miniſtery no lawful Miniſtry; and in this defect of a lawful Miniſtery, authorized Kings to make Laws and Orders for the Affairs of the Church, till it were well eſtabliſhed, is ſurely this. Firſt, They ſee that whereas the continual dealing of the Kings of *Iſrael* in the Affairs of the Church, doth make now very ſtrong againſt them, the burthen whereof they ſhall in time well enough ſhake off, if it may be obtained, that it is indeed lawful for Kings to follow theſe holy examples; howbeit no longer than during the caſe of neceſſity, while the wickedneſſe, and in reſpect thereof, the unlawfulneſs of the Miniſtery doth continue. Secondly, They perceive right well, that unleſſe they ſhould yield Authority unto Kings in caſe of ſuch ſuppoſed neceſſity, the Diſcipline they urge were clean excluded, as long as the Clergy of *England*, doth thereunto remain oppoſite. To open therefore a door for her entrance, there is no remedy but the Tenet muſt be this: That now when the Miniſtery of *England* is univerſally wicked, and in that reſpect hath loſt all Authority, and is become no lawful Miniſtery, no ſuch Miniſtery as hath the right, which otherwiſe ſhould belong unto them if they were vertuous and godly, as their Adverſaries are; in this neceſſity the King may do ſomewhat for the Church: that which we do imply in the name of Headſhip, he may both have and exerciſe till they be entered, which will diſburthen and eaſe him of it: till they come, the King is licenſed to hold that Power which we call Headſhip. But what afterwards? In a Church ordered, that which T.C.l.1.p.192 the Supream Magiſtrate hath to do, is to ſee that the Laws of God touching his Worſhip, and touching all matters and orders of the Church, be executed and duly obſerved;

ſerved; to ſee that every Eccleſiaſtical Perſon do that Office whereunto he is appointed,
l.f.40.p.4 to puniſh thoſe that fail in their Office. In a word, that which *Allain* himſelf acknowledgeth unto the Earthly power which God hath given him, it doth belong to defend the Laws of the Church; to cauſe them to be executed, and to puniſh Rebels and Tranſgreſſors of the ſame: on all ſides therfore it is confeſt, that to the King belongeth power of maintaining the Laws made for Church-Regiment, and of cauſing them to be obſerved; but Principality of Power in making them, which is the thing we attribute unto Kings, this both the one ſort, and the other do withſtand.

Power to command all Perſons, and to be over all Judges in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical.

Touching the Kings ſupereminent authority in commanding, and in judging of Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical; Firſt, to explain therein our meaning, It hath been taken as if we did hold, that Kings may preſcribe what themſelves think good to be done in the ſervice of God: how the Word ſhall be taught, how the Sacraments adminiſtred; that Kings may perſonally ſit in the Conſiſtory where the Biſhops do, hearing and determining what Cauſes ſoever do appertain unto the Church; That Kings and Queens in their own proper Perſons, are by Judicial Sentence to decide the Queſtions which do riſe about matters of Faith and Chriſtian Religion; That Kings may excommunicate; Finally, That Kings may do whatſoever is incident unto the Office and Duty of an Eccleſiaſtical Judge. Which opinion, becauſe we account as abſurd, as they who have fathered the ſame upon us, we do them to wit, that this is our meaning and no otherwiſe: There is not within this Realm an Eccleſiaſtical Officer, that may by the Authority of his own place, command univerſally throughout the Kings Dominions: but they of this People, whom one may command, are to anothers commandement unſubject. Only the Kings Royal Power is of ſo large compaſs, that no man, commanded by him according to the order of Law, can plead himſelf to be without the bounds and limits of that Authority. I ſay, according to order of Law, becauſe that with us the higheſt have thereunto ſo tyed themſelves, that, otherwiſe than ſo, they take not upon them to command any. And, that Kings ſhould be in ſuch ſort Supream Commanders over all men, we hold it requiſite, as well for the ordering of Spiritual, as Civil Affairs; in as much as without univerſal Authority in this kinde, they ſhould not be able when need is, to do as vertuous Kings have done. Joſiah, *purpoſing to renew the Houſe of the Lord, aſſembled the Prieſts and Levites; and when they were together, gave them their charge, ſaying: Go out unto the Cities of* Judah, *and gather of* Iſrael *money to repair the Houſe of the Lord from year to year, and haſte the things: But the Levites haſtned not. Therefore the King commanded* Jehoida, *the Chief-prieſt, and ſaid unto him; Why haſt thou not required of the Levites, to bring in out of* Judah *and* Jeruſalem, *the Tax of* Moſes, *the Servant of the Lord, and of the Congregation of* Iſrael, *for the Tabernacle of the Teſtimony? For wicked* Athalia, *and her Children brake up the Houſe of the Lord God, and all the things that were dedicated for the Houſe of the Lord, did they beſtow upon* Balaam. *Therefore the King commanded, and they made a Cheſt, and ſet it at the Gate of the Houſe of the Lord without, and they made a Proclamation through* Judah *and* Jeruſalem, *to bring unto the Lord, the Tax of* Moſes *the Servant of the Lord, laid upon* Iſrael *in the Wilderneſs.* Could either he have done this, or after him *Ezekias* the like concerning the celebration of the Paſſeover, but that all ſorts of men in all things did owe unto theſe their Soveraign Rulers, the ſame obedience, which ſometimes *Joſuah* had them by vow and promiſe bound unto? *Whoſoever ſhall rebel againſt thy Commandments, and will not obey thy words in all thou commandeſt him, let him be put to death: only be ſtrong and of a good courage.* Furthermore, Judgement Eccleſiaſtical we ſay is neceſſary for deciſion of Controverſies riſing between man and man, and for correction of faults committed in the Affairs of God: unto the due execution whereof there are three things neceſſary, Laws, Judges, and Supream Governours of Judgements. What Courts there ſhall be, and what cauſes ſhall belong unto each Court, and what Judges ſhall determine of every cauſe, and what Order in all Judgements ſhall be kept; of theſe things the Laws have ſufficiently diſpoſed, ſo that his duty who ſitteth in any ſuch Court, is to judge, not of, but after the ſame Law. *Imprimis illud obſervare debet Judex, ne aliter judicet quàm legibus, conſtitutionibus, aut moribus proditum eſt, ut Imperator Juſtinianus*; which Laws (for we mean the poſitive Laws of our Realm, concerning Eccleſiaſtical Affairs) if they otherwiſe diſpoſe of any ſuch thing, than according to the Law of Reaſon, and of God, we

2 Chron.24. 5, 6, 7, 8. 9.

2 Chron.6.30. 6.

Joſ. 1. 18.

Juſt. de Offic. jud.

muſt both acknowledge them to be amiſs, and endeavour to have them reformed: But touching that point, what may be objected, ſhall after appear. Our Judges in Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical, are either Ordinary or Commiſſionary; Ordinary, thoſe whom we term Ordinaries; and ſuch, by the Laws of this Land, are none but Prelates onely; whoſe Power to do that which they do, is in themſelves, and belonging to the nature of their Eccleſiaſtical calling. In Spiritual Cauſes, a Lay-Perſon may be no Ordinary; a Commiſſionary Judge, there is no lett but that he may be; and, that our Laws do evermore referr the ordinary Judgement of Spiritual Cauſes unto Spiritual Perſons, ſuch as are termed Ordinaries, no man which knoweth any thing of the Practice of this Realm; can eaſily be ignorant. Now, beſides them which are Authorized to judge in ſeveral Territories, there is required an univerſal Power which reacheth over all, imparting Supream Authority of Government, over all Courts, all Judges, all Cauſes; the operation of which Power, is as well to ſtrengthen, maintain, and uphold particular Juriſdictions, which haply might elſe be of ſmall effect: as alſo to remedy that which they are not able to help, and to redreſs that wherein they at any time do otherwiſe than they ought to do. This Power being ſometime in the Biſhop of *Rome*, who, by ſiniſter Practiſes had drawn it into his hands, was, for juſt conſiderations, by Publick conſent annexed unto the Kings Royal Seat and Crown; from thence the Authors of Reformation would tranſlate it into their National Aſſemblies or Synods; which Synods are the onely helps which they think lawful to uſe againſt ſuch Evils in the Church, as particular Juriſdictions are not ſufficient to redreſs. In which Cauſe, our Laws have provided, that the Kings ſupereminent Authority and Power ſhall ſerve: As namely, when the whole Eccleſiaſtical State, or the Principal Perſons therein, do need Viſitation and Reformation; when in any part of the Church, Errours, Schiſmes, Hereſies, Abuſes, Offences, Contempts, Enormities, are grown; which men, in their ſeveral Juriſdictions, either do not, or cannot help. Whatſoever any Spiritual Authority and Power (ſuch as Legates from the See of *Rome* did ſometimes exerciſe) hath done or might heretofore have done, for the remedies of thoſe Evils in lawful ſort, (that is to ſay, without the violation of the Laws of God, or Nature, in the deed done) as much in every degree our Laws have fully granted; that the King for ever may do, not onely by ſetting Eccleſiaſtical Synods on work, that the thing may be their Act, and the King their Motioner unto it, for ſo much perhaps the Maſters of the Reformation will grant: but by Commiſſions few or many, who having the Kings Letters Patents, may, in the vertue thereof, execute the premiſes as Agents in the right, not of their own peculiar and ordinary, but of his ſupereminent Power. When men are wronged by inferiour Judges, or have any juſt cauſe to take exception againſt them; their way for Redreſs, is to make their Appeal; and Appeal is a preſent delivery of him which maketh it, out of the hands of their Power and Juriſdictions from whence it is made. Pope *Alexander* having ſometimes the King of *England* at advantage, cauſed him, amongſt other things, to agree, that as many of his Subjects as would, might have appeal to the Court of *Rome*. *And thus* (ſaith one) *that whereunto a mean Perſon at this day would ſcorn to ſubmit himſelf, ſo great a King was content to be ſubject to. Notwithſtanding, even when the Pope* (ſaith he) *had ſo great Authority amongſt Princes which were farr off, the* Romans *he could not frame to obedience, nor was able to obtain that himſelf might abide at* Rome, *though promiſing not to meddle with other than Eccleſiaſtical Affairs.* So much are things that terrifie, more feared by ſuch as behold them aloof off than at hand. Reformers I doubt not in ſome Cauſes will admit Appeals, but Appeals made to their Synods; even as the Church of *Rome* doth allow of them, ſo they be made to the Biſhop of *Rome*. As for that kinde of Appeal which the Engliſh Laws do approve from the Judge of any certain particular Court unto the King, as the onely Supream Governour on Earth, who, by his Delegates, may give a final definitive Sentence, from which no farther Appeal can be made: Will their Plat-form allow of this? Surely, foraſmuch as in that eſtate which they all dream of, the whole Church muſt be divided into Pariſhes, in which none can have greater or leſs Authority and Power than another; again, the King himſelf muſt be but a common Member in the Body of his own Pariſh, and the cauſes of that onely Pariſh, muſt be by the Officers thereof determinable: In caſe the King had ſo much favour or preferment, as to be made one of thoſe Officers (for otherwiſe

1 Eliz. cap. 1.

Machiavil. Hiſt. Florent. l. 1.

15 Hen. 8. c. 15

wise by their positions, he were not to meddle any more than the meanest amongst his Subjects, with the Judgement of any Ecclesiastical Cause) how is it possible they should allow of Appeals to be made from any other abroad to the King? To receive Appeals from all other Judges, belongeth to the highest in power of all, and to be in power over All (as touching Judgment in Ecclesiastical Causes) this, as they think, belongeth onely to Synods. Whereas therefore, with us, Kings do exercise over all Things, Persons, and Causes Supream Power, both of voluntary and litigious Jurisdictions; so that according to the one they incite, reform, and command; according to the other, they judge universally, doing both in farr other sort than such as have ordinary Spiritual power; oppugned we are herein by some colourable shew of Argument, as if to grant thus much to any Secular Person, it were unreasonable:

T.C.l.3 p.154. 2 Chron.19.5. Heb. 5. 1. *For sith it is* (say they) *apparent out of the Chronicles, that judgement in Church-matters pertaineth to God; Seeing likewise it is evident out of the Apostles, that the High-Priest is set over those matters in Gods behalf: It must needs follow, that the Principality or direction of the Judgment of them, is, by Gods Ordinance, appertaining to the High-Priest, and consequently to the Ministry of the Church; and if it be by Gods Ordinance appertaining unto them, how can it be translated from them to the Civil Magistrate?* Which Argument, briefly drawn into form, lyeth thus: That which belongerh unto God, may not be translated unto any other, but whom he hath appointed to have it in his behalf: But principality of Judgement in Church-matters appertaineth unto God, which hath appointed the High-Priest, and consequently the Ministry of the Church alone, to have it in his behalf; *Ergo*, it may not from them be translated to the Civil Magistrate. The first of which Propositions we grant, as also in the second that branch which ascribeth unto God Principality in Church-matters. But, that either he did appoint none, but onely the High-Priest to exercise the said Principality for him; or that the Ministry of the Church may in reason from thence be concluded to have alone the same Principality by his appointment; these two Points we deny utterly. For, concerning the High-Priest, there is, first, no such Ordinance of God to be found: *Every High-Priest* (saith the Apostle) *is taken from amongst men, and is ordained for men in things pertaining to God*; Whereupon it may well be gathered, that the Priest was indeed Ordained of God, to have Power in things appertaining unto God: For the Apostle doth there mention the Power of offering Gifts and Sacrifices for Sin; which kinde of Power, was not onely given of God unto Priests, but restrained unto Priests onely. The power of Jurisdiction and ruling Authority, this also God gave them, but not them alone: For it is held, as all men know, that others of the Laity were herein joyned by the Law with them. But, concerning Principality in Church-affairs, (for of this our Question is, and of no other) the Priest neither had it alone, nor at all, but in Spiritual or Church-affairs, (as hath been already shewed) it was the Royal Prerogative of Kings only. Again, though it were so, that God had appointed the High-Priest to have the said Principality of Government in those maters; yet how can they who alledge this, enforce thereby, that consequently the Ministry of the Church, and no other ought to have the same, when they are so farr off from allowing so much to the Ministry of the Gospel, as the Priest-hood of the Law had by God's appointment: That we but collecting thereout a difference in Authority and Jurisdiction amongst the Clergy, to be for the Polity of the Church not inconvenient; they forthwith think to close up our mouths by answering, *That the Jewish High-Priest, had authority above the rest, onely in that they prefigured the Soveraignty of Jesus Christ; As for the Ministers of the Gospel, it is altogether unlawful to give them as much as the least Title, any syllable whereof may sound to Principality.* And of the Regency which may be granted, they hold others even of the Laity, no less capable than the Pastors themselves. How shall these things cleave together? The truth is, that they have some reason to think it not at all of the fittest for Kings, to sit as ordinary Judges in matters of Faith and Religion. An ordinary Judge must be of the quality which in a Supream Judge is not necessary; Because the Person of the one is charged with that which the other Authority dischargeth, without imploying personally himself therein. It is an Errour to think, that the King's Authority can have no force nor power in the doing of that which himself may not personally do. For first, impossible it is, that at one and the same time, the King in Person should order so many,

and

and ſo different affairs, as by his own power every where preſent, are wont to be ordered both in peace and warr, at home and abroad. Again, the King in regard of his nonage or minority, may be unable to perform that thing wherein years of diſcretion are requiſite for perſonal action; and yet his authority even then be of force. For which cauſe we ſay, that the King's authority dyeth not, but is, and worketh always alike. Sundry conſiderations there may be, effectual to with-hold the King's Perſon from being a doer of that which notwithſtanding his Power muſt give force unto, even in Civil affairs; where nothing doth more either concern the duty, or better beſeem the Majeſty of Kings, than perſonally to adminiſter Juſtice to their People (as moſt famous Princes have done;) yet if it be in caſe of Felony or Treaſon, the Learned in the Laws of this Realm do affirm, that well may the King commit his Authority to another, to judge between him and the Offender; but the King being himſelf there a Party, he cannot perſonally ſit to give Judgement. *Stamf.* Pleas of the Crown, l. 1. c. 3.

As therefore the Perſon of the King may, for juſt conſiderations, even where the cauſe is Civil, be notwithſtanding withdrawn from occupying the Seat of Judgment, and others under his Authority be fit, he unfit himſelf to judge; ſo the conſiderations for which it were haply not convenient for Kings to ſit and give Sentence in Spiritual Courts, where Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical are uſually debated, can be no barr to that force and efficacy which their Soveraign Power hath over thoſe very Conſiſtories; and for which we hold, without any exception, that all Courts are the Kings. All men are not for all things ſufficient, and therefore Publick affairs being divided, ſuch Perſons muſt be authorized Judges in each kinde, as Common reaſon may preſume to be moſt fit. Which cannot of Kings and Princes ordinarily be preſumed in Cauſes merely Eccleſiaſtical; ſo that even Common ſenſe doth rather adjudge this burthen unto other men. We ſee it hereby a thing neceſſary, to put a difference, as well between that Ordinary Juriſdiction which belongeth unto the Clergy alone, and that Commiſſionary wherein others are for juſt conſiderations appointed to joyn with them, as alſo between both theſe Juriſdictions; And a third, whereby the King hath tranſcendent Authority, and that in all Cauſes over both. Why this may not lawfully be granted unto him, there is no reaſon. A time there was when Kings were not capable of any ſuch Power, as namely, when they profeſſed themſelves open Enemies unto Chriſt and Chriſtianity. A time there followed, when they, being capable, took ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs to themſelves, as ſeemed beſt in their own eyes, becauſe no certainty, touching their right, was as yet determined. The Biſhops, who alone were before accuſtomed to have the ordering of ſuch Affairs, ſaw very juſt cauſe of grief, when the higheſt, favouring Hereſie, withſtood, by the ſtrength of Soveraign Authority, Religious proceedings. Whereupon they oftentimes, againſt this unreſiſtable power, pleaded the uſe and cuſtom, which had been to the contrary; namely, that the affairs of the Church ſhould be dealt in by the Clergy, and by no other; unto which purpoſe, the ſentences that then were uttered in defence of unabolished Orders and Laws, againſt ſuch as did, of their own heads, contrary thereunto; are now altogether impertinently brought in oppoſition againſt them, who uſe but that Power which Laws have given them, unleſs men can ſhew, that there is in thoſe Laws ſome manifeſt iniquity or injuſtice. Whereas therefore againſt the force Judicial and Imperial, which Supream Authority hath, it is alledged, how *Conſtantine* termeth *Church-Officers*, *Over-ſeers of things within the Church*; himſelf, *of thoſe without the Church*: how *Auguſtine* witneſſeth, that the Emperor not daring to judge of the Biſhop's Cauſe, committed it to the Biſhops; and was to crave pardon of the Biſhops, for that by the *Donatiſts* importunity, which made no end of appealing unto him, he was, being weary of them, drawn to give ſentence in a matter of theirs; how *Hilary* beſeecheth the Emperor *Conſtance*, to provide that the Governors of his Provinces ſhould not preſume to take upon them the Judgement of Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, to whom onely Common-wealth matters belonged; how *Ambroſe* affirmeth, that *Palaces* belong unto the *Emperor*; *Churches to the Miniſter*; That the Emperor hath the authority over the Common-walls of the City, and not in holy things; for which cauſe he never would yield to have the Cauſes of the Church debated in the Princes Conſiſtories, but excuſed himſelf to the Emperor *Valentinian*, for that being convented to anſwer concerning Church-matters in a Civil Court, he came not: We may

T. C. l. 3. p. 155.

Euſeb. de vita Conſtant. l. 4. Ep. 162, 166.

Lib. 5. ep. 33.

may by these testimonies drawn from Antiquity, if we list to consider them, discern how requisite it is that Authority should always follow received Laws in the manner of proceeding. For, inasmuch as there was at the first no certain Law, determining what force the principal Civil Magistrates authority should be of, how farr it should reach, and what order it should observe; but Christian Emperors from time to time did what themselves thought most reasonable in those affairs; by this means it cometh to passe that they in their practise vary, and are not uniform. Vertuous Emperors, such as *Constantine* the Great was, made conscience to swerve unnecessarily from the custom which had been used in the Church, even when it lived under Infidels; *Constantine*, of reverence to Bishops, and their Spiritual Authority, rather abstained from that which himself might lawfully do, than was willing to claim a Power, not fit or decent for him to exercise. The Order which hath been before, he ratifieth, exhorting the Bishops to look to the Church, and promising, that he would do the Office of a Bishop over the Common-wealth; which very *Constantine* notwithstanding, did not thereby so renounce all Authority in judging of Special Causes, but that sometime he took, as St. *Augustine* witnesseth, even personal cognition of them; howbeit, whether as purposing to give therein judicially any Sentence, I stand in doubt; for if the other of whom St. *Augustine* elsewhere speaketh, did, in such sort, judge, surely there was cause why he should excuse it as a thing not usually done. Otherwise there is no lett, but that any such great Person may hear those Causes to and fro debated, and deliver in the end his own opinion of them, declaring on which side himself doth judge that the truth is. But this kinde of Sentence bindeth no side to stand thereunto; it is a Sentence of private perswasion, and not of solemn jurisdiction, albeit a King, or an Emperour pronounce it: Again, on the contrary part, when Governours infected with Heresie were possessed of the Highest Power, they thought they might use it as pleased themselves, to further by all means that opinion which they desired should prevail, they not respecting at all what was meet, presumed to command and judge all men, in all Causes, without either care of orderly proceeding, or regard to such Laws and Customs as the Church had been wont to observe. So that the one sort feared to do even that which they might; and that which the other ought not, they boldly presumed upon; the one sort, of modesty, excused themselves where they scarce needed; the other, though doing that which was inexcusable, bare it out with main power, not enduring to be told by any man how farr they roved beyond their bounds. So great odds was between them whom before we mentioned, and such as the younger *Valentinian*, by whom St. *Ambrose* being commanded to yield up one of the Churches under him unto the *Arrians*, whereas they which were sent on his Message, alledged, That the Emperour did but use his own right, forasmuch as all things were in his power: The Answer which the holy Bishop gave them, was, *That the Church is the House of God, and that those things that are Gods are not to be yielded up, and disposed of it at the Emperors will and pleasure; His Palaces he might grant, to whomsoever he pleaseth, but Gods own Habitation not so.* A cause why many times Emperours do more by their absolute Authority than could very well stand with reason, was the over-great importunity of wicked Hereticks, who being Enemies to Peace and Quietness, cannot otherwise than by violent means be supported.

In this respect therefore we must needs think the state of our own Church much better settled than theirs was; because our Lawes have with farr more certainty prescribed bounds unto each kinde of Power. All decision of things doubtful, and correction of things amiss are proceeded in by order of Law, what Person soever he be unto whom the administration of Judgment belongeth. It is neither permitted unto Prelates nor Prince to judge and determine at their own discretion; but Law hath prescribed what both shall do. What Power the King hath, he hath it by Law, the bounds and limits of it are known, the intire Community giveth general order by Law, how all things publickly are to be done, and the King, as the Head thereof, the Highest in Authority over all, causeth, according to the same Law, every particular to be framed and ordered thereby. The whole Body Politick maketh Laws, which Laws gave Power unto the King, and the King having bound himself to use according unto

Law that power, it so falleth out, that the execution of the one is accomplished by the other in most religious and peaceable sort. There is no cause given unto any to make supplication, as *Hilary* did, that Civil Governors, to whom Common-wealth-matters only belong, may not presume to take upon them the Judgement of Ecclesiastical causes. If the cause be Spiritual, Secular Courts do not meddle with it; we need not excuse our selves with *Ambrose*, but boldly and lawfully we may refuse to answer before any Civil Judge in a matter which is not Civil, so that we do not mistake either the nature of the Cause, or of the Court, as we easily may do both, without some better direction than can be by the rules of this new-found Discipline. But of this most certain we are, that our Laws do neither suffer a * Spiritual Court to entertain those Causes which by the Law are Civil; nor yet, if the matter be indeed Spiritual, a mere Civil Court to give Judgement of it. Touching Supream Power therefore to command all men, and in all manner of causes of Judgement to be highest, let thus much suffice as well for declaration of our own meaning, as for defence of the truth therein.

* See the Statute of *Edw.* 1. and *Edw.* 2. and *Nat. Brev.* touching Prohibition. See also in *Bracton* these Sentences, *l.* 5. *c.* 2. Est Jurisdictio ordinaria quædam delegata, quæ pertinet ad Sacerdotium, & Forum Ecclesiasticum, sicut in causis Spiritualibus & Spiritualitati annexis. Est etiam alia

Jurisdictio ordinaria vel delegata quæ pertinet ad Coronam, & dignitatem Regis & ad Regnum in causis & placitis rerum temporalium in foro seculari. *Again*, Cum diversæ sint hinc inde jurisdictiones, & diversi Judices, & diversæ causæ, debet quilibet ipsorum inprimis æstimare, an sua sit jurisdictio, ne falcem videatur ponere in Messem alienam. *Again*, Non pertinet ad Regem iniungere pœnitentias, nec ad judicem secularem, nec etiam ad eos pertinet cognoscere de iis quæ sunt Spiritualibus annexa, sicut de decimis & aliis Ecclesiæ proventionibus. *Again*, Non est Laicus conveniendus coram Judice Ecclesiastico de aliquo quod in foro seculari terminari possit & debeat.

The cause is not like when such Assemblies are gathered together by Suream Authority concerning other affairs of the Church, and when they meet about the making of Ecclesiastical Laws or Statutes. For in the one they are onely to advise, in the other to decree. The Persons which are of the one, the King doth voluntarily assemble, as being in respect of quality fit to consult withal; them which are of the other, he calleth by prescript of Law, as having right to be thereunto called. Finally, the one are but themselves, and their Sentence hath but the weight of their own Judgment; the other represent the whole Clergy, and their voyces are as much as if all did give personal verdict. Now the question is, Whether the Clergy alone so assembled, ought to have the whole power of making Ecclesiastical Laws, or else consent of the Laity, may thereunto be made necessary, and the King's assent so necessary, that his sole denial may be of force to stay them from being Laws.

What Laws may be made for the affairs of the Church and to whom the power of making them appertaineth.

If they with whom we dispute were uniform, strong and constant in that which they say, we should not need to trouble our selves about their Persons, to whom the power of making Laws for the Church belongs: for they are sometime very vehement in contention, that from the greatest thing unto the least about the Church, all must needs be immediately from God. And to this they apply the pattern of the antient Tabernacle which God delivered unto *Moses*, and was therein so exact, that there was not left as much as the least pin for the wit of man to devise in the framing of it. To this they also apply that streight and severe charge which God so often gave concerning his own Law, *Whatsoever I command you, take heed ye do it*; *Thou shalt put nothing thereto, thou shalt take nothing from it*: Nothing, whether it be great or small. Yet sometimes bethinking themselves better, they speak as acknowledging that it doth suffice to have received in such sort the principal things from God, and that for other matters the Church had sufficient authority to make Laws; whereupon they now have made it a question, What Persons they are whose right it is to take order for the Churches affairs, when the institution of any new thing therein is requisite. Law may be requisite to be made either concerning things that are onely to be known and believed in, or else touching that which is to be done by the Church of God. The Law of Nature, and the Law of God, are sufficient for declaration in both what belongeth unto each man separately, as his Soul is the Spouse of Christ, yea so sufficient, that they plainly and fully shew, whatsoever God doth require by way of necessary introduction unto the state of everlasting bliss. But as a man liveth joyned with others in common society, and belongeth to the outward Politick Body of the Church, albeit the same Law of Nature and Scripture have in this respect also made manifest the things that are of greatest necessity; nevertheless, by reason of new occasions still arising, which the Church, having care of Souls, must take order for as need requireth, hereby it

Deut. 12. 32. and 4. 2. Josh. 1. 7.

Them. 1. 2. quæst. 108. art. 2.

cometh to pass, that there is, and ever will be, so great use even of Human Laws and Ordinances, deducted by way of discourse as a conclusion from the former Divine and Natural, serving as Principals thereunto. No man doubteth, but that for matters of Action and Practice in the Affairs of God, for manner in Divine Service, for order in Ecclesiastical proceedings about the Regiment of the Church, there may be oftentimes cause very urgent to have Laws made: but the reason is not so plain, wherefore Human laws should appoint men what to believe. Wherefore in this we must note two things: 1. That in matters of opinion, the Law doth not make that to be truth which before was not, as in matter of Action it causeth that to be a duty, which was not before; but manifesteth only and giveth men notice of that to be truth, the contrary whereunto they ought not before to have believed. 2. That opinions do cleave to the understanding, and are in heart assented unto, it is not in the power of any Human law to command them, because to prescribe what men shall think belongeth only unto God: *Corde creditur, ore fit confessio*, saith the Apostle. As opinions are either fit, or inconvenient to be professed, so man's laws hath to determine of them. It may for Publick unities sake require mens professed assent, or prohibit their contradiction to special Articles, wherein, as there haply hath been Controversie what is true, so the same were like to continue still, not without grievous detriment unto a number of Souls; except Law, to remedy that evil, should set down a certainty, which no man afterwards is to gain-say. Wherefore, as in regard of Divine laws, which the Church receiveth from God, we may unto every man apply those words of wisdom in *Solomon*, *My Son keep thou thy Fathers Precepts; Conserva, fili mi, præcepta Patris tui:* even so concerning the Statutes and Ordinances which the Church it self makes, we may add thereunto the words that follow, *Et ne dimittas legem Matris tuæ, And forsake thou not thy Mothers law.*

Prov. 6.

* Δεῖ δὲ νόμον τὰ περὶ Θεὸς καὶ δαίμονας, καὶ γονέας, καὶ ὅλως τὰ καλὰ καὶ τίμια πρῶτα τιθέντ. Δεύτερον δὲ τὰ συμφέροντα, τὰ δὲ μικρὰ τοῖς μείζοσιν ἀκολουθεῖν προσήκει. *Archit. de leg. & Instit.* That is; It behoveth the Law first to establish or settle those things which belong to the Gods, and Divine Powers, and to our Parents, and universally those things which be vertuous and honourable. In the second place, those things that be convenient and profitable; for it is fit, that matters of the less weight should come after the greater.

It is a thing even undoubtedly natural, that all free and *Independent* Societies should themselves make their own Laws, and that this power should belong to the whole, not to any certain part of a Politick body, though haply some one part may have greater sway in that action than the rest; which thing being generally fit and expedient in the making of all Laws, we see no cause why to think otherwise in Laws, concerning the service of God, which in all well-order'd States and Common-wealths, is the * first thing that Law hath care to provide for. When we speak of the right which naturally belongeth to a Common-wealth, we speak of that which must needs belong to the Church of God. For if the Common-wealth be Christian, if the People which are of it do publickly embrace the true Religion, this very thing doth make it the Church, as hath been shewed. So that unless the verity and purity of Religion do take from them which embrace it, that power wherewith otherwise they are possessed; look what authority, as touching laws for Religion, a Common-wealth hath simply, it must of necessity being of the Christian Religion.

It will be therefore perhaps alledged, that a part of the verity of Christian Religion is to hold the power of making Ecclesiastical Laws a thing appropriated unto the Clergy in their Synods; and whatsoever is by their only voyces agreed upon, it needeth no further approbation to give unto it the strength of a Law, as may plainly appear by the Canons of that first most venerable Assembly: where, those things the Apostle and *James* had concluded, were afterwards published and imposed upon the Churches of the Gentiles abroad as Laws, the Records thereof remaining still in the Book of God for a testimony, that the power of making Ecclesiastical Laws, belongeth to the Successors of the Apostles, the Bishops and Prelates of the Church of God.

Acts 15. 7, 13, 23.

To this we answer, That the Councel of *Jerusalem* is no Argument for the power of the Clergy to make Laws; For first there hath not been sithence, any Councel of like authority to that in *Jerusalem*: Secondly, The cause why that was of such authority, came by a special accident: Thirdly, The reason why other Councels being not like unto that in nature, the Clergy in them should have no power to make Laws by themselves alone, is in truth so forcible, that, except some Commandment of God to the contrary can be shewed, it ought, notwithstanding the foresaid example, to prevail.

The Decrees of the Councel of *Jerusalem*, were not as the Canons of other Ecclesi-

astical

aſtical Aſſemblies, Human, but, very Divine Ordinances: for which cauſe the Churches were farr and wide commanded every where to ſee them kept, no otherwiſe than if Chriſt himſelf had perſonally on Earth been the Author of them. The cauſe why that Council was of ſo great Authority and credit above all others which have been ſithence, is expreſſed in thoſe words of principal obſervation, *Unto the Holy Ghoſt, and to us it hath ſeemed good*; which form of ſpeech, though other Councels have likewiſe uſed, yet neither could they themſelves mean, nor may we ſo underſtand them, as if both were in equal ſort aſſiſted with the power of the Holy Ghoſt; but the latter had the favour of that general aſſiſtance and preſence which Chriſt doth promiſe unto all his, according to the quality of their ſeveral Eſtates and Callings; the former, the grace of ſpecial, miraculous, rare and extraordinary illumination, in relation whereunto the Apoſtle comparing the Old Teſtament and the New together, termeth the one a Teſtament of the Letter, for that God delivered it written in ſtone; the other a Teſtament of the Spirit, becauſe God imprinted it in the hearts, and declared it by the tongues of his choſen Apoſtles through the power of the Holy Ghoſt, feigning both their conceits and ſpeeches in moſt Divine and incomprehenſible manner. Wherefore, in as much as the Council of *Jeruſalem* did chance to conſiſt of men ſo enlightened, it had authority greater than were meet for any other Council beſides to challenge, wherein ſuch kinde of Perſons are, as now the ſtate of the Church doth ſtand; Kings being not then that which now they are, and the Clergy not now that which then they were. Till it be proved that ſome ſpecial Law of Chriſt hath for ever annexed unto the Clergy alone the power to make Eccleſiaſtical laws, we are to hold it a thing moſt conſonant with equity and reaſon, that no Eccleſiaſtical laws be made in a Chriſtian Common-wealth, without conſent as well of the Laity as of the Clergy, but leaſt of all without conſent of the higheſt Power.

Acts 15. 4.

Mar. 16. Mat ult.

2 Cor. 3.

For of this thing no man doubteth, namely, that in all Societies, Companies, and Corporations, what ſeverally each ſhall be bound unto, it muſt be with all their aſſents ratified. Againſt all equity it were, that a man ſhould ſuffer detriment at the hands of men for not obſerving that which he never did either by himſelf, or by others, mediately or immediately agree unto. Much more than a King ſhould conſtrain all others to the ſtrict obſervation of any ſuch Human Ordinance as paſſeth without his own approbation. In this Caſe therefore eſpecially, that vulgar Axiom is of force, *Quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus tractari & approbari debet.* Whereupon Pope *Nicolas*, although otherwiſe not admitting Lay-perſons, no not Emperors themſelves, to be preſent at Synods, doth notwithſtanding ſeem to allow of their preſence, when matters of Faith are determined, whereunto all men muſt ſtand bound: *Ubinam legiſtis Imperatores Anteceſſores veſtros, Synodalibus Conventibus interfuiſſe; niſi forſitan in quibus de Fide tractatum eſt, quæ non ſolum ad Clericos, verum etiam ad Laicos & omnes pertinet Chriſtianos?* A Law, be it Civil or Eccleſiaſtical, is a Publick Obligation, wherein, ſeeing that the whole ſtandeth charged, no reaſon it ſhould paſs without his privity and will, whom principally the whole doth depend upon. *Sicut Laici juriſdictionem Clericorum perturbare, ita Clerici juriſdictionem Laicorum non debent minuere*, ſaith *Innocentius*, *Extra de judic. novit. As the Laity ſhould not hinder the Clergy's juriſdiction, ſo neither is it reaſon that the Laity's right ſhould be abridged by the Clergy*, ſaith Pope *Innocent.* But were it ſo that the Clergy alone might give Laws unto all the reſt, foraſmuch as every Eſtate doth deſire to inlarge the bounds of their own Liberties, is it not eaſie to ſee how injurious this might prove to men of other conditions? Peace and Juſtice are maintained by preſerving unto every Order their Rights, and by keeping all Eſtates, as it were, in an even ballance; which thing is no way better done, than if the King, their common Parent, whoſe care is preſumed to extend moſt indifferently over all, do bear the chiefeſt ſway in the making Laws which All muſt be ordered by; Wherefore of them which in this point attribute moſt to the Clergy, I would demand, What evidence there is, whereby it may clearly be ſhewed, that in antient Kingdoms Chriſtian, any Canon deviſed by the Clergy alone in their Synods, whether Provincial, National, or General, hath, by mere force of their Agreement, taken place as a Law, making all men conſtrainable to be obedient thereunto, without any other approbation from the King, before or afterwards, required in that behalf. But what ſpeak we of antient Kingdoms, when at this day, even the Papacy it ſelf,

Cap. delicta, de exceſs. Prælator L. per fundum Ruſticor. præd & ſect. Religioſum de rerum diviſ.

Gloſſ. dict 56. c. ubinam.

Boer. Fpol. hercoic. quæſt. l. 1. ſect. 24.

ſelf; the very Tridentine Council hath not every where as yet obtained to have in all points the ſtrength of Eccleſiaſtical Laws; did not *Philip* King of *Spain*, publiſhing that Council in the Low Countries, adde thereunto an expreſs clauſe of ſpecial proviſion, that the ſame ſhould in no wiſe prejudice, hurt, or diminiſh any kinde of Priviledge, which the King or his Vaſſals a fore-time, had enjoyed, touching either poſſeſſory Judgements of Eccleſiaſtical Livings, or concerning nominations thereunto, or belonging to whatſoever right they had elſe in ſuch Affairs. If therefore the Kings exception taken againſt ſome part of the Canons contained in that Council, were a ſufficient barr to make them of none effect within his Territories; it followeth that the like exception againſt any other part, had been alſo of like efficacy; and ſo conſequently that no part therof had obtained the ſtrength of a Law, if he which excepted againſt a part, had ſo done againſt the whole: as, what reaſon was there, but that the ſame Authority which limited, might quite and clean have refuſed that Council; who ſo alloweth the ſaid Act of the Catholick Kings for good and lawful, muſt grant that the Canons, even of General Councils, have but the face of Wiſe-mens opinions, concerning that whereof they treat, till they be publickly aſſented unto, where they are to take place as Laws; and that, in giving ſuch publick aſſent, as maketh a Chriſtian Kingdome ſubject unto thoſe Laws, the King's authority is the chiefeſt. That which an Univerſity of Men, a Company, or Corporation, doth without conſent of their Rector, is as nothing. Except therefore we make the King's Authority over the Clergy, leſs in the greateſt things, than the power of the meaneſt Governour is in all things over the Colledge, or Society, which is under him; how ſhould we think it a matter decent, that the Clergy ſhould impoſe Laws, the Supream Governours aſſent not asked?

Yea, that which is more, the Laws thus made, God himſelf doth in ſuch ſort authorize, that to deſpiſe them, is to deſpiſe in them him. It is a looſe and licentious opinion, which the *Anabaptiſts* have embraced, holding that a Chriſtian man's liberty is loſt, and the Soul which Chriſt hath redeemed unto himſelf injuriouſly drawn into ſervitude under the Yoke of Human power, if any Law be now impoſed beſides the Goſpel of Chriſt; in obedience whereunto the Spirit of God, and not the conſtraint of men, is to lead us, according to that of the bleſſed Apoſtle, *Such as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the Sons of God, and not ſuch as live in thraldom* unto men. Their Judgement is therefore, That the Church of Chriſt ſhould admit of no Law-makers but the Evangeliſts, no Courts but Presbyteries, no Puniſhments but Eccleſiaſtical cenſures: As againſt this ſort, we are to maintain the uſe of Human laws, and the continual neceſſity of making them from time to time, as long as this preſent World doth laſt; ſo likewiſe the Authority of Laws, ſo made, doth need much more by us to be ſtrengthened againſt another ſort, who, although they do utterly condemn the making of Laws in the Church, yet make they a great deal leſs account of them than they ſhould do. There are which think ſimply of Human laws, that they can in no ſort touch the Conſcience. That to break and tranſgreſs them, cannot make men in the ſight of God culpable, as Sin doth; onely when we violate ſuch Laws, we do thereby make our ſelves obnoxious unto external puniſhment in this World, ſo that the Magiſtrate may, in regard of ſuch offence committed, juſtly correct the Offender, and cauſe him, without injury, to endure ſuch pains as Law doth appoint, but further it reacheth not: For firſt, the Conſcience is the proper Court of God, the guiltineſs thereof is Sin, and the puniſhment Eternal death; men are not able to make any Law that ſhall command the Heart, it is not in them to make Inward-conceit a Crime, or to appoint for any crime other puniſhment than corporal; their Laws therefore can have no power over the Soul, neither can the heart of man be polluted by tranſgreſſing them. St. *Auſtine* rightly defineth Sin to be that which is ſpoken, done, or deſired, not againſt any Laws, but againſt the Law of the Living God. The Law of God is propoſed unto Man, as a Glaſs wherein to behold the ſtains and the ſpots of their ſinful Souls. By it they are to judge themſelves, and when they feel themſelves to have tranſgreſſed againſt it, then to bewail their offences with *David*, *Againſt thee onely O Lord have I ſinned, and done wickedly in thy ſight*; that ſo our preſent tears may extinguiſh the flames, which otherwiſe we are to feel, and which God in that day ſhall condemn the Wicked unto, when they ſhall render account of the Evil which they have done, not by violating Statute-Laws, and Canons, but by diſobedience unto his Law and his Word.

For

For our better instruction therefore concerning this point, first we must note, That the Law of God it self doth require at our hands, Subjection. *Be ye subject*, saith S. *Peter*; and S. *Paul*, *Let every Soul be subject*; *subject all unto such Powers as are set over us*. For if such as are not set over us, require our subjection, we, by denying it, are not disobedient to the Law of God, or undutiful unto Higher Powers; Because, though they be such in regard of them over whom they have lawful Dominion, yet having not so over us, unto us they are not such. Subjection therefore we owe, and that by the Law of God; we are in Conscience bound to yield it even unto every of them that hold the seats of Authority and Power in relation unto us. Howbeit, not all kindes of subjection, unto every such kinde of Power: concerning *Scribes* and *Pharisees*, our Saviour's Precept was, *Whatsoever they shall tell ye, do it*. Was it his meaning, that if they should at any time enjoyn the People to levy an Army, or to sell their Lands and Goods, for the furtherance of so great an enterprize; and, in a word, that simply whatsoever it were which they did command, they ought, without any exception, forth-with to be obeyed. No, but whatsoever they shall tell you, must be understood *in pertinentibus ad Cathedram*, it must be construed with limitation, and restrained unto things of that kinde, which did belong to their place and power: For they had not Power general, absolutely given them to command all things. The reason why we are bound in Conscience to be subject unto all such Power, is, because all Powers are of God.

Verum ac proprium civis à peregrino discrimen est, quòd alter imperio ac potestate vili obligatur, alter jussa Principis alieni respuere potest: illum Princeps ab hostium æque ac Civium injuria tueri tenetur, hunc non item nisi rogatus & humanitatis officiis impulsus, saith *Bodin* de Repub. l. 1. c. 6. non multum à fine, p. 61. Edit. Lugd. B. in fol. 1586.

They are of God either instituting or permitting them; Power is then of Divine institution, when either God himself doth deliver, or men by light of nature finde out the kinde thereof. So that the power of Parents over Children, and of Husbands over their Wives, the power of all sorts of Superiors, made by consent of Commonwealths within themselves, or grown from agreement amongst Nations, such power is of God's own Institution in respect of the kinde thereof; Again, if respect be had unto those particular Persons, to whom the same is derived, if they either receive it immediately from God, as *Moses* and *Aaron* did; or from nature, as Parents do; or from men, by a natural and orderly course, as every Governor appointed in any Common-wealth, by the order thereof, doth; then is not the kinde of their Power, only of God's instituting, but the derivation thereof also, into their Persons, is from him. He hath placed them in their rooms, and doth term them his Ministers; Subjection therefore is due unto all such Powers, inasmuch as they are of God's own institution, even then when they are of man's creation, *Omni Humanæ Creaturæ*: Which things the Heathens themselves do acknowledge. Σκηπτοῦχος βασιλεύς ὥτε Ζεὺς κῦδος ἔδωκεν.

Hom. Il. l. 2. A Scepter-swaying King, to whom even *Jupiter* himself hath given honor, and commandment.

As for them that exercise Power altogether against Order; although the kinde of Power which they have may be of God, yet is their exercise thereof against God, and therefore not of God, otherwise than by *Permission*, as all Injustice is.

Touching such Acts as are done by that power which is according to his institution, that God in like sort doth authorize them, and account them to be his; though it were not confessed, it might be proved undeniably. For if that be acounted our deed, which others do, whom we have appointed to be our Agents, how should God but approve those deeds, even as his own, which are done by vertue of that Commission and Power which he hath given: *Take heed* (saith *Jehosophat* unto his Judges) *be careful and circumspect what ye do, ye do not execute the judgments of Man, but of the Lord*, 2 *Chron.* 19. 6. The Authority of *Cæsar* over the Jews, from whence was it? Had it any other ground than the Law of Nations, which maketh Kingdoms, subdued by just War, to be subject unto their Conquerors? By this Power *Cæsar* exacting Tribute, our Saviour confesseth it to be his Right, a Right which could not be with-held without Injury, yea disobedience herein unto him, and even Rebellion against God. Usurpers of Power, whereby we do not mean them that by violence have aspired unto places of Highest Authority, but them that use more Authority than they did ever receive in form and manner before-mentioned; (for so they may do, whose Title to the rooms of Authority, which they possess, no man can deny to be just and lawful: even as contrariwise some mens proceedings in Government have been very orderly, who notwithstanding did not attain to be made Governors, without great violence and disorder) such Usurpers thereof, as in the exercise of their Power do more than they have been authorized to do, cannot in Conscience binde any man unto Obedience.

That

That ſubjection which we owe unto lawful Powers, doth not onely import that we ſhould be under them by order of our State, but that we ſhew all ſubmiſſion towards them, both by honor and obedience. He that reſiſteth them, reſiſteth God: And reſiſted they be, if either the Authority it ſelf which they exerciſe be denied, as by Anabaptiſts all Secular Juriſdiction is; or if reſiſtance be made but only ſo farr forth, as doth touch their Perſons which are inveſted with Power; (for they which ſaid, *Nolumus hunc regnare*, did not utterly exclude Regiment; nor did they wiſh all kinde of Government clearly removed, which would not at the firſt have *David* to govern) or if that which they do by vertue of their Power, namely, their Laws, Edicts, Services, or other Acts of Juriſdiction, be not ſuffered to take effect, contrary to the bleſſed Apoſtles moſt holy rule, *Obey them which have the overſight of you*, Heb. 13. 17. or if they do take effect, yet is not the will of God thereby ſatisfied neither, as long as that which we do is contemptuouſly, or repiningly done, becauſe we can do no otherwiſe. In ſuch ſort the *Iſraelites* in the Deſart obeyed *Moſes*, and were notwithſtanding deſervedly plagued for diſobedience. The Apoſtle's Precept therefore is, *Be ſubject even for God's cauſe: Be ſubject, not for fear, but of mere Conſcience, knowing, that he which reſiſteth them, purchaſeth to himſelf condemnation.* Diſobedience therefore unto Laws, which are made by them, is not a thing of ſo ſmall account, as ſome would make it.

Howbeit too rigorous it were, that the breach of every Human Law ſhould be held a deadly ſin: A mean there is between thoſe extremities, if ſo be we can finde it out.

TO THE READER.

THe pleasures of thy spacious Walks in Mr. Hooker's Temple-Garden (not unfitly so called, both for the Temple whereof he was Master, and the Subject, Ecclesiastical Polity) do promise acceptance to these Flowers, planted and watered by the same hand, and, for thy sake composed into this Posie. Sufficiently are they commended by their fragrant smell, in the dogmatical Truth; by their beautiful colours, in the accurate stile; by their medicinable vertue, against some diseases in our neighbour Churches, now proving epidemical, and threatning farther infection; by their strait feature and spreading nature, growing from the root of Faith (which, as here is proved, can never be rooted up) and extending the branches of Charity to the covering of Noah's nakedness; opening the windows of Hope to men's misty conceits of their bemisted Fore-fathers. Thus, and more than thus, do the Works commend themselves; The Workman needs a better Work-man to commend him; (Alexander's Picture requires Apelles his Pencil) nay, he needs it not, His own Works commend him in the Gates; and, being dead, he yet speaketh; the Syllables of that memorable name Mr. Richard Hooker, proclaiming more, than if I should here stile him, a painful Student, a profound Scholar, a judicious Writer, with other due Titles of his Honor. Receive then this posthume Orphan for his own, yea, for thine own sake; and if the Printer hath with overmuch haste, like Mephibosheth's Nurse, lamed the Childe with slips and falls, yet be thou of David's minde, shew kindness to him for his Father Jonathan's sake. God grant, that the rest of his Brethren be not more than lamed, and that as Saul's three Sons died the same day with him; so those three promised to perfect his Polity, with other Issues of that learned Brain, be not buried in the Grave with their renowned Father. Farewel.

W. S.

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III. *A learned Diſcourſe of Juſtification, Works, and how the foundation of Faith is overthrown.*

IV. *A learned Sermon of the nature of Pride.*

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VII. *Two Sermons upon part of Saint* Jude's *Epiſtle.*

A SVPPLICATION Made to the COUNCEL BY Maſter Walter Travers.

Right Honourable;

THE manifold benefits which all the Subjects within this Dominion do at this preſent, and have many years enjoyed, under Her Majeſties moſt happy and proſperous reign, by your godly wiſdom, and careful watching over this Eſtate night and day; I truly and unfeignedly acknowledge from the bottom of my heart, ought worthily to binde us all, to pray continually to Almighty God for the continuance and increaſe of the life and good eſtate of your Honours, and to be ready, with all good duties, to ſatisfie and ſerve the ſame to our Power. Beſides publick benefits common unto all, I muſt needs, and do willingly confeſs my ſelf to ſtand bound by moſt ſpecial Obligation to ſerve and honour you more than any other, for the honourable favour it hath pleaſed you to vouchſafe both oftentimes heretofore, and alſo now of late, in a matter more dear unto me than any earthly commodity, that is, the upholding and furthering of my ſervice in the miniſtring of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt. For which cauſe, as I have been always careful ſo to carry my ſelf as I might by no means give occaſion to be thought unworthy of ſo great a Benefit, ſo do I ſtill, next unto her Majeſties gracious countenance, hold nothing more dear and precious to me, than that I may always remain in your Honours favour, which hath oftentimes been helpful and comfortable unto me in my Miniſtry, and to all ſuch as reaped any fruit of my ſimple and faithful labour. In which dutiful regard I humbly beſeech your Honours to vouchſafe to do me this grace, to conceive nothing of me otherwiſe, than according to the duty wherein I ought to live, by any information againſt me, before your Honours have heard my anſwer, and been throughly informed of the matter. Which, although it be a thing, that your wiſdoms, not in favour, but in juſtice, yield to all men, yet the ſtate of the the calling into the Miniſtery, whereunto it hath pleaſed God of his goodneſs to call me, though unworthieſt of all, is ſo ſubject to miſ-information, as, except we may finde this favour with your Honours, we cannot look for any other, but that our unindifferent

parties may easily procure us to be hardly esteemed of; and that we shall be made like the poor Fisher-boats in the Sea, which every swelling wave and billow raketh and runneth over. Wherein my Estate is yet harder than any others of my Rank and Calling, who are indeed to fight against Flesh and Blood in what part soever of the Lords Host and Field they shall stand mashalled to serve, yet many of them deal with it naked, and unfurnished of Weapons: But my service was in a place where I was to encounter with it well appointed and armed with skill and with authority, whereof as I have always thus deserved, and therefore have been careful by all good means to entertain still your Honours favourable respect of me, so have I special cause at this present, wherein mis-information to the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and other of the High Commission hath been able so farr to prevail against me, that by their Letter they have inhibited me to preach, or execute any Act of Ministry in the Temple or elsewhere, having never once called me before them to understand by mine answer the truth of such things as had been informed against me. We have a story in our Books wherein the Pharisees proceeding against our Saviour Christ, without having heard him, is reproved by an honourable Counsellour (as the Evangelist doth term him) saying, *Doth our Law judge a man before it hear him, and know what he hath done?* Which I do not mention, to the end, that by an indirect and covert speech I might so compare those, who have without ever hearing me, pronounced a heavy sentence against me; for notwithstanding such proceedings, I purpose by Gods grace to carry my self towards them in all seeming duty, agreeable to their places: much less do I presume to liken my Cause to our Saviour Christ's, who hold it my chiefest honour and happiness to serve him, though it be but among the hindes and hired Servants, that serve him in the basest corners of his House: But my purpose, in mentioning it, is, to shew by the judgement of a Prince and great man in *Israel*, that such proceeding standeth not with the Lavv of God, and in a Princely Pattern to shew it to be a noble part of an honourable Counsellour, not to allow of indirect dealings, but to allow and affect such a course in Justice, as is agreeable to the Lavv of God. We have also a plain rule in the Word of God, not to proceed any otherwise against any Elder of the Church; much less against one that laboureth in the Word, and in teaching: Which rule is delivered with this most earnest charge and obtestation, *I beseech and charge thee in the sight of God, and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the Elect Angels, that thou keep those* [*rules*] *without preferring one before another, doing nothing of partiality or inclining to either part*; which Apostolical and most earnest charge, I referr to your Honours wisdom how it hath been regarded in so heavy a Judgement against me, without ever hearing my Cause; and whether, as having God before their eyes, and the Lord Jesus, by whom all former Judgements shall be tried again, and, as in the presence of the Elect Angels, Witnesses and Observers of the Regiment of the Church, they have proceeded thus to such a sentence. They alledge indeed two reasons in their Letters, whereupon they restrain my Ministry, which, if they were as strong against me as they are supposed, yet I referr to your Honours wisdoms, whether the quality of such an Offence as they charge me with, which is in effect but an indiscretion, deserve so grievous a punishment both to the Church and me, in taking away my Ministery, and that poor little commodity which it yieldeth for the necessary maintenance of my life; if so unequal a ballancing of faults and punishments should have place in the Common-wealth, surely we should shortly have no Actions upon the Case, nor of Trespass, but all should be Pleas of the Crown, nor any man amerced, or fined, but for every light offence put to his ransom. I have credibly heard, that some of the Ministery have been committed for grievous transgressions of the Laws of God and men, being of no ability to do other service in the Church than to read, yet hath it been thought charitable, and standing with Christian moderation and temperancy, not to deprive such of Ministry and Beneficency, but to inflict some more tolerable punishment. Which I write not because such, as I think, were to be favoured, but to shew how unlike their dealing is with me, being through the goodness of God not to be touched with any such blame, and one, who, according to the measure of the gift of God, have laboured now some years painfully, in regard of the weak estate of my Body, in preaching the Gospel,

and,

and, as I hope, not altogether unprofitably in reſpect of the Church. But I beſeech your Honors to give me leave briefly to declare the particular reaſons of their Letter, and what Anſwer I have to make unto it.

The firſt is, That, as they ſay, *I am not lawfully called to the Function of the Miniſtry, nor allowed to preach according to the Laws of the Church of* England.

For Anſwer to this, I had need to divide the Points: and firſt to make anſwer to the former, wherein leaving to ſhew what by the Holy Scriptures is required in a lawful Calling, and that all this is to be found in mine, that I be not too long for your weighty affairs, I reſt.

I thus anſwer: My calling to the Miniſtry was ſuch as in the calling of any thereunto, is appointed to be uſed by the Orders agreed upon in the National Synods of the Low-Countreys, for the direction and guidance of their Churches, which Orders are the ſame with thoſe whereby the French and Scotiſh Churches are governed, whereof I have ſhewed ſuch ſufficient teſtimonial to my Lord the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, as is requiſite in ſuch a Matter: whereby it muſt needs fall out, if any man be lawfully called to the Miniſtry in thoſe Churches, then is my Calling, being the ſame with theirs, alſo lawful. But I ſuppoſe, notwithſtanding they uſe this general ſpeech, they mean only, my Calling is not ſufficient, to deal in the Miniſtry within this Land, becauſe I was not made Miniſter according to that Order which in this Caſe is ordained by our Laws. Whereunto I beſeech your Honours to conſider throughly of mine Anſwer, becauſe exception now again is taken to my Miniſtery, whereas having been heretofore called in queſtion for it, I ſo anſwered the matter, as I continued in my Miniſtery, and, for any thing I diſcerned, looked to hear that no more objected unto me. The communion of Saints (which every Chriſtian man profeſſeth to believe) is ſuch, as that the Acts which are done in any true Church of Chriſts according to his Word, are held as lawful, being done in one Church as in another. Which, as it holdeth in other Acts of Miniſtery, as Baptiſm, Mariage, and ſuch like, ſo doth it in the calling to the Miniſtery; by reaſon whereof, all Churches do acknowledge and receive him for a Miniſter of the Word, who hath been lawfully called thereunto in any Church of the ſame Profeſſion. A Doctor created in any Univerſity of Chriſtendom, is acknowledged ſufficiently qualified to teach in any Country. The Church of *Rome* it ſelf, and the Canon law holdeth it, that being ordered in *Spain*, they may execute that belongeth to their Order in *Italy*, or in any other place. And the Churches of the Goſpel never made any queſtion of it; which if they ſhall now begin to make doubt of, and deny ſuch to be lawfully called to the Miniſtry, as are called by another Order than our own; then may it well be looked for, that other Churches will do the like: And if a Miniſter called in the Low-countries be not lawfully called in *England*, then may they ſay to our Preachers which are there, that being made of another Order than theirs, they cannot ſuffer them to execute any Act of Miniſtry amongſt them; which in the end muſt needs breed a Schiſm, and dangerous diviſions in the Churches. Further, I have heard of thoſe that are learned in the Laws of this Land, that by expreſs Statute to that purpoſe, *Anno* 13. upon ſubſcription to the Articles agreed upon, *Anno* 62. that they who pretend to have been ordered by another Order than that which is now eſtabliſhed, are of like capacity to enjoy any place of Miniſtry within the Land, as they which have been ordered according to that which is now by law in this caſe eſtabliſhed. Which comprehending manifeſtly all, even ſuch as were made Prieſts, according to the Order of the Church of *Rome*, it muſt needs be, that the Law of a Chriſtian Land, profeſſing the Goſpel, ſhould be as favourable for a Miniſter of the Word, as for a Popiſh Prieſt; which alſo was ſo found in Mr. *Whittingham*'s Caſe, who, notwithſtanding ſuch Replies againſt him, enjoyed ſtill the benefit he had by his Miniſtry, and might have done untill this day, if God had ſpared him life ſo long; which, if it be underſtood ſo, and practiſed in others, why ſhould the change of the Perſon alter the right, which the Law giveth to all other?

The place of Miniſtry whereunto I was called, was not Preſentative: and if it had been ſo, ſurely they would never have preſented any man whom they never knew; and the order of this Church is agreeable herein to the Word of God, and the antient and beſt

beſt Canons; that no man ſhould be made a Miniſter *ſine titulo*: therefore having none, I could not by the Orders of this Church have entred into the Miniſtry, before I had a Charge to tend upon. When I was at *Antwerp*, and to take a Place of Miniſtry among the People of that Nation, I ſee no cauſe why I ſhould have returned again over the Seas for Orders here; nor how I could have done it, without diſallowing the Orders of the Churches provided in the Country where I was to live. Whereby I hope it appeareth, that my Calling to the Miniſtery is lawful, and maketh me, by our Law, of capacity to enjoy any benefit or commodity, that any other by reaſon of his Miniſtry may enjoy. But my Cauſe is yet more eaſie, who reaped no benefit of my Miniſtery by Law, receiving onely a benevolence and voluntary Contribution; and the Miniſtery I dealt with, being Preaching onely, which every Deacon here may do being licenſed, and certain that are neither Miniſters nor Deacons. Thus I anſwer, the former of theſe two Points; whereof, if there be yet any doubt, I humbly deſire for a final end thereof, that ſome competent Judges in Law may determine of it; whereunto I referr and ſubmit my ſelf with all reverence and duty.

The ſecond is, *That I preached without Licence*. Whereunto, this is my Anſwer: I have not preſumed, upon the Calling I had to the Miniſtery abroad, to Preach or deal with any part of the Miniſtery within this Church, without the conſent and allowance of ſuch as were to allow me unto it: my Allowance was from the Biſhop of *London*, teſtified by his two ſeveral Letters to the *Inner Temple*, who without ſuch teſtimony would by no means reſt ſatified in it; which Letters being by me produced, I referr it to your Honours wiſdom, whether I have taken upon me to Preach, without being allowed (as they charge) according to the Orders of the Realm. Thus having anſwered the ſecond point alſo, I have done with the Objection, *Of dealing without Calling or Licenſe*.

The other Reaſon they alledge, is, concerning a late Action, wherein I had to deal with Mr. *Hooker*, Maſter of the *Temple*. In the handling of which Cauſe, they charge me with an Indiſcretion, and want of Duty, *In that I inveighed* (as they ſay) *againſt certain Points of Doctrine taught by him as erroneous, not conferring with him, nor complaining of it to them*. My Anſwer hereunto ſtandeth, in declaring to your Honours the whole courſe and carriage of that Cauſe, and the degrees of proceeding in it, which I will do as briefly as I can, and according to the truth, God be my witneſs, as near as my beſt memory, and notes of remembrance may ſerve me thereunto. After that I have taken away that which ſeemed to have moved them to think me not charitably minded to Mr. *Hooker*; which is, Becauſe he was brought in to Mr. *Alveyes* Place, wherein this Church deſired that I might have ſucceeded: which Place, if I would have made ſuit to have obtained, or if I had ambitiouſly affected and ſought, I would not have refuſed to have ſatisfied, by ſubſcription, ſuch as the matter then ſeemed to depend upon: whereas contrariwiſe, notwithſtanding I would not hinder the Church to do that they thought to be moſt for their edification and comfort, yet did I, neither by Speech nor Letter, make ſuit to any for the obtaining of it; following herein that reſolution, which I judge to be moſt agreeable to the Word and Will of God; that is, that labouring and ſuing for Places and Charges in the Church is not lawful. Further, whereas at the ſuit of the Church, ſome of your Honours entertained the Cauſe, and brought it to a near iſſue, that there ſeemed nothing to remain, but the commendation of my Lord the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; when as he could not be ſatisfied, but by my ſubſcribing to his late Articles; and that my Anſwer agreeing to ſubſcribe according to any Law, and to the Statute provided in that Caſe, but praying to be reſpited for ſubſcribing to any other, which I could not in Conſcience do, either for the *Temple* (which otherwiſe he ſaid, he would not commend me to) nor for any other Place in the Church, did ſo little pleaſe my Lord Archbiſhop, as he reſolved, that otherwiſe I ſhould not be commended to it. I had utterly here no cauſe of offence againſt Mr. *Hooker*, whom I did in no ſort eſteem to have prevented or undermined me, but that God diſpoſed of me as it pleaſed him, by ſuch means and occaſions as I have declared.

Moreover, as I have taken no cauſe of offence at Mr. *Hooker* for being preferred, ſo there

there were many Witneſſes, that I was glad that the place was given him, hoping to live in all godly peace and comfort with him, both for acquaintance and good-will which hath been between us, and for ſome kinde of affinity in the marriage of his neareſt kindred and mine: Since his comming, I have ſo carefully endeavoured to entertain all good correſpondence and agreement with him, as I think he himſelf will bear me witneſs of many earneſt Diſputations and Conferences with him about the matter; the rather, becauſe that, contrary to my expectation, he inclined from the beginning but ſmally thereunto, but joyned rather with ſuch as had always oppoſed themſelves to any good order in this Charge, and made themſelves to be brought indiſpoſed to his preſent ſtate and proceedings: For, both knowing that God's Commandement charged me with ſuch Duty, and diſcerning how much our peace might further the good ſervice of God and his Church, and the mutual coinfort of us hoth, I had reſolved conſtantly to ſeek for Peace; and though it ſhould flye from me (as I ſaw it did by means of ſome, who little deſired to ſee the good of our Church) yet, according to the rule of God's Word, to follow after it: Which being ſo (as hereof I take God to witneſſe, who ſearcheth the heart and reins, and who by his Son will judge the World, both quick and dead) I hope no charitable Judgement can ſuppoſe me to have ſtood evil-affected towards him for his Place, or deſirous to fall into any Controverſie with him.

Which my reſolution I purſued, that, whereas I diſcovered ſundry unſound matters in his Doctrine (as many of his Sermons taſted of ſome ſour leaven or other) yet thus I carried my ſelf towards him: Matters of ſmaller weight, and ſo covertly diſcovered, that no great offence to the Church was to be feared in them, I wholly paſſed by, as one that diſcerned nothing of them, or had been unfurniſhed of replies; for others of great moment, and ſo openly delivered, as there was juſt cauſe of fear, leſt the Truth and Church of God ſhould be prejudiced and perilled by it, and ſuch as the Conſcience of my Duty and Calling would not ſuffer me altogether to paſs over, this was my courſe, to deliver, when I ſhould have juſt cauſe by my Text, the truth of ſuch Doctrine as he had otherwiſe taught, in general ſpeeches, without touch of his Perſon in any ſort; and further at convenient opportunity to conferr with him in ſuch points.

According to which determination, whereas he had taught certain things concerning Predeſtination, otherwiſe than the Word of God doth, as it is underſtood by all Churches profeſſing the Goſpel, and not unlike that wherewith *Coranus* ſometimes troubled his Church, I both delivered the truth of ſuch points in a general Doctrine, without any touch of him in particular, and conferred with him alſo privately upon ſuch Articles. In which Conference, I remember, when I urged the conſent of all Churches and good Writers againſt him that I knew; and deſired, if it were otherwiſe, What Authors he had ſeen of ſuch Doctrine? He anſwered me, That his beſt Author was his own Reaſon; which I wiſhed him to take heed of, as a matter ſtanding with Chriſtian modeſty and wiſdom; in a Doctrine not received by the Church, not to truſt to his own Judgment ſo farr, as to publiſh it before he had conferred with others of his Profeſſion, labouring by daily Prayer and Study, to know the will of God, as he did, to ſee how they underſtood ſuch Doctrine: Notwithſtanding, he, with wavering, replyed, That he would ſome other time deal more largely in the matter; I wiſhed him, and prayed him not ſo to do, for the peace of the Church, which, by ſuch means, might be hazarded; ſeeing he could not but think, that men, who make any Conſcience of their Miniſterie, will judge it a neceſſarie dutie in them, to teach the truth, and to convince the contrarie.

Another time, upon like occaſion of this Doctrine of his, *That the aſſurance of that we believe by the Word, is not ſo certain, as of that we perceive by ſenſe*; I both taught the Doctrine otherwiſe, namely, the aſſurance of Faith to be greater, which aſſured both of things above, and contrarie to all ſenſe and human underſtanding, and dealt with him alſo privately upon that point: According to which courſe of late, when as he had taught, *That the Church of* Rome *is a true Church of Chriſt, and a ſanctified Church by profeſſion of that Truth, which God hath revea-*

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led unto us by his Son, though not a pure and perfect Church; and further, *That he doubted not, but that thousands of the Fathers, which lived and dyed in the Superstitions of that Church, were saved, because of their ignorance, which excuseth them,*
1 Tim. 1. 13. mis-alledging to that end a Text of Scripture to prove it: The matter being of set purpose openly and at large handled by him, and of that moment, that might prejudice the Faith of Christ, encourage the ill-affected to continue still in their damnable ways, and others weak in Faith to suffer themselves easily to be seduced, to the destruction of their Souls; I thought it my most bounden duty to God, and to his Church, whilst I might have opportunitie to speak with him, to teach the Truth in a general speech in such points of Doctrine.

At which time I taught, *That such as dye, or have died at any time in the Church of* Rome, *holding in their ignorance that Faith, which is taught in it, and namely, Justification in part by Works, could not be said by the Scriptures to be saved.* In which matter, foreseeing that if I waded not warily in it, I should be in danger to be reported, (as hath fallen out since notwithstanding) to condemn all the Fathers, I said directly and plainly to all mens understanding, *That it was not indeed to be doubted, but many of the Fathers were saved; but the means* (I said) *was not their ignorance, which excuseth no man with God, but their knowledge and Faith of the Truth, which it appeareth God vouchsafed them, by many notable Monuments and Records extant in all Ages.* Which being the last point in all my Sermon, rising so naturally from the Text I then propounded, as would have occasioned me to have delivered such matter, notwithstanding the former Doctrine had been sound; and being dealt in by a general speech, without touch of his particular; I looked not that a matter of Controversie would have been made of it, no more than had been of my like dealing in former time. But, far otherwise than I looked for, Mr. *Hooker* shewing no grief of Offence taken at my speech all the week long, the next Sabbath, leaving to proceed upon his ordinarie Text, professed to preach again, that he had done the day before, for some question that his Doctrine was drawn into, which he desired might be examined with all severitie.

So proceeding, he bestowed his whole time in that discourse, concerning his former Doctrine, and answering the places of Scripture, which I had alledged, to prove that a man dying in the Church of *Rome*, is not to be judged by the Scriptures to be saved. In which long speech, and utterly impertinent to his Text, under colour of answering for himself, he impugned directly and openly to all mens understanding, the true Doctrine which I had delivered; and, adding to his former Points some other like (as willingly one Error followeth another) that is, *That the Galatians joyning with Faith in Christ, Circumcision, as necessary to Salvation, might not be saved: And that they of the Church of* Rome, *may be saved by such a Faith of Christ as they had, with a general Repentance of all their Errors, notwithstanding their opinion of Justification, in part by their works and merits*: I was necessarily, though not willingly, drawn to say something to the Points he objected against sound Doctrine; which I did in a short speech in the end of my Sermon, with protestation of so doing, not of any sinister affection to any man, but to bear witness to the Truth, according to my Calling; and wished, if the matter should needs further be dealt in, some other more convenient way might be taken for it; wherein, I hope, my dealing was manifest to the Consciences of all indifferent Hearers of me that day, to have been according to Peace, and without any uncharitableness, being duly considered.

For that I conferred with him the first day, I have shewed that the Cause requiring of me the Duty, at the least not to be altogether silent in it, being a matter of such consequence, that the time also being short, wherein I was to preach after him, the hope of the fruit of our communication being small, upon experience of former Conferences, my expectation being, that the Church should be no further troubled with it, upon the motion I made of taking some other course of dealing. I suppose my deferring to speak with him till some fit opportunitie, cannot in Charity be judged uncharitable.

The second day, his unlooked for opposition with the former Reasons, made it to be a matter that required of necessity some Publick answer; which being so temperate,

rate, as I have ſhewed, if notwithſtanding it be ſenſured as uncharitable, and puniſhed ſo grievouſly as it is, What ſhould have been my puniſhment, if (without all ſuch cautions and reſpects as qualified my ſpeech) I had before all, and in the underſtanding of all, ſo reproved him offending openly, that others might have feared to doe the like? which yet, if I had done, might have been warranted by the rule and charge of the Apoſtle, *Them that offend openly, rebuke openly, that the reſt may alſo fear*; and by his example, who, when *Peter* in this very Caſe which is now between us, had (not in Preaching) but in a matter of Converſation, not gone with a right foot, as was fit for the truth of the Goſpel, conferred not privately with him, but, as his own rule required, reproved him openly before all, that others might hear, and fear, and not dare to do the like. All which reaſons together weighed, I hope, will ſhew the manner of my dealing to have been charitable, and warrantable in every ſort.

The next Sabbath day after this, Mr. *Hooker* kept the way he had entred into before, and beſtowed his whole hour and more onely upon the Queſtions he had moved and maintained; wherein he ſo ſet forth the agreement of the Church of *Rome* with us, and their diſagreement from us, as if we had conſented in the greateſt and weightieſt Points, and differed onely in certain ſmaller matters: Which Agreement noted by him in two chief points, is not ſuch as he would have made men believe. The one, in that he ſaid, *They acknowledge all men ſinners, even the bleſſed Virgin*, though ſome of them freed her from ſinne; for the Council of *Trent* holdeth, that ſhe was free from ſinne. Another, in that he ſaid, *They teach Chriſt's Righteouſneſs to be the onely meritorious cauſe of taking away ſinne, and differ from us onely in the applying of it*: For *Thomas Aquinas* their chief Schoolman, and Archbiſhop *Catherinus* teach, *That Chriſt took away onely Original ſinne, and that the reſt are to be taken away by our ſelves*; yea, the Council of *Trent* teacheth, *That Righteouſneſs whereby we are righteous in God's ſight, is an inherent Righteouſneſs*: which muſt needs be of our own Works, and cannot be underſtood of the Righteouſneſſe inherent onely in Chriſt's Perſon, and accounted unto us. Moreover he taught the ſame time, *That neither the* Galatians, *nor the Church of* Rome, *did directly overthrow the foundation of Juſtification by Chriſt alone, but onely by conſequent, and therefore might well be ſaved; or elſe neither the Churches of the* Lutherans, *nor any which hold any manner of Errour could be ſaved; becauſe* (ſaith he) *every Errour by conſequent overthroweth the Foundation.* In which Diſcourſes, and ſuch like, he beſtowed his whole time and more; which, if he had affected either the truth of God, or the peace or the Church, he would truly not have done.

Whoſe example could not draw me to leave the Scripture I took in hand, but ſtanding about an hour to deliver the Doctrine of it, in the end, upon juſt occaſion of the Text, leaving ſundry other his unſound ſpeeches, and keeping me ſtill to the Principal, I confirmed the believing the Doctrine of Juſtification by Chriſt onely, to be neceſſary to the Juſtification of all that ſhould be ſaved, and that the Church of *Rome* directly denieth, that a man is ſaved by Chriſt, or by Faith alone, without the works of the Law. Which my Anſwer, as it was moſt neceſſary for the ſervice of God, and the Church, ſo was it without any immodeſt or reproachful ſpeech to Mr. *Hooker*: whoſe unſound and wilful dealings in a Cauſe of ſo great importance to the Faith of Chriſt, and ſalvation of the Church, notwithſtanding I knew well what ſpeech it deſerved, and what ſome zealous earneſt man of the ſpirit of *John* and *James*, ſirnamed *Boanerges*, Sons of Thunder, would have ſaid in ſuch a caſe; yet I choſe rather to content my ſelf in exhorting him to reviſit his Doctrine, as *Nathan* the Prophet did the device, which, without conſulting with God, he had of himſelf given to *David*, concerning the building of the Temple; and with *Peter* the Apoſtle, to endure to be withſtood in ſuch a Caſe, not unlike unto this. This in effect, was that which paſſed between us concerniug this matter, and the invectives I made againſt him, wherewith I am charged: Which rehearſal, I hope, may clear me (with all that ſhall indifferently conſider it) of the blames laid upon me for want of Duty to Mr. *Hooker*, in not conferring with him, whereof I have ſpoken ſufficiently already; and to the High-Commiſſion, in not revealing the matter to them, which yet now I am further to anſwer. My Anſwer is, That I proteſt, no contempt nor wilful neglect of

Mark 3. 17.
2 Sam. 7. 2, 3, 4, 5.
Gal. 2. 11, 14.

any lawful Authority, ſtayed me from complaining unto them, but theſe Reaſons following:

Firſt, I was in ſome hope, that Mr. *Hooker*, notwithſtanding he had been overcarried with a ſhew of Charity to prejudice the Truth, yet when it ſhould be ſufficiently proved, would have acknowledged it, or at the leſt induced with Peace, that it might be offered without either offence to him, or to ſuch as would receive it; either of which would have taken away any cauſe of juſt Complaint. When neither of theſe fell out according to my expectation and deſire, but that he replied to the Truth, and objected againſt it, I thought he might have ſome doubts and ſcruples in himſelf, which yet, if they were cleared, he would either embrace ſound Doctrine, or at leſt ſuffer it to have its courſe: Which hope of him I nouriſhed ſo long, as the matter was not bitterly and immodeſtly handled between us.

Another Reaſon was the Cauſe it ſelf, which, according to the Parable of the Tares (which are ſaid to be ſown among the Wheat) ſprung up firſt in his Graſs: Therefore, as the Servants in that Place, are not ſaid to have come to complain to the lord, till the Tares came to ſhew their fruits in their kinde: ſo, I thinking it yet but a time of diſcovering of it what it was, deſired not their ſickle to cutt it down.

For further anſwer, It is to be conſidered, that the conſcience of my Duty to God, and to his Church, did binde me at the firſt, to deliver ſound Doctrine in ſuch Points, as had been otherwiſe uttered in the Place, where I had now ſome years taught the Truth; Otherwiſe the rebuke of the Prophet had fallen upon me, for not going up to the breach, and ſtanding in it, and the peril for anſwering the blood of the City, in whoſe Watch-Tower I ſate; if it had been ſurprized by my default. Moreover, my publick Proteſtation, in being unwilling, that if any were not yet ſatisfied, ſome other more convenient way might be taken for it. And laſtly, that I had reſolved (which I uttered before to ſome, dealing with me about the matter) to have proteſted the next Sabbath day, that I would no more anſwer in that Place, any Objections to the Doctrine taught by any means, but ſome other way ſatisfie ſuch as ſhould require it.

Ezek. 2. 3. Ez. 33. 6.

Theſe, I truſt, may make it appear, that I failed not in Duty to Authoritie, notwithſtanding I did not complain, nor give over ſo ſoon dealing in the Caſe: If I did, how is he clear, which can alledge none of all theſe for himſelf; who leaving the expounding of the Scriptures, and his ordinarie Calling, voluntarily diſcourſed upon School-Points and Queſtions, neither of edification, nor of Truth; who, after all this, as promiſing to himſelf, and to untruth, a Victory by my ſilence, added yet in the next Sabbath day, to the maintenance of his former Opinions, theſe which follow?

That no additament taketh away the Foundation, except it be a Privative; of which ſort, neither the Works added to Chriſt by the Church of Rome, *nor Circumciſion by the* Galatians *were: as one denieth him not to be a man, that ſaith, he is a Righteous man, but he that ſaith he is a dead man:* Whereby it might ſeem, that a man might, without hurt, adde Works to Chriſt, and pray alſo that God and Saint *Peter* would ſave them.

That the Galatians *Caſe is harder than the Caſe of the Church of* Rome, *becauſe the* Galatians *joyned Circumciſion with Chriſt, which God had forbidden and aboliſhed; but that which the Church of* Rome *joyned with Chriſt, were good Works which God hath commanded.* Wherein he committed a double fault, one, in expounding all the queſtions of the *Galatians*, and conſequently of the *Romans*, and other Epiſtles, of Circumciſion onely, and the Ceremonies of the Law (as they doe, who anſwer for the Church of *Rome* in their Writings) contrary to the clear meaning of the Apoſtle, as may appear by many ſtrong and ſufficient reaſons: The other, in that he ſaid, *the addition of the Church of* Rome *was of Works commanded of God.* Whereas the leaſt part of the Works whereby they looked to merit, was of ſuch works; and moſt were works of Supererogation, and works which God never commanded, but was highly diſpleaſed with, as of Maſſes, Pilgrimages, Pardons, pains of Purgatory, and ſuch like: *That no one ſequel urged by the Apoſtle againſt the* Galatians *for joyning Circumciſion with Chriſt,*

Christ, but might be as well enforced against the Lutherans; *that is, that for their ubiquity it may be as well said to them, If ye hold the Body of Christ to be in all places, you are fallen from grace, you are under the curse of the Law, saying,* Cursed be he that fulfilleth not all things written in this Book; with such like. He added yet further, *That to a Bishop of the Church of* Rome, *to a Cardinal, yea to the Pope himself, acknowledging Christ to be the Saviour of the World, denying other errours, and being discomforted for want of Works whereby he might be justified, he would not doubt, but use this speech, Thou holdest the foundation of Christian Faith, though it be but by a slender thred; thou holdest Christ, though but by the hem of his Garment; why shouldst thou not hope that vertue may pass from Christ to save thee? That which thou holdest of Justification by thy Works, overthroweth indeed by consequent the foundation of Christian Faith; but be of good chear, thou hast not to do with a captious Sophister, but with a merciful God, who will justifie thee for that thou holdest, and not take the advantage of doubtful construction to condemn thee. And if this,* said he, *be an Errour, I hold it willingly; for it is the greatest comfort I have in this World, without which I would not wish either to speak or to live.* Thus farr, beng not to be answered in it any more, he was bold to proceed, the absurdity of which Speech I need not to stand upon. I think the like to this, and other such in this Sermon, and the rest of this matter, hath not been heard in Publick places within this Land, since Queen *Mary*'s days. What consequence this Doctrine may be of, if he be not by Authority ordered to revoke it, I beseech your H H. as the truth of God and his Gospel is dear and precious unto you, according to your godly wisdome to consider.

I have been bold to offer to your H H. a long and tedious Discourse of these matters; but Speech being like to Tapestry, which if it be folded up, sheweth but part of that which is wrought; and being unlapt and laid open, sheweth plainly to the eye all the work that is in it, I thought it necessary to unfold this Tapestry, and to hang up the whole Chamber of it in your most Honourable Senate, that so you may the more easily discern of all the Pieces, and the sundry Works and Matters contained in it. Wherein my hope is, your H H. may see I have not deserved so great a Punishment, as is laid upon the Church for my sake, and also upon my self, in taking from me the excercise of my Ministerie: Which Punishment, how heavy it may seem to the Church, or fall out indeed to be, I referr it to them to judge, and spare to write what I fear; but to my self it is exceeding grievous, for that it taketh from me the excercise of my Calling. Which I do not say is dear unto me, as the means of that little benefit whereby I live (although this be a lawful consideration, and to be regarded of me in due place, and of the Authority under whose Protection I most willingly live, even by God's Commandment both unto them, and unto me:) but which ought to be more precious unto me than my life, for the love which I should bear to the glory and honour of Almighty God, and to the edification and salvation of his Church, for that my life cannot any other way be of like service to God, nor of such use and profit to men by any means: For which Cause, as I discern how dear my Ministery ought to be unto me, so it is my hearty desire, and most humble request unto God, to your H H. and to all the Authority I live under, to whom any dealing herein belongeth, that I may spend my life according to his Example, who in a word of like sound, of fuller sense, comparing by it the bestowing of his life to the Offering poured out upon the Sacrifice of the Faith of God's people, and especially of this Church, whereupon I have already poured out a great part thereof in the same Calling, from which I stand now restrained. And, if your H H. shall finde it so, that I have not deserved so great a Punishment, but rather performed the Duty, which a good and faithful Servant ought, in such case, to do to his Lord, and the People he putteth them in trust withal carefully to keep: I am a most humble Suiter by these presents to your H H. that, by your godly wisdom, some good course may be taken for the restoring of me to my Ministery and Place again. Which so great a favour, shall binde me yet in a greater obligation of Duty (which is already so great, as it seemed nothing could be added unto it to make it greater) to honour God daily for the the continuance and encrease of your good estate, and to be ready with all the poor means God hath given me, to do

your H H. that faithful Service I may possibly perform: But if, notwithstanding my Cause be never so good, your H H. can by no means pacifie such as are offended, nor restore me again, then am I to rest in the good pleasure of God, and to commend to your H H. protection, under Her Majesties, my private life, while it shall be led in duty; and the Church to him, who hath redeemed to himself a People with his precious Blood, and is making ready to come to judge both the Quick and the Dead, to give to every one according as he hath done in this life, be it good or evil; to the Wicked and Unbelievers, Justice unto death; but to the Faithful, and such as love his truth, Mercy and Grace to life everlasting.

Your Honours most bounden, and

most humble Suppliant

WALTER TRAVERS,

Minister of the Gospel.

Mr.

Mr. *HOOKER'S*

ANSVVER TO THE SUPPLICATION THAT Mr. *TRAVERS* Made to the COUNCIL.

To my Lord of Canterburie his Grace.

MY Duty in my moſt humble wiſe remembred: May it pleaſe your Grace to underſtand, That whereas there hath been a late Controverſie raiſed in the *Temple*, and purſued by Mr. *Travers*, upon conceit taken at ſome words by me uttered, with a moſt ſimple and harmleſs meaning: In the heat of which purſuit, after three publick Invectives, ſilence being enjoyned him by Authority, he hath hereupon, for defence of his proceedings, both preſented the Right Honourable Lords, and others of Her Majeſties Privy Councel with a Writing; and alſo cauſed or ſuffered the ſame to be Copied out, and ſpread through the hands of ſo many, that well nigh all ſorts of men have it in their boſomes: The matters wherewith I am therein charged, being of ſuch quality as they are, and my ſelf being better known to your Grace, than to any other of their Honors beſides, I have choſen to offer to your Grace's hands a plain Declaration of my Innocence in all thoſe things wherewith I am ſo hardly, and ſo heavily charged; leſt, if I

ſtill

still remain silent, that which I do for quietness sake, be taken as an Argument, that I lack what to speak truly and justly in mine own defence.

2. First, because M. *Travers* thinketh it an expedient to breed an Opinion in mens mindes, that the root of all inconvenient events which are now sprung out, is, the surly and unpeaceable disposition of the man with whom he hath to do; therefore the first in the rank of Accusations laid against me, is, *my inconformity, which have so little inclined to so many, and so earnest Exhortations and Conferences, as my self*, he saith, *can witness, to have been spent upon me, for my better fashioning unto good correspondence and agreement.*

3. Indeed, when at the first, by means of special Well-willers, without any suit of mine, as they very well know (although I do not think it had been a mortal sinne, in a reasonable sort, to have shewed a moderate desire that way) yet when by their endeavour, without instigation of mine, some Reverend and Honourable, favourably affecting me, had procured her Majestie's grant of the Place; At the very point of my entring thereinto, the Evening before I was first to Preach, he came, and two other Gentlemen joyned with him: The effect of his Conference then was, *That he thought it his Duty to advise me, not to enter with a strong hand, but to change my purpose of Preaching there the next day, and to stay till he had given notice of me to the Congregation, that so their allowance might seal my Calling.* The effect of my Answer was, *That, as in a place where such Order is, I would not break; so here, where it never was, I might not, of my own head, take upon me to begin it*: But liking very well the motion of the Opinion which I had of his good meaning who made it, requested him not to mislike my Answer, though it were not correspondent to his minde.

4. When this had so displeased some, that whatsoever was afterwards done or spoken by me, it offended their taste, angry informations were daily sent out, intelligence given farr and wide, what a dangerous Enemy was crept in; the worst that Jealousie could imagine, was spoken and written to so many, that at the length some knowing me well, and perceiving how injurious the Reports were, which grew daily more and more unto my discredit, wrought means to bring Mr. *Travers* and me to a second Conference. Wherein, when a common Friend unto us both, had quietly requested him to utter those things wherewith he found himself any way grieved: He first renewed the memory of my entring into this Charge, by vertue only of an Humane Creature (for so the want of that formality of Popular Allowance was then censured) and unto this was annexed a Catalogue, partly of causeless Surmises, as, *That I had conspired against him, and that I sought Superiority over him*; and partly of Faults, which to note, I should have thought it a greater offence than to commit, if I did account them Faults, and had heard them so curiously observed in any other than myself, they are such silly things, as, *Praying in the entrance of my Sermon onely, and not in the end; naming Bishops in my Prayer, Kneeling when I pray, and Kneeling when I receive the Communion*, with such like, which I would be as loath to recite, as I was sorry to hear them objected, if the rehearsal thereof were not by him thus wrested from me. These are the Conferences wherewith I have been wooed to entertain Peace and good Agreement.

A mere formality it had been to me in that place; where, as no man had ever used it before me, so it could neither further me if I did use it, nor hinder me if I did not.

5. As for the vehement Exhortations he speaketh of, I would gladly know some reason, wherefore he thought them needful to be used. Was there any thing found in my Speeches or Dealings that gave them occasion, who are studious of Peace, to think that I disposed my self to some unquiet kinde of Proceedings? Surely, the special Providence of God I do now see it was, that the first words I spake in this Place, should make the first thing whereof I am accused, to appear not onely untrue, but improbable, to as many as then heard me with indifferent ears; and do, I doubt not, in their Consciences clear me of this suspition. Howbeit, I grant this were nothing, if it might be shewed, that my Deeds following were not suitable to my words. If I had spoken of Peace at the first, and afterwards sought to molest and grieve him, by crossing him in his Function, by storming, if my pleasure were not asked, and my Will obeyed in the least occurrences, by carping needlesly sometimes at the manner of his Teaching, sometimes at this, sometimes at that Point of his Doctrine: I might then with some likelihood have been blamed, as one disdaining a peaceable hand when

it had been offered. But if I be able (as I am) to prove that my ſelf have now a full year together, born the continuance of ſuch dealings, not onely without any manner of reſiſtance, but alſo without any ſuch complaint, as might lett or hinder him in his courſe, I ſee no cauſe in the world, why of this I ſhould he accuſed, unleſſe it be, leſt I ſhould accuſe, which I meant not. If therefore I have given him occaſion to uſe conferences and exhortations to peace, if when they were beſtowed upon me I have deſpiſed them, it will not be hard to ſhew ſome one Word or Deed wherewith I have gone about to work diſturbance: one is not much, I require but one. Onely, I require if any thing be ſhewed, it may be proved, and not objected onely as this is, *That I have joyned to ſuch as have alwayes oppoſed to any good order in his Church, and made themſelves to be thought indiſpoſed to the preſent eſtate and proceedings.* The words have reference, as it ſeemeth, unto ſome ſuch things as being attempted before my comming to the Temple, went not ſo effectually (perhaps) forward, as he that deviſed them would have wiſhed. An Order, as I learn, there was tendred, that Communicants ſhould neither kneel, as in moſt places of the Realm; nor ſit, as in this Place the Cuſtom is; but walk to the one ſide of the Table, and there ſtanding till they had received, paſs afterwards away round about by the other. Which being on a ſudden begun to be practiſed in the Church, ſome ſate wondering what it ſhould mean, others deliberating what to do: Till ſuch time as at length by name one of them being called openly thereunto, requeſted that they might do as they had been accuſtomed, which was granted; and as Mr. *Travers* had miniſtred this way to the reſt, ſo a Curate was ſent to miniſter to them after their way. Which unproſperous beginning of a thing (ſaving onely for the inconvenience of needleſs alterations, otherwiſe harmleſſe) did ſo diſgrace that Order, in their conceit who had to allow or diſallow it, that it took no place. For neither could they ever induce themſelves to think it good, and it ſo much offended Mr. *Travers*, who ſuppoſed it to be the beſt, that he ſince that time, although contented to receive it as they do, at the hands of others, yet hath not thought it meet they ſhould ever receive out of his, which would not admit that Order of receiving it, and therefore in my time hath been always preſent not to miniſter, but only to be miniſtred unto.

6. Another Order there was likewiſe deviſed, but an Order of much more weight and importance. This ſoil in reſpect of certain Immunities and other Specialties belonging unto it, ſeemed likely to bear that which in other places of the Realm of *England* doth not take. For which cauſe, requeſt was made to her Majeſties Privy Councel, that whereas it is provided by a Statute, there ſhould be Collectors and Sidemen in Churches, which thing, or ſomewhat correſpondent unto it, this place did greatly want; it would pleaſe their Honours to motion ſuch a matter to the Antients of the Temple. And, according to their honourable manner of helping forward all motions ſo grounded, they wrote their Letters, as I am informed to that effect. Whereupon, although theſe Houſes never had uſe of ſuch Collectors and Sidemen as are appointed in other places, yet they both erected a Box to receive mens Devotions for the Poor, appointing the Treaſurer of both Houſes to take care for beſtowing it where need was, and granting further, that if any could be entreated (as in the end ſome were) to undertake the labour of obſerving mens ſlackneſſe in Divine duties, they ſhould be allowed, their Complaints heard at all times, and the faults they complained of, if Mr. *Alveyes* private admonition did not ſerve, then by ſome other means to be redreſſed; but according to the old received Orders of both Houſes. Whereby the ſubſtance of their Honors Letters were indeed fully ſatisfied. Yet, becauſe Mr. *Travers* intended not this, but, as it ſeemed, another thing; therefore, notwithſtanding the Orders which have been taken, and, for any thing I know, do ſtand ſtill in as much force in this Church now, as at any time heretofore, He complaineth much of the good Orders which he doth mean have been withſtood. Now it were hard, if as many as did any ways oppoſe unto theſe and the like Orders, in his perſwaſion good, do thereby make themſelves Diſlikers of the preſent ſtate and proceeding. If they, whom he aimeth at, have any other wayes made themſelves to be thought ſuch, it is likely he doth known wherein, and will, I hope, diſcloſe wherein it appertaineth, both the Perſons whom he thinketh, and

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the causes why he thinketh them so ill-affected. But whatsoever the men be, doe their Faults make me faulty? They doe, if I joyn my self with them. I beseech him therefore to declare wherein I have joyned with them. Other joyning than this with any man here, I cannot imagine: It may be I have talked, or walked, or eaten, or interchangeably used the Duties of common humanity with some such as he is hardly perswaded of. For I know no Law of God or Man, by force whereof they should be as Heathens and Publicans unto me, that are not gracious in the eyes of another man, perhaps without cause, or if with cause, yet such cause as he is privy unto, and not I. Could he, or any reasonable man think it is a charitable course in me, to observe them that shew by external courtesies a favourable inclination toward him, and if I spy out any one amongst them, of whom I think not well, hereupon to draw such an accusation as this against him, and to offer it where he hath given up his against me? which notwithstanding, I will acknowledge to be just and reasonable, if he or any man living shall shew that I use as much as the bare familiar company but of one, who, by word, or deed hath ever given me cause to suspect or conjecture him, such as here they are termed, with whom complaint is made that I joyn my self. This being spoken therefore, and written without all possibility of proof, doth not Mr. *Travers* give me over-great cause to stand in some fear, lest he make too little conscience how he useth his Tongue or Pen? These things are not laid against me for nothing; they are to some purpose if they take place. For in a minde perswaded that I am, as he deciphereth me, one which refuses to be at peace with such as embrace the truth, and side my self with men sinisterly affected thereunto, any thing that shall be spoken concerning the unsoundness of my Doctrine, cannot choose but be favourably entertained. This presupposed, it will have likelihood enough, which afterwards followeth, *that many of my Sermons have tasted of some sour leaven or other, that in them he hath discovered many unsound matters.* A thing much to be lamented, that such a place as this, which might have been so well provided for, hath fallen into the hands of one no better instructed in the truth. But what if in the end it be found, that he judgeth my words, as they do colours, which look upon them with green spectacles, and think that which they see is green, when indeed that is green whereby they see.

7. Touching the first point of this discovery, which is about the matter of Predestination, to set down that I spake (for I have it written) to declare and confirm the several branches thereof, would be tedious now in this Writing, where I have so many things to touch, that I can but touch them onely. Neither is it herein so needful for me to justifie my speech, when the very place and presence where I spake, doth it self speak sufficiently for my clearing. This matter was not broached in a blinde Alley, or uttered where none was to hear it, that had skill with Authority to controll; or covertly insinuated by some gliding Sentence.

8. That which I taught was at *Pauls Crosse*; it was not hudled in amongst other matterr, in such sort that it could passe without noting; it was opened, it was proved, it was some reasonable time stood upon. I see not which way my Lord of *London*, who was present and heard it, can excuse so great a fault, as patiently, without rebuke or controlment afterwards, to hear any man there teach otherwise than *the Word of God doth*; nor as it is understood by the private interpretation of some one or two men, or by a special construction received in some few Books; but, as it is understood *by all Churches professing the Gospel*, by them all, and therefore even by our own also amongst others. A man that did mean to prove that he speaketh, would surely take the measure of his words shorter.

9. The next thing discovered, is an opinion about the assurance of mens perswasions in matters of Faith. I have taught, he saith, *That the assurance of things which we believe by the Word, is not so certain as of that we perceive by sense.* And, is it as certain? Yea, I taught as he himself, I trust, will not deny, that the things which God doth promise in his Word, are surer unto us, than any thing which we touch, handle, or see. But are we so sure and certain of them? If we be, why doth God so often prove his Promises unto us, as he doth,

doth by argument taken from our ſenſible experience? We muſt be ſurer of the proof, than of the thing proved, otherwiſe it is no proof. How is it, that if ten men doe all look upon the Moon, every one of them knoweth it as certainly to be the Moon as another; but many believing one and the ſame Promiſe, all have not one and the ſame fulneſſe of Perſwaſion? How falleth it out, that men being aſſured of any thing by ſenſe, can be no ſurer of it than they are; whereas the ſtrongeſt in faith that liveth upon the earth, hath always need to labour, and ſtrive, and pray, that his aſſurance concerning Heavenly and Spiritual things, may grow, encreaſe, and be augmented?

10. The Sermon wherein I have ſpoken ſomewhat largely of this point, was long before this late Controverſie roſe between him and me, upon requeſt of ſome of my friends, ſeen and read by many, and amongſt many, ſome who are thought able to diſcern: And I never heard that any one of them hitherto, hath condemned it as containing unſound matter. My Caſe were very hard, if as oft as any thing I ſpeak diſpleaſing one man's taſte, my Doctrine upon his onely word ſhould be taken for four leaven.

11. The reſt of this diſcovery is all about the matter now in queſtion; wherein he hath two faults predominant, would tire out any that ſhould anſwer unto every point ſeverally: unapt ſpeaking of School-Controverſies, and of my words ſo untoward a reciting, that he which ſhould promiſe to draw a Man's Countenance, and did indeed expreſſe the parts, at leaſtwiſe moſt of them, truly, but perverſely place them, could not repreſent a more offenſive Viſage, than unto me my own ſpeech ſeemeth in ſome places, as he hath ordered it. For anſwer whereunto, that Writing is ſufficient, wherein I have ſet down both my words and meaning in ſuch ſort, that where this Accuſation doth deprave the one, and either miſ-interpret, or, without juſt cauſe, miſ-like the other, it will appear ſo plainly, that I may ſpare very well to take upon me a new needleſſe labour here.

12. Onely at one thing which is there to be found, becauſe Mr. *Travers* doth here ſeem to take ſuch a ſpecial advantage, as if the matter were unanſwerable, he conſtraineth me either to detect his overſight, or to confeſſe mine own in it. In ſettling the Queſtion between the Church of *Rome* and us, about Grace and Juſtification, leſt I ſhould give them an occaſion to ſay, as commonly they doe, that when we cannot refute their Opinions, we propoſe to our ſelves ſuch inſtead of theirs, as we can refute; I took it for the beſt and moſt perſpicuous way of teaching, to declare firſt, how farr we doe agree, and then to ſhew our diſagreement: not generally (as Mr. *Travers* his[a] words would carry it, for the eaſier faſtning that upon me, wherewith, ſaving onely by him, I was never in my life touched;) but about the matter onely of Juſtification: for further I had no cauſe to meddle at this time. What was then my Offence in this Caſe? I did, as he ſaith, ſo ſet it out, as if we had conſented in the greateſt and weightieſt Points, and differed onely in ſmaller matters. It will not be found, when it commeth to the ballance, a light difference where we diſagree, as I did acknowledge that we doe, about the very eſſence of the Medicine whereby Chriſt cureth our Diſeaſe. Did I goe about to make a ſhew of Agreement in the weightieſt Points, and was I ſo fond as not to conceal our diſagreement about this? I doe wiſh that ſome indifferency were uſed by them that have taken the weighing of my words.

[a] His words be theſe, The next Sabbath day after this, Mr. *Hooker* kept the way he entred into before, and beſtowed his whole hour and more, onely upon the queſtions he had moved and maintained. Wherein he ſo ſet the agreement of the Church of *Rome* with us, and their diſagreement from us, as if we had conſented in the greateſt and weightieſt Points, and differed onely in certain ſmaller matters. Which Agreement noted by him in two Chief Points; is not ſuch as he would have made men believe: The one, in that he ſaid they acknowledge all men Sinners, even the Bleſſed Virgin, though ſome of them freed her from Sinne: For the Council of *Trent* holdeth, that ſhe was free from Sinne: Another, in that he ſaid, They teach Chriſt's Righteouſneſſe to be the onely meritorious Cauſe of taking away Sinne, and differ from us onely in the applying of it. For, *Thomas Aquinas*, their Chief Schoolman, and Archbiſhop *Catharinus*, teach, That Chriſt took away onely Original ſinne, and that the reſt are to be taken away by our ſelves: yea, the Council of *Trent* teacheth, That the Righteouſneſſe whereby we are righteous in God's ſight, is inherent righteouſneſſe, which muſt needs be our own works, and cannot be underſtood of the righteouſneſſe inherent onely in Chriſt's Perſon, and accounted unto us.

13. Yea, but our Agreement is not such in two of the chiefest Points, as I would have men believe it is? And what are they? The one is, I said, *They acknowledge all men sinners, even the Blessed Virgin, though some of them free her from sin.* Put the case I had affirmed, That onely some of them free her from sin, and had delivered it as the most currant opinion amongst them, that she was conceived in sin: doth not *Bonaventure* say plainly, *Omnes ferè*, in a manner all men do hold this? doth he not bring many reasons wherefore all men should hold it? Were their voyces since that time ever counted, and their number found smaller which hold it, than theirs that hold the contrary? Let the question then be, Whether I might say, The most of them *acknowledged all men sinners, even the Blessed Virgin her self.* To shew, that their general received opinion is the contrary; the *Tridentine* Council is alledged, peradventure not altogether so considerately. For if that Council have by resolute determination freed her, if it hold as Mr. *Travers* saith it doth, that she was free from sin; then must the Church of *Rome* needs condemn them that hold the contrary: For what that Council holdeth, the same they all doe and must hold. But in the Church of *Rome*, who knoweth not, that it is a thing indifferent to think and defend the one or the other? So that, by this Argument, the Council of *Trent* holdeth the Virgin free from sinne; *ergo*, it is plain that none of them may, and therefore untrue, that most of them do acknowledge her a Sinner, were forcible to overthrow my supposed Assertion, if it were true that the Council did hold this. But to the end it may clearly appear, how it neither holdeth this nor the contrary, I will open what many do conceive of the Canon that concerneth this matter. The Fathers of *Trent* perceived, that if they should define of this matter, it would be dangerous howsoever it were determined. If they had freed her from her Original sinne, the reasons against them are unanswerable, which *Bonaventure* and others do alledge, but especially *Thomas*, whose line, as much as may be, they follow. Again, if they did resolve the other way, they should control themselves in another thing, which in no case might be altered. For they profess to keep no day holy in the honour of an unholy thing; and the Virgin Conception they honour with a * Feast, which they could not abrogate without cancelling a Constitution of *Xystus Quartus*. And, that which is worse, the World might perhaps suspect, that if the Church of *Rome* did amisse before in this, it is not impossible for her to fail in other things. In the end, they did wisely quote out their Canon by a middle thred, establishing the Feast of the Virgin's Conception, and leaving the other question doubtful as they found it; giving onely a Caveat, that no man should take the Decree, which pronounceth all Mankinde originally sinfull, for a definitive Sentence concerning the Blessed Virgin. This in my sight is plain by their own words, *Declarat hac ipsa sancta Synodus, &c.* Wherefore our Country-men at *Rhemes*, mentioning this Point, are marvellous wary how they speak; they touch it as though it were a hot coal: *Many godly devout men judge, that our blessed Lady was neither born nor conceived in sin.* Is it their wont to speak nicely of things definitively set down in that Council?

* This doth much trouble *Thomas*, holding her Conception stained with the natural blemish inherent in mortal seed. And therefore he putteth it off with two Answers; the one, That the Church of *Rome* doth not allow, but tolerare the Feast; which answer now will not serve: The other, that being sure she was sanctified before birth, but unsure how long a while after her Conception; therefore under the name of her Conception-day, they honor the time of her Sanctification. So that besides this, they have now no soder to make the certain allowance of their Feast, and their uncertain sentence concerning her sin, to cleave together, *Tom. 3. part. quæst. 27. art. 2. ad. 2. & 3.*

Annot. in *Rom.* 5. sect. 9.

In like sort, we finde that the rest, which have since the time of the *Tridentine* Synod written of Original sin, are in this Point, for the most part, either silent, or very sparing in speech: and, when they speak, either doubtful what to think, or whatsoever they think themselves, fearfull to set down any certain Determination. If I be thought to take the Canon of that Council otherwise than they themselves doe, let him expound it, whose Sentence was neither last asked, nor his Penne least occupied in setting it down; I mean *Andradius*, whom *Gregory* the thirteenth hath allowed plainly to confess, that it is a matter which neither expresse evidence of Scripture, nor the Tradition of the Fathers, nor the Sentence of the Church hath determined; that they are too surly and self-willed, which defending their opinion, are displeased with them by whom the other is maintained: Finally, that the Fathers

Lib. 5. defens. fidei.

of

of *Trent* have not ſet down any certainty about this Queſtion, but left it doubtful and indifferent.

Now whereas my words, which I had ſet down in Writing, before I uttered them, were indeed theſe, *Although they imagine, that the Mother of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, were, for his honour, and by his ſpecial protection, preſerved clean from all ſinne; yet concerning the reſt, they teach as we do, that all have ſinned.* Againſt my words they might, with more pretence, take exception, Becauſe ſo many of them think ſhe had ſinné: which exception notwithſtanding, the Propoſition being indefinite, and the matter contingent, they cannot take, becauſe they grant, That many whom they account grave and devout amongſt them, think, that ſhe was clear from all ſinne. But, whether Mr. *Travers* did note my words himſelf, or take them upon the credit of ſome other man's noting, the Tables were faulty wherein it was noted: *All men ſinners, even the Bleſſed Virgin.* When my ſecond Speech was rather, *All men, except the Bleſſed Virgin.* To leave this; another fault he findeth, that I ſaid, *They teach Chriſts Righteouſneſſe to be the onely meritorious cauſe of taking away ſinne, and differ from us onely in the applying of it.* I did ſay, and doe, *They teach as we do, that although Chriſt be the onely meritorious cauſe of our Juſtice, yet as a medicine which is made for Health, doth not heal by being made, but by being applyed: So, by the merits of Chriſt, there can be no Life nor Juſtification, without the application of his merits: But about the manner of applying Chriſt, about the number and power of means whereby he is applyed, we diſſent from them.* This of our diſſenting from them is acknowledged.

14. Our agreement in the former is denied to be ſuch as I pretend. Let their own words therefore and mine concerning them, be compared. Doth not *Andradius* plainly confeſs, *Our ſins do ſhut, and onely the merits of Chriſt open the entring unto bleſſedneſs?* And Soto, *It is put for a good ground, that all, ſince the fall of* Adam, *obtained Salvation onely by the Paſſion of Chriſt: Howbeit, as no cauſe can be effectual without applying, ſo neither can any man be ſaved, to whom the ſuffering of Chriſt is not applied.* In a word, who not? When the Council of *Trent*, reckoning up the cauſes of our firſt Juſtification, doth name no end, but God's Glory, and our Felicity; no efficient, but his Mercy; no Inſtrumental, but Baptiſm; no meritorious, but Chriſt; whom to have merited the taking away of no ſin but Original, is not their opinion: which himſelf will finde, when he hath well examined his Witneſſes, *Catharinus* and *Thomas*. Their Jeſuites are marvellous angry with the men out of whoſe gleanings Mr. *Travers* ſeemeth to have taken this; they openly diſclaim it; they ſay plainly, *Of all the Catholicks, there is no one that did ever ſo teach*; they make ſolemn proteſtation, *We believe and profeſs, That Chriſt upon the Croſs hath altogether ſatisfied for all ſins, as well Original as Actual.* Indeed they teach, that the merit of Chriſt doth not take away Actual ſinne, in ſuch ſort as it doth Original; wherein, if their Doctrine had been underſtood; I for my ſpeech had never been accuſed. As for the Council of *Trent*, concerning inherent Righteouſneſs, what doth it here? No man doubteth, but they make another formal cauſe of Juſtification than we do. In reſpect whereof, I have ſhewed you already, that we diſagree about the very eſſence of that which cureth our Spiritual diſeaſe. Moſt true it is which the grand Philoſopher hath, *Every man judgeth well of that which he knoweth*; and therefore till we know the things throughly, whereof we judge, it is a point of judgment to ſtay our judgment.

Ortho. lib 3. In Sent. diſt. 1. quæſt. 4. art. 6.

Bellarm. Judic. de lib. Concor. Mendac. 18. Nemo Catholicorum unquam ſic docuit; ſed credimus & profitemur Chriſtum in Cruce pro omnibus omnino peccatis ſatisfeciſſe, tam originalibus quàm actualibus.

15. Thus much labour being ſpent in diſcovering the unſoundneſs of my Doctrine, ſome pains he taketh further to open faults in the manner of my teaching, as that, *I beſtowed my whole hour and more, my time and more than my time, in diſcourſes utterly impertinent to my Text.* Which, if I had done, it might have paſt without complaining of to the Privy Council.

16. But I did worſe, as he ſaith, *I left the expounding of the Scriptures, and my ordinary Calling, and diſcourſed upon School-points and queſtions, neither of edification, nor of truth.* I read no Lecture in the Law, or in Phyſick. And except the bounds of ordinary Calling may be drawn like a Purſe, how are they ſo much wider unto him than to me, that he which in the limits of his ordinary Calling, ſhould reprove that in me which he underſtood not; and I labouring that both he and others might underſtand, could not do this without forſaking my Calling? The matter whereof I

spake was such, as being at the first by me but lightly touched, he had in that place openly contradicted, and solemnly taken upon him to disprove. If therefore it were a School-question, and unfit to be discoursed of there, that which was in me but a Proposition onely at the first, wherefore made he a Probleme of it? Why took he first upon him to maintain the negative of that, which I had affirmatively spoken, onely to shew mine own opinion, little thinking that ever it would have been a Question? Of what nature soever the Question were, I could doe no lesse than there explain my self to them, unto whom I was accused of unsound Doctrine; wherein if to shew, what had been through ambiguity mistaken in my words, or misapplied by him in this Cause against me, I used the distinctions and helps of Schools; I trust that herein I have committed no unlawful thing. These School-implements are acknowledged by grave and wise men not unprofitable to have been invented. The most approved for Learning and Judgement do use them without blame; the use of them hath been well liked in some that have taught even in this very place before me: the quality of my Hearers is such, that I could not but think them of capacity very sufficient, for the most part, to conceive harder than I used any; the cause I had in hand did in my judgment necessarily require them which were then used: when my words spoken generally, without distinctions had been perverted, what other way was there for me, but by distinctions to lay them open in their right meaning, that it might appear to all men, whether they were consonant to truth or no? And, although Mr. *Travers* be so inured with the City, that he thinketh it unmeet to use any speech which savoureth of the School, yet his opinion is no Canon: though unto him, his minde being troubled, my speech did seem like Fetters and Manacles, yet there might be some more calmly affected, which thought otherwise; his private judgment will hardly warrant his bold words, that the things which I spake, *were neither of edification nor truth.* They might edifie some other for any thing he knoweth, and be true for any thing he proveth to the contrary. For it is no proof to cry, *Absurdities, the like whereunto have not been heard in publick places within this Land since Queen* Marie's *days!* If this came in earnest from him, I am sorry to see him so much offended without cause; more sorry, that his fitt should be so extream, to make him speak he knoweth not what. That I neither *affected the truth of God, nor the peace of the Church; Mihi pro minimo est,* it doth not much move me, when Mr. *Travers* doth say that, which I trust a greater than Mr. *Travers* will gainsay.

Calv. Inst. l. 1. c. 6. sect. 9.

17. Now let all this which hitherto he hath said be granted him, let it be as he would have it, let my Doctrine and manner of teaching be as much disallowed by all men's Judgements as by his, what is all this to his purpose? He alledgeth this to be the cause why he bringeth it in, The High-Commissioners *charge him with an indiscretion and want of duty, in that he inveighed against certain Points of Doctrine, taught by me as erroneous, not conferring first with me, nor complaining of it to them.* Which faults, a sea of such matter as he hath hitherto waded in, will never be able to scoure from him. For the avoiding Schism and disturbance in the Church, which must needs grow, if all men might think what they list, and speak openly what they think; therefore by a * Decree agreed upon by the Bishops, and confirmed by her Majesties Authority, it was ordered, That erroneous Doctrine, if it were taught publickly, should not be publickly refuted; but that notice thereof should be given unto such as are by her Highness appointed to hear, and to determine such Causes. For breach of which Order, when he is charged with lack of Duty, all the faults that can be heaped upon me, will make but a weak defence for him: As surely his defence is not much stronger, when he alledges for himself, That *he was in some hope his speech in proving the truth, and clearing those scruples which I had in my self, might cause me either to embrace sound Doctrine, or suffer it to be embraced of others; which, if I did, he should not need to complain,*

* *In the Advertisments published in the seventh year of her Majesties Reign:* If any Preacher, or Parson, Vicar, or Curate so licensed, shall fortune to preach any matter tending to dissention, or to derogation of the Religion and Doctrine received, that the Hearers denounce the same to the Ordinary, or to the next Bishop of the same place, but not openly to contrary, or to impugn the same speech so disorderly uttered, whereby may grow Offence, and Disquiet of the People, but shall be convinced and reproved by the Ordinary, after such agreeable order as shall be seen to him, according to the gravity of the Offence: And that it be presented within one month after the words spoken.

plain: that, *It was meet he ſhould diſcover firſt what I had ſown, and make it manifeſt to be tares, and then deſire their Sithe to cutt it down:* that, *Conſcience did binde him to doe otherwiſe, than the foreſaid Order requireth;* that, *He was unwilling to deal in that publick manner, and wiſhed a more convenient way were taken for it:* that, *He had reſolved to have proteſted the next Sabbath day, that he would ſome other way ſatisfie ſuch as ſhould require it, and not deal more in that place.* Be it imagined, [let me not be taken as if I did compare the Offenders, when I do not, but their Anſwers onely] that a Libeller did make this Apology for himſelf, I am not ignorant, that if I have juſt matter againſt any man, the Law is open, there are Judges to hear it, and Courts where it ought to be complained of; I have taken another courſe againſt ſuch or ſuch a man, yet without breach of Duty; foraſmuch as I am able to yield a reaſon of my doing, I conceive ſome hope, that a little diſcredit amongſt men would make him aſhamed of himſelf, and that his ſhame would work his amendment; which, if I did other accuſation there ſhould not need; could his anſwer be thought ſufficient, could it in the judgement of diſcreet men, free him from all blame? No more can the hope Mr. *Travers* conceived, to reclaim me by publick ſpeech, juſtifie his fault againſt the eſtabliſhed Order of the Church.

18. His thinking it meet, *he ſhould firſt openly diſcover to the People the Tares that had been ſown amongſt them, and then require the hand of Authority to mow them down,* doth onely make it a Queſtion, Whether his opinion that this was meet, may be a priviledge or protection againſt the lawful Conſtitution which had before determined of it as of a thing unmeet. Which Queſtion I leave for them to diſcuſſe whom it moſt concerneth. If the Order be ſuch, that it cannot be kept without hazarding a thing ſo precious as a good Conſcience, the peril whereof could be no greater to him, than it needs muſt be to all others whom it toucheth in like Cauſes; then this is evident, it will be an effectual motive, not onely for *England*, but alſo for other Reformed Churches, even *Geneva* it ſelf [for they have the like] to change or take that away which cannot but with great inconvenience be obſerved. In the mean while the breach of it may, in ſuch conſideration, be pardoned [which truly I wiſh howſoever it be] yet hardly defended as long as it ſtandeth in force uncancelled.

19. Now, whereas he confeſſeth another *way had been more convenient*, and that he found in himſelf ſecret unwillingneſſe to doe that which he did, doth he not ſay plainly, in effect, that the light of his own Underſtanding, proved the way that he took perverſe and crooked; Reaſon was ſo plain and pregnant againſt it, that his Minde was alienated, his Will averted to another courſe? yet ſomewhat there was that ſo farr over-ruled, that it muſt needs be done even againſt the very ſtream, what doth it bewray? Finally his purpoſed Proteſtation, whereby he meant openly to make it known, that he did not allow this kinde of proceeding, and therefore would ſatisfie men otherwiſe, *and deal no more in this Place*, ſheweth his good minde in this, that he meant to ſtay himſelf from further offending; but it ſerveth not his turn. He is blamed becauſe the thing he hath done was amiſſe, and his Anſwer is, That which I would have done afterwards had been well, if ſo be I had done it.

20. But as in this he ſtandeth perſwaded, that he hath done nothing beſides duty, ſo he taketh it hardly, that the High Commiſſioners ſhould charge him with indiſcretion. Wherefore, as if he could ſo waſh his hands, he maketh a long and a large declaration concerning the carriage of himſelf: how he waded in *matters of ſmaller weight*, and how in things of *greater moment*; how wary he dealt; how *naturally he took his things riſing from the Text*; how *cloſely he kept himſelf to the Scriptures he took in hand*; how *much pains he took to confirm the neceſsity of believing Juſtification by Chriſt onely*, and to ſhew how *the Church of* Rome *denieth that a man is ſaved by Faith alone, without works of the Law*; what *the Sons of Thunder would have done*, if they had been in his caſe; that his *Anſwer was very temperate, without immodeſt or reproachful ſpeech*, that when he might *before all have reproved me*, he did not, *but contented himſelf with exhorting me* before all, *to follow* Nathan's *example, and reviſit my Doctrine*; when he might have followed Saint *Paul*'s example in *reproving*

Peter,

Peter, he did not, but exhorted me with *Peter*, *to endure to be withstood.* This Testimony of his discreet carrying himself in the handling of his matter, being more agreeably framed and given him by another than by himself, might make somewhat for the praise of his Person; but for defence of his action unto them by whom he is thought undiscreet, for not conferring privately before he spake, will it serve to answer, that when he spake, he did it considerately? He perceiveth it will not, and therefore addeth reasons, such as they are: as namely, how he purposed at the first to take another course, and that was this, *Publickly to deliver the truth of such Doctrine as I had otherwise taught, and at convenient opportunity to conferr with me upon such points.* Is this the rule of Christ? If thy Brother offend openly in his speech, controll it first with contrary speech openly, and conferr with him afterwards upon it, when convenient opportunity serveth? Is there any Law of God or Man, whereupon to ground such a Resolution? any Church extant in the World, where Teachers are allowed thus to doe, or to be done unto? He cannot but see how weak an allegation it is, when he bringeth in his following this course, first in one matter, and so afterwards in another, to approve himself, now following it again. For if the purpose of doing of a thing so uncharitable be a fault, the deed is a greater fault; and doth the doing of it twice, make it the third time fit and allowable to be done? The weight of the Cause; which is his third defence, relieveth him as little. The weightier it was, the more it required considerate advice and consultation, the more it stood him upon to take good heed, that nothing were rashly done or spoken in it. But he meaneth weighty, in regard of the wonderful danger, except he had presently withstood me without expecting a time of Conference. *This Cause being of such moment that might prejudice the Faith of Christ, encourage the ill-affected to continue still in their damnable wayes, and other weak in Faith, to suffer themselves to be seduced, to the destruction of their Souls, he thought it his bounden duty to speak before he talked with me.* A man that should read this, and not know what I had spoken, might imagine that I had at the least denied the Divinity of Christ. But they which were present at my speech, and can testifie; that nothing passed my lips more than is contained in their Writings, whom, for soundnesse of Doctrine, Learning, and Judgment, Mr. *Travers* himself doth, I dare say, not onely allow, but honour; they which heard, and do know, that the Doctrine here signified in so fearful manner, the Doctrine that was so dangerous to the Faith of Christ, that was so likely *to encourage ill-affected men to continue still in their damnable wayes*; that gave so great cause to tremble for fear of the present *destruction of Souls*, was onely this, *I doubt not but God was merciful to save thousands of our Fathers, living heretofore in the Popish Superstition, in as much as they sinned ignorantly*; and this spoken in a Sermon, the greatest part whereof was against Popery, they will hardly be able to discern how CHRISTIANITY should herewith be so grievously shaken.

21. Whereby his fourth excuse is also taken from him. For what doth it boot him to say, *The time was short wherein he was to preach after me*, when his Preaching of this matter perhaps ought, surely might have been either very well omitted, or at least more conveniently for a while deferred; even by their Judgements that cast the most favourable aspect towards these his hasty proceedings. The poyson which men had taken at my hands, was not so quick and strong in operation; as in eight dayes to make them past cure; by eight dayes delay, there was no likelihood that the force and power of his Speech could dye; longer meditation might bring better and stronger proofs to minde, than extemporal dexterity could furnish him with: And, who doth know whether *Time*, the onely Mother of sound Judgement and discreet dealing, might have given that action of his some better ripeness, which, by so great festination hath, as a thing born out of time, brought small joy unto him that begat it? Doth he think it had not been better, that neither my speech had seemed in his eyes as an Arrow sticking in a thigh of Flesh; nor his own as a Childe whereof he must needs be delivered by an hour? His last way of disburthening himself, is, by casting his Load upon my Back, as if I had brought him by former Conferences out of hope, that any fruit should ever come of conferring with me. Loth I

am

am to rip up those Conferences, whereof he maketh but a slippery and loose relation. In one of them the question between us was, Whether the perswasion of Faith concerning remission of sinnes; eternal life; and whatsoever God doth promise unto man, be as free from doubting, as the perswasion which we have by sense concerning things tasted, felt, and seen? For the Negative, I mentioned their example, whose Faith in Scripture is most commended, and the experience which all faithful men have continually had of themselves. For proof of the Affirmative, which he held, I desiring to have some reason, heard nothing but *all good Writers* oftentimes inculcated. At the length; upon request to see some one of them, *Peter Martyr's* Common places were brought; where the leaves were turned down, at a place sounding to this effect. *That the Gospel doth make Christians more vertuous; than moral Philosophy doth make Heathens*: which came not near the questions by many miles.

22. In the other Conference he questioned about the matter of Reprobation, misliking first; that I had termed God a permissive, and no positive cause of the evil, which the Schoolmen do call *malum culpæ*. Secondly, that to their Objection, who say, *If I be elected, do what I will, I shall be saved*, I had answered; that the will of God in this thing is not absolute; but conditional; to save his Elect believing; fearing, and obediently serving him. Thirdly, that to stop the mouths of such as grudge and repine against God for rejecting Cast-aways, I had taught that they are not rejected, no not in the purpose and counsel of God, without a foreseen worthinesse of rejection going; though not in time, yet in order, before. For if God's electing do in order (as needs it must) presuppose the foresight of their being that are elected, though they be elected before they be; nor onely the positive foresight of their being, but also the permissive of their being miserable, because Election is through mercy; and mercy doth always presuppose misery: it followeth, that the very Chosen of God acknowledge to the praise of the riches of his exceeding free compassion; that when he in his secret determination set it down, *Those shall live and not dye*, they lay as ugly spectacles before him, as Lepers covered with dung and mire, as ulcers putrified in their Fathers loyns, miserable, worthy to be had in detestation; and shall any forsaken Creature be able to say unto God, Thou didst plunge me into the depth, and assign me unto endless torments, onely to satisfie thine own will, finding nothing in me for which I could seem in thy sight so well worthy to feel everlasting flames?

23. When I saw that Mr. *Travers* carped at these things, onely because they lay not open, I promised at some convenient time to make them clear as light, both to him and all others. Which, if they that reprove me will not grant me leave to doe, they must think that they are for some cause or other more desirous to have me reputed an unsound man, then willing that my sincere meaning should appear and be approved. When I was further asked what my grounds were? I answered, that Saint *Paul's* words concerning this Cause were my grounds. His next Demand, What Author I did follow in expounding Saint *Paul*, and gathering the Doctrine out of his words, against the judgement (he saith) *of all Churches, and all good Writers*. I was well assured, that, to control this over-reaching speech, the sentences which I might have cited out of Church-Confessions, together with the best learned Monuments of former times, and not the meanest of our own, were mo in number than perhaps he would willingly have heard of: but what had this booted me? For, although he himself in generality do much use those formal speeches, *All Churches* and *all good Writers*: yet, as he holdeth it, in Pulpit, lawful to say in general, the *Paynims* think this, or the *Heathens* that, but utterly unlawful to cite any sentence of theirs that say it: so he gave me at that time great cause to think, that my particular alledging of other mens words, to shew their agreement with mine, would as much have displeased his minde, as the thing it self for which it had been alledged; for he knoweth how often he hath in publick place bitten me for this, although I did never in any Sermon use many of the Sentences of other Writers, and do make most without any; having always thought it meetest, neither to affect nor contemn the use of them.

24. He is not ignorant, that in the very entrance to the talk, which we had privately

privately at that time, to prove it unlawful altogether in Preaching, either for confirmation, declaration, or otherwise, to cite any thing but mere Canonical Scripture, he brought in, *The Scripture is given by inspiration, and is profitable to teach, improve, &c.* urging much the vigour of these two Clauses, *The man of God* and *every good work.* If therefore the work were good which he required at my hands, if privately to shew why I thought the Doctrine I had delivered to be according to Saint *Paul*'s meaning, were a good work, can they which take the place before alledged for a Law, condemning every man of God, who, in doing the work of Preaching any other way useth human Authority, like it in me, if, in the work of strengthening that which I had preached, I should bring forth the testimonies and the sayings of mortal men? I alledged therefore that which might under no pretence in the world be disallowed, namely reasons, not meaning thereby mine own reason, as now it is reported, but true, sound, divine reason; reason whereby those Conclusions might be out of Saint *Paul* demonstrated, and not probably discoursed of onely; reason, proper to that science whereby the things of God are known; Theological Reason, without Principles in Scripture that are plain, soundly deduced more doubtful inferences, in such sort that being heard they cannot be denied, nor any thing repugnant unto them received, but whatsoever was before otherwise by miscollecting gathered out of dark places, is thereby forced to yield it self, and the true consonant meaning of Sentences not understood, is brought to light. This is the reason which I intended. If it were possible for me to escape the Ferula in any thing I do or speak, I had undoubtedly escaped in this. In this I did that which by some is enjoyned as the only allowable, but granted by all as the most sure and safe way, whereby to resolve things doubted of in matters appertaining to Faith and Christian Religion. So that Mr. *Travers* had here small cause given him to be weary of conferring, unless it was in other respects, than that poor one which is here pretended, that is to say, the little hope he had of doing me any good by conference.

25. Yet behold his first reason of not complaining to the High Commission, is, *That sith I offended onely through an over-charitable inclination, he conceived good hope, when I should see the truth cleared, and some scruples, which were in my minde, removed by his diligence, I would yield.* But what experience soever he had of former Conferences, how small soever his hope was, that fruit would come of it, if he should have conferred, will any man judge this a Cause sufficient, why to open his mouth in publick, without any one word privately spoken: He might have considered that men do sometimes reap, where they sow but with small hope; he might have considered, that although unto me (whereof he was not certain neither) but if to me his labour should be as Water spilt or poured into a torne dish, yet to him it could not be fruitless to do that, which Order in Christian Churches, that which Charity amongst Christian men, that which at many men's hands, even common humanity it self, at his, many other things besides, did require. What fruit could there come of his open contradicting in so great haste, with so small advice, but such as must needs be unpleasant, and mingled with much acerbity? Surely, he which will take upon him to defend, that, in this, there was no over-sight, must beware, lest, by such defences, he leave an opinion dwelling in the mindes of men, that he is more stiff to maintain what he hath done, then careful to doe nothing but that which may justly be maintained.

26. Thus have I, as near as I could, seriously answered things of weight: with smaller I have dealt, as I thought their quality did require. I take no joy in striving, I have not been nuzled or trained up in it. I would to Christ they which have at this present enforced me hereunto, had so ruled their hands in any reasonable time, that I might never have been constrained to strike so much as in mine own defence. Wherefore to prosecute this long and tedious contention no further, I shall wish that your Grace and their Honours (unto whose intelligence the dutiful regard, which I have of their Judgments, maketh me desirous, that as accusations have been brought against me, so that this my answer thereunto may likewise come) did both with the

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one and the other, as *Conſtantine* with Books containing querulous matter. Whether this be convenient to be wiſhed or no, I cannot tell: But ſith there can come nothing of contention, but the mutual waſte of the Parties contending; till a common enemy dance in the aſhes of them both, I do wiſh heartily that the grave advice which *Conſtantine* gave for re-uniting of his Clergy ſo many times, upon ſome ſmall occaſions, in ſo lamentable ſort divided; or rather the ſtrict Commandment of Chriſt unto his, that they ſhould not be divided at all; may at the length, if it be his bleſſed will, prevail ſo farr, at leaſt in this corner of the Chriſtian world, to the burying and quite forgetting of ſtrife, together with the Cauſes that have either bred it, or brought it up, that things of ſmall moment never disjoyn them, whom one God, one Lord, one Faith, one Spirit, one Baptiſm, bands of ſo great force have linked; that a reſpective eye towards things wherewith we ſhould not be diſquieted, make us not, as through infirmity the very Patriarchs themſelves ſometimes were, full gorged, unable to ſpeak peaceably to their own Brother. Finally, that no ſtrife may ever be heard of again, but this, Who ſhall hate ſtrife moſt; who ſhall purſue peace and unity with ſwifteſt paces.

TO THE
Christian Reader.

Hereas many desirous of resolution in some Points handled in this learned Discourse, were earnest to have it Copied out; to ease so many labours, it hath been thought most worthy and very necessary to be printed: that not onely they might be satisfied, but the whole Church also hereby edified. The rather, because it will free the Author from the suspition of some Errors, which he hath been thought to have favoured. Who might well have answered with Cremutius *in* Tacitus, Verba mea arguuntur, adeò factorum innocens sum. *Certainly, the event of that time wherein he lived, shewed that to be true, which the same Author spake of a worse,* Cui deerat inimicus, per amicos oppressus; *and that there is not* minus periculum ex magna fama, quàm ex mala. *But he hath so quit himself, that all may see how, as it was said of* Agricola, Simul suis virtutibus, simul vitiis aliorum, in ipsam gloriam præceps agebatur. *Touching whom I will say no more, but that which my Author said of the same man,* Integritatem, &c. in tanto viro referre, injuria virtutum fuerit. *But as of all other his Writings, so of this I will adde that which* Velleius *spake in commendation of* Piso, Nemo fuit, qui magis quæ agenda erant curaret, sine ulla ostentatione agendi. *So not doubting, good Christian Reader, of thy assent herein, but wishing thy favourable acceptance of this Work (which will be an inducement to set forth others of his Learned labours) I take my leave, from* Corpus Christi Colledge *in* Oxford, *the sixth of* July, 1612.

Lib. 4. Ann.

Lib. 1. Hist.

In vita *Agricolæ.*

Lib. 2.

Thine in Christ Jesus,

HENRY JACKSON.

A LEARNED DISCOURSE OF Justification, Works, and how the Foundation of FAITH is overthrown.

HABAK. 1. 4.

The wicked doth compass about the righteous: therefore perverse judgement doth proceed.

FOR the better manifestation of the Prophets meaning in this place we are first to consider *the wicked*, of whom he saith, that *They compass about the righteous*: Secondly, *the righteous*, that are compassed about by them: and Thirdly, That which is inferred, *Therefore perverse judgement proceedeth*. Touching the first, There are two kinds of wicked men, of whom in the fift of the former to the *Corinthians*, the blessed Apostle speaketh thus: *Do ye not judge them that are within; But God judgeth them that art without.* 1 Cor. 5. 13. There are wicked therefore whom the Church may judge, and there are wicked whom God onely judgeth: wicked within, and wicked without the walls of the Church. If within the Church, particular persons be apparently such, as cannot otherwise be reformed; the rule of the Apostolical judgment is this, *Separate them from among you*: if whole Assemblies, this: *Separate your selves from among them: For what society hath light with darkness?* 2 Cor. 6. 7. But the wicked, whom the Prophet meaneth, were Babylonians, and therefore without. For which cause we have heard at large heretofore in what sort he urgeth God to judge them.

1. 2. 3.

2. Now concerning the righteous, their neither is, nor ever was any meer natural man absolutely righteous in himself, that is to say, void of all unrighteousness of all sin. We dare not except, no not the blessed Virgin her self, of whom although we say with St. *Augustine*, for the honour sake which we owe to our Lord and Saviour Christ, we are not willing in this cause, to move any question of his Mother: yet for asmuch as the Schools of *Rome* have made it a question; we may answer with [a] *Eusebius Emissenus*; who, speaketh of her and to her in this effect:

[a] Or whosoever it be, that was the author of those Homilies that go under his name.

effect: *Thou didst, by special Prerogative nine months together entertain within the Closet of thy Flesh, the hope of all the ends of the Earth, the honour of the World, the common joy of Men. He, from whom all things had their beginning, had his beginning from thee; of thy Body he took the blood, which was to be shed for the life of the World; of thee he took that which even for thee he payed. A peccati enim veteris nexu, per se non est immunis ipsa genitrix Redemptoris*: The Mother of the Redeemer himself, is not otherwise loosed from the bond of antient sinne, than by redemption: if Christ have paid a ransom for all, even for her, it followeth, that all, without exception, were Captives. If one have died for all, then all were dead in sinne; all sinful therefore, none absolutely righteous in themselves; but we are absolutely righteous in Christ. The World then must shew a righteous man, otherwise it is not able to shew a man that is perfectly righteous: *Christ is made to us Wisdome, Justice, Sanctification, and Redemption: Wisdom*, because he hath revealed his Fathers will: *Justice*, because he hath offered up himself a Sacrifice for sin: *Sanctification*, because he hath given us his Spirit, *Redemption*, because he hath appointed a day to vindicate his Children out of the bands of Corruption into liberty which is glorious. How Christ is made *Wisdom*, and how *Redemption*, it may be declared, when occasion serveth. But how Christ is made the *Righteousness* of men, we are now to declare.

Knowing how the Schoolmen hold this question, some Critical wits may perhaps half suspect that these two words, *Per se*, are Inmates. But if the place which they have, be their own, their sense can be none other than that which I have given them by a paraphrastical interpretation.

3. There is a glorifying Righteousness of men in the World to come: as there is a justifying and sanctifying Righteousness here. The Righteousness, wherewith we shall be clothed in the World to come, is both perfect and inherent. That whereby here we are justified is perfect; but not inherent. That whereby we are sanctified, is inherent, but not perfect. This openeth a way to the understanding of that grand question, which hangeth yet in controversie between us and the Church of *Rome*, about the matter of justifying Righteousness.

They teach as we do, that God doth justifie the Soul of man alone, without any co-effective cause of Justice.

Deus sine medio co-effectivo animam justificat, *Casal.* de quadripart. just. l. 6. c. Idem lib. 3. c. 9.

4. First, although they imagine, that the Mother of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, were, for his honour, and by his special protection, preserved clean from all sinne: yet touching the rest, they teach as we doe, That Infants that never did actually offend, have their Natures defiled, destitute of Justice, averted from God; That in making man righteous, none do efficiently work with God, but God. They teach as we do, that unto Justice no man ever attained, but by the Merits of Jesus Christ. They teach as we do, That although Christ as God, be the efficient; as Man, the meritorious cause of our Justice: yet in us also there is some thing required. God is the cause of our natural life, in him we live: but he quickneth not the Body without the Soul in the Body. Christ hath merited to make us just: but, as a medicine, which is made for health, doth not heal by being made, but by being applied; so, by the merits of Christ there can be no Justification, without the application of his Merits. Thus farr we joyn hands with the Church of *Rome*.

The difference between the Papists and us about Justification.

5. Wherein then do we disagree? We disagree about the nature and essence of the Medicine, whereby Christ cureth our Disease; about the manner of applying it; about the number, and the power of means, which God requireth in us for the effectual applying thereof to our Souls comfort. When they are required to shew what the righteousness is, whereby a Christian man is justified: they[a] answer, that it is a Divine Spiritual quality; which quality received into the Soul, doth first make it to be one of them, who are born of God: and secondly, indue it with power, to bring forth such works, as they do that are born of him; even as the Soul of Man being joyned to his Body, doth first make him to be of the number of reasonable Creatures; and secondly, inable him to perform the natural Functions which are proper to his kinde; That it maketh the Soul amiable and gracious in the sight of God, in regard whereof it is termed Grace; That it purgeth, purifieth, and washeth out all the stains, and pollutions of sins, that by it, through the merit of Christ we are delivered as from sin, so from eternal death and condemnation, the reward of sin. This Grace they will have to be applied by infusion; to the end, that as the Body is warm by the heat which is in the Body, so the Soul might be righteous by inherent Grace: which Grace they make capable of increase; as the Body may be more and more warm,

[a] *Tho. Aquin.* 1. 2. quæst. 100. Gratia gratum faciens, id est, justificans, est in anima quiddam reale & positivum, qualitas quædam (art. 2 concl.) supernaturalis, non eadem cum virtute infusa, ut Magister; sed aliquid (art. 3.) præter virtutes infusas, fidem, spem, charitatem, habitudo quædam (art. 3. ad 3.) quæ presupponitur in virtutibus istis sicut earum principium & radix, essentiam animæ tanquam subjectum occupat non potentias, sed ab ipsa (art. 4 ad 1.) effluunt virtutis in potentias animæ, per quas potentiæ moventur ad actus plur. vid. quæst. 113. de Justificatione.

warm, ſo the Soul more and more juſtified, according as Grace ſhould be augmented; the augmentation whereof is merited by good Works, as good Works are made meritorious by it. Wherefore, the firſt receit of Grace in their Divinity, is, the firſt Juſtification; the increaſe thereof, the ſecond Juſtification. As Grace may be increaſed by the merit of good Works: ſo it may be diminiſhed by the demerit of ſins venial, it may be loſt by mortal ſin. In as much therefore as it is needful in the one caſe to repair, in the other to recover the loſs which is made: the infuſion of Grace hath her ſundry after-meals; for the which cauſe, they make many ways to apply the infuſion of Grace. It is applyed to Infants, through Baptiſm, without either Faith or Works, and in them really it taketh away Original ſinne, and the puniſhment due unto it; It is applied to Infidels and wicked men in the firſt Juſtification, through Baptiſm without Works, yet not without Faith; and it taketh away both Sinnes Actual and Original together, with all whatſoever puniſhment, eternal or temporal, thereby deſerved. Unto ſuch as have attained the firſt Juſtification, that is to ſay, the firſt receit of Grace, it is applied farther by good Works to the increaſe of former Grace, which is the ſecond Juſtification. If they work more and more, Grace doth more increaſe, and they are more and more juſtified. To ſuch as diminiſhed it by venial ſinnes, it is applied by Holy-water, *Ave Marie's*, Croſſings, Papal Salutations, and ſuch like, which ſerve for reparations of Grace decayed. To ſuch as have loſt it through mortal ſinne, it is applied by the Sacrament (as they term it) of Penance: which Sacrament hath force to conferr Grace anew, yet in ſuch ſort, that being ſo conferred, it hath not altogether ſo much power, as at the firſt. For it onely cleanſeth out the ſtain or guilt of ſinne committed; and changeth the puniſhment eternal into a temporal ſatisfactory puniſhment here, if time doe ſerve; if not, hereafter to be endured, except it be lightned by Maſſes, Works of Charity, Pilgrimages, Faſts, and ſuch like; or elſe ſhortned by pardon for term, or by plenary pardon quite removed, and taken away. This is the myſtery of the man of ſinne. This maze the Church of *Rome* doth cauſe her Followers to tread, when they ask her the way to Juſtification. I cannot ſtand now to unrip this Building, and to ſift it piece by piece; onely I will paſſe by it in few words, that that may befall *Babylon* in the preſence of that which God hath builded, as hapned unto *Dagon* before the Ark.

6. Doubtleſs, ſaith the Apoſtle, *I have counted all things loſs, and judge them to be dung, that I may win Chriſt; and to be found in him, not having my own righteouſneſs, but that which is through the Faith of Chriſt, the righteouſneſs which is of God through Faith.* Whether they ſpeak of the firſt or ſecond Juſtification, they make it the eſſence of a Divine quality inherent, they make it Righteouſneſſe which is in us. If it be in us, then is it ours, as our Souls are ours though we have them from God, and can hold them no longer than pleaſeth him; for if he withdraw the breath of our noſtrils, we fall to duſt: but the Righteouſneſs wherein we muſt be found, if we will be juſtified, is not our own; therefore we cannot be juſtified by any inherent quality. Chriſt hath merited righteouſneſs for as many as are found in him. In him God findeth us, if we be faithful, for by Faith we are incorporated into Chriſt. Then, although in our ſelves we be altogether ſinful and unrighteous, yet even the man which is impious in himſelf, full of iniquity, full of ſin; him being found in Chriſt through Faith, and having his ſinne remitted through Repentance; him God upholdeth with a gracious eye, putteth away his ſinne by not imputing it, taketh quite away the Puniſhment due thereunto by pardoning it, and accepteth him in Jeſus Chriſt, as perfectly righteous, as if he had fulfilled all that was commanded him in the Law: ſhall I ſay more perfectly righteous than if himſelf had fulfilled the whole Law? I muſt take heed what I ſay: but the Apoſtle ſaith, *God made him to be ſin for us who knew no ſin: that we might be made the righteouſneſs of God in him.* Such we are in the ſight of God the Father, as is the very Son of God himſelf. Let it be counted folly or frenſie, or fury, whatſoever; it is our comfort, and our wiſdom; we care for no knowledge in the World but this, That man hath ſinned, and God hath ſuffered; That God hath made himſelf the Son of Man, and that men are made the righteouſneſſe of God. You ſee therefore that the Church of *Rome*, in teaching Juſtification by inherent Grace, doth pervert the truth of Chriſt, and that by the hands of the Apoſtles we have received otherwiſe than ſhe teacheth. Now concerning the righteouſneſs of

Phil. 2. 3.

2 Cor. 5. 21.

Sancti-

Sanctification, we deny it not to be inherent: we grant, that unless we work, we have it not: onely we distinguish it as a thing different in nature from the righteousnes of Justification: we are righteous the one way, by the faith of *Abraham*; the other way, except we do the works of *Abraham*, we are not righteous. Of the one St. *Paul*, Rom. 4 6. *To him that worketh not, but believeth, Faith is counted for Righteousnes.* Of the other, St. *John*, *Qui facit Justitiam, justus est*; He is righteous which worketh Righteousnesse. Of the one, St. *Paul* doth prove by *Abrahams* Example, that we have it of Faith without Works. Of the other, St. *James* by *Abrahams* Example, that by Works we have it, and not onely by Faith. St. *Paul* doth plainly sever these two parts of Christian righteousnes one from the other. For in the sixth to the *Romans* thus he writeth, Rom. 6. *Being freed from sin, and made Servants to God, ye have your fruit in Holinesse, and the end everlasting life. Ye are made free from sin, and made Servants unto God*; this is the righteousnes of *Justification: ye have your Fruit in Holiness*; this is the righteousnes of Sanctification. By the one, we are interessed in the right of inheriting; by the other we are brought to the actual possession of eternal bliss, and so the end of both is everlasting life.

7. The Prophet *Habakkuk* doth here term the Jews *Righteous men*, not only because being justified by Faith they were free from sin: but also because they had their measure of fruits in Holiness. According to whose example of charitable Judgement; which leaveth it to God to discern what we are, and speaketh of them according to that which they do profess themselves to be, although they be not holy men, whom men do think, but whom God doth know indeed to be such: yet let every Christian man know, that in Christian equity, he standeth bound for to think and speak of his Brethren, as of men that have a measure in the fruit of Holinesse, and a right unto the Titles, wherewith God, in token of special favour and mercy, vouchsafeth to honour his chosen Servants. So we see the Apostle of our Saviour Christ, do use every where the name of *Saints*; so the Prophet the name of *Righteous*. But let us all be such as we desire to be termed: *Reatus impii est pium nomen*, saith *Salvianus*; Godly names do not justifie godless men. We are but upbraided, when we are honored with names and Titles, whereunto our lives and manners are not suitable. If indeed we have our fruit in Holiness, notwithstanding we must note, that the more we abound therein, the more need we have to crave that we may be strengthened and supported: Our very vertues may be snares unto us. The enemy, that waiteth for all occasions to work our ruine, hath found it harder to overthrow an humble Sinner, than a proud Saint. There is no man's case so dangerous, as his whom Sathan hath perswaded, that his own righteousnes shall present him pure and blamelesse in the sight of God. If we could say, we were not guilty of any thing at all in our Consciences (we know our selves farr from this innocency; we cannot say, we know nothing by our selves; but if we could) should we therefore plead not guilty before the presence of our Judge, that sees further into our hearts than we our selves can do? If our hands did never offer violence to our Brethren, a bloody thought doth prove us Murtherers before him: If we had never opened our mouth to utter any scandalous, offensive, or hurtful word, the cry of our secret cogitations is heard in the ears of God. If we did not commit the sins, which daily and hourly either in deed, word, or thoughts we do commit; yet in the good things which we doe, how many defects are there intermingled! God, in that which is done, respecteth the minde and intention of the doer. Cutt off then all those things wherein we have regarded our own glory, those things which men do to please men, and to satisfie our own liking, those things which we do for any by-respect, not sincerely and purely for the love of God: and a small score will serve for the number of our righteous deeds. Let the holiest and best things which we do be considered: we are never better affected unto God than when we pray; yet when we pray, how are our affections many times distracted! how little reverence do we shew unto the grand Majesty of God, unto whom we speak! How little remorse of our own miseries! How little taste of the sweet influence of his tender mercies do we feel! Are we not as unwilling many times to begin, and as glad to make an end; as if in saying, *Call upon me*, he had set us a very burthensome task? It may seem somewhat extream, which I will speak; therefore let every one judge of it, even as his own heart shall tell him, and no otherwise; I will but onely make a demand:

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If God should yield unto us, not as unto *Abraham*, If fifty, forty, thirty, twenty, yea, or if ten good Persons could be found in a City, for their sakes that City should not be destroyed: but, and if he should make us an offer thus large; Search all the Generations of men, sithence the Fall of our Father *Adam*, finde one man, that hath done one Action, which hath past from him pure, without any strain or blemish at all, and for that one man's onely action, neither Man nor Angel shall feel the torments which are prepared for both. Do you think that this ransome, to deliver Men and Angels, could be found to be among the Sons of men? The best things which we do, have somewhat in them to be pardoned. How then can we do any thing meritorious, or worthy to be rewarded? Indeed, God doth liberally promise whatsoever appertaineth to a blessed life, to as many as sincerely keep his Law, though they be not exactly able to keep it. Wherefore we acknowledge a dutiful necessity of doing well; but the meritorious dignity of doing well, we utterly renounce. We see how farr we are from the perfect righteousness of the Law; the little fruit which we have in holiness, it is, God knoweth, corrupt and unsound: we put no confidence at all in it, we challenge nothing in the world for it, we dare not call God to reckoning, as if we had him in our Debt-books: our continual suit to him, is, and must be, to bear with our infirmities, and pardon our offences.

8. But the People of whom the Prophet speaketh, were they all, or were the most part of them such as had care to walk uprightly? Did they thirst after righteousness? did they wish? did they long with the righteous Prophet? *Oh that our ways were so direct, that we might keep thy Statutes?* Did they lament with the righteous Apostle? *Oh miserable men, the good which we wish and purpose, and strive to do, we cannot?* No, Rom. 7. 19. the words of the other Prophet concerning this People, do shew the contrary. How grievously hath *Esay* mourned over them! *O sinful Nation, laden with Iniquity, wicked Seed, corrupt Children!* All which notwithstanding, so wide are the bowels of his Compassion enlarged, that he denieth us not, no, not when we were laden with Iniquity, leave to commune familiarly with him, liberty to crave and intreat, that what Plagues soever we have deserved, we may not be in worse case than Unbelievers, that we may not be hemmed in by Pagans and Infidels. *Jerusalem* is a sinful polluted City: but *Jerusalem* compared with *Babylon*, is righteous. And shall the Righteous be over-born? shall they be compass'd about by the Wicked? But the Prophet doth not onely complain; Lord how commeth it to passe, that thou handlest us so hardly, of whom thy Name is called, and beareſt with the Heathen-Nations, that despise thee? No, he breaketh out through extremity of grief, and inferreth violently: This *proceeding is perverse*, the Righteous are thus handled; *therefore perverse judgment doth proceed.* Cap. 1. v. 4.

9. Which illation containeth many things, whereof it were better much both for you to hear, and me to speak, if necessity did not draw me to another task. *Paul* and *Barnabas* being requested to preach the same things again which once they had preached, thought it their Duty to satisfie the godly desires of men, sincerely affected to the truth. Nor may it seem burdenous for me, nor for you unprofitable, that I follow their example, the like occasion unto theirs being offered me. When we had last the Epistle of St. *Paul* to the *Hebrews* in hand, and of that Epistle these words: *In these last dayes he hath spoken unto us by his Son:* After we had thence collected the nature of the visible Church of Christ; and had defined it to be a community of men sanctified through the profession of the Truth, which God hath taught the World by his Son; and had declared, That the scope of Christian Doctrine is the comfort of them whose hearts are over-charged with the burden of sinne; and had proved that the Doctrin professed in the Church of *Rome*, doth bereave men of comfort, both in their lives, and in their deaths: The conclusion in the end, whereunto we came, was this, The Church of *Rome* being in Faith so corrupted, as she is, and refusing to be reformed, as she doth, we are to sever our selves from her; the example of our Fathers may not retain us in communion with that Church, under hope that we so continuing, may be saved as well as they. God, I doubt nor, was merciful to save thousands of them, though they lived in Popish Superstitions, inasmuch as they sinned ignorantly: but the Truth is now laid before our Eys. The former part of this last Sentence, namely, these words: *I doubt not, but God was merciful to save thousands of our Fathers living in Po-* Acts 13. 42, 44. Heb. 1. 2. By Sanctification, I mean a separation from others not professing as they do; For true Holiness consisteth not in professing, but in obeying the truth of Christ.

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piſh Superſtitions, inaſmuch as they ſinned ignorantly: This Sentence, I beſeech you to mark, and to ſift it with the ſeverity of auſtere judgement, that if it be found to be gold, it may be ſuitable to the precious foundation whereon it was then laid; for I proteſt, that if it be hay or ſtubble, my own hand ſhall ſet fire on it. Two queſtions have riſen by this ſpeech before alledged: The one, *Whether our Fathers, infected with Popiſh Errours and Superſtitions, may be ſaved?* The other, *Whether their ignorance be a reaſonable inducement to make us think they might?* We are then to examine, firſt, what poſſibility; then, what probability there is, that God might be merciful unto ſo many of our Fathers.

10. So many of our Fathers living in Popiſh Superſtitions, yet by the mercy of God be ſaved? No; this could not be: God hath ſpoken by his Angel from Heaven, unto his People concerning *Babylon* (by *Babylon* we underſtand the Church of *Rome*;) *Go out of her my People, that ye be not Partakers of her Plagues.* For anſwer whereunto; firſt, I do not take the words to be meant onely of Temporal plagues, of the Corporal death, ſorrow, famine and fire, whereunto God in his wrath had condemned *Babylon*; and that to ſave his choſen People from theſe Plagues, he ſaith, *Go out*, with like intent, as in the Goſpel, ſpeaking of *Jeruſalem*'s deſolations, he ſaith, *Let them that are in* Judea, *flye unto the Mountains, and them that are in the midſt thereof depart out:* or, as in the former times to *Lot*, *Ariſe, take thy Wife and thy Daughters which are there, leſt thou be deſtroyed in the puniſhment of the City:* but foraſmuch as here it is ſaid, *Go out of Babylon*; we doubt, their everlaſting deſtruction, which are Partakers therein, is either principally meant, or neceſſarily implyed in this Sentence. How then was it poſſible for ſo many of our Fathers to be ſaved, ſince they were ſo farr from departing out of *Babylon*, that they took her for their Mother, and in her boſome yielded up the Ghoſt?

Apoc. 18. 4.

Matth. 24. 16.

Gen. 19. 15.

11. Firſt, for the Plagues being threatned unto them that are Partakers in the ſins of *Babylon*, we can define nothing concerning our Fathers, out of this Sentence: unleſs we ſhew what the ſins of *Babylon* be; and what they be which are ſuch Partakers of them, that their everlaſting plagues are inevitable. The ſins which may be common both to them of the Church of *Rome*, and to others departed thence, muſt be ſevered from this queſtion. He which ſaith, *Depart out of* Babylon, *leſt ye be partakers of her ſins*: ſheweth plainly, that he meaneth ſuch ſins, as, except we ſeparate our ſelves, we have no power in the World to avoid; ſuch impieties, as by their Law they have eſtabliſhed, and whereunto all that are among them, either do indeed aſſent, or elſe are, by powerful means, forced in ſhew and appearance, to ſubject themſelves. As for example, in the Church of *Rome* it is maintained, That the ſame credit and reverence that we give to the Scriptures of God, ought alſo to be given to unwritten verities, That the Pope is Supream head miniſterial over the Univerſal Church-militant; That the Bread in the Euchariſt is tranſubſtantiated into Chriſt; That it is to be adored, and to be offered up unto God, as a Sacrifice propitiatory for quick and dead; That Images are to be worſhipped; Saints to be called upon as Interceſſors, and ſuch like. Now, becauſe ſome Hereſies do concern things only believed, as, the tranſubſtantiation of the Sacramental Elements in the Euchariſt; ſome concern things which are practiſed and put in ure, as, the adoration of the Elements tranſubſtantiated: we muſt note, that *erroneouſly* the practice of that is ſometime received, whereof the doctrine, that teacheth it, is not *heretically* maintained. They are all partakers of the maintenance of Hereſies, who by word or deed allow them, knowing them, although not knowing them to be Hereſies; as alſo they, and that moſt dangerouſly of all others, who knowing Hereſie to be Hereſie, do notwithſtanding in worldly reſpects, make ſemblance of allowing that, which in heart and judgment they condemn: But Hereſie is heretically maintained, by ſuch as obſtinately hold it, after wholſome admonition. Of the laſt ſort, as of the next before, I make no doubt, but that their condemnation, without an actual repentance, is inevitable. Leſt any man therefore ſhould think, that in ſpeaking of our Fathers, I ſhould ſpeak indifferently of them all: let my words I beſeech you be well marked: *I doubt not, but God was merciful to ſave thouſands of our Fathers:* which thing, I will now, by God's aſſiſtance, ſet more plainly before your eye.

12. Many

12. Many are partakers of the error, which are not of the heresie of the Church of *Rome*. The people, following the conduct of their guides, and observing as they did, exactly, that which was prescribed, thought they did God good service, when indeed they did dishonour him. This was their error: but the Heresie of the Church of *Rome*, their dogmatical Positions opposite unto Christian truth, what one man amongst ten thousand, did ever understand? Of them, which understand *Roman* Heresies, and allow them, all are not alike partakers in the action of allowing. Some allow them as the first founders and establishers of them: which crime toucheth none but their Popes and Councels; the people are clear and free from this. Of them which maintain Popish Heresies, not as Authors, but receivers of them from others, all maintain them not as Masters. In this are not the people partakers neither, but onely the Predicants and Schoolmen. Of them which have been partakers in this sin of teaching Popish Heresie, there is also a difference; for they have not all been Teachers of all Popish Heresie. *Put a difference*, saith S. *Jude, have compassion upon some.* Shall we lap up all in one condition? Shall we cast them all headlong? Shall we plunge them all into that infernal and everlasting flaming lake? Them that have been partakers of the errors of *Babylon*, together with them which are in the Heresie? them which have been the Authors of Heresie, with them that by terror and violence have been forced to receive it? Them who have taught it, with them whose simplicity hath by slights and conveyances of false Teachers, been seduced to believe it? Them which have been partakers in one, with them which have been partakers in many? Them which in many, with them which in all? Verse 22.

13. Notwithstanding I grant, that although the condemnation of them be more tolerable then of these: yet from the man that laboureth at the plough, to him that sitteth in the Vatican; to all partakers in the sins of *Babylon*; to our Fathers, though they did but erroneously practise that which the guide heretically taught; to all without exception, plagues were due. The pit is ordinarily the end, as well of the guide, as of the guided in blindness. But wo worth the hour wherein we were born, except we might promise our selves better things; things which accompany mans salvation, even where we know that worse, and such as accompany condemnation are due. Then must we shew some way how possibly they might escape. What way is there that sinners can find to escape the judgement of God, but only by appealing to the seat of his saving mercy? Which mercy, with *Origen*, we do not extend to Divels and damned spirits. God hath mercy upon thousands, but there be thousands also which he hardneth. Christ hath therefore set the bounds, he hath fixed the limits of his saving mercy within the compass of these termes: *God sent not his own Son to condemn the World, but that the World through him might be saved.* In the third of S. *Johns* Gospel mercy is restrained to believers: *He that believeth shall not be condemned; He that believeth not, is condemned already, because he believeth not in the Son of God.* In the second of the Revelation, mercy is restrained to the penitent. For of *Jezabel* and her Sectaries, thus he speakth: *I gave her space to repent, and she repented not. Behold, I will cast her into a bed, and them that commit fornication with her into great affliction, except they repent them of their works, and I will kill her children with death.* Our hope therefore of the Fathers is, if they were not altogether faithless and impenitent, that they are saved. John 3. 17. Rev. 2. 22.

14. They are not all faithless that are weak in assenting to the truth, or stiff in maintaining things opposite to the truth of Christian Doctrine. But as many as hold the foundation which is precious, though they hold it but weakly, and as it were with a slender thred, although they frame many base and unsuitable things upon it, things that cannot abide the tryal of the fire; yet shall they pass the fiery tryal and be saved, which indeed have builded themselves upon the Rock, which is the foundation of the Church. If then our Fathers did not hold the foundation of Faith, there is no doubt but they were faithless. If many of them held it, then is therein no impediment, but many of them might be saved. Then let us see what the foundation of Faith is, and whether we may think that thousands of our Fathers being in Popish Superstitions, did notwithstanding hold the foundation.

15. If the Foundation of Faith do import the general ground whereupon we rest when we do believe, the Writings of the Evangelists and the Apostles are the founda-

tion of the Christian Faith: *Credimus quia legimus*, saith S. *Jerome*: Oh that the Church of *Rome* did as [a] soundly interpret these fundamental Writings whereupon we build our Faith, as she doth willingly hold and imbrace them.

16. But if the name of *Foundation* do note the principal thing which is believed: then is that the Foundation of our Faith which St *Paul* hath to *Timothy*: [b] *God manifested in the flesh, justified in the Spirit, &c.* that of *Nathaniel*, [c] *Thou art the Son of the living God: thou art the King of Israel:* that of the Inhabitants of *Samaria*, [d] *This is Christ the Saviour of the world*: he that directly denieth this, doth utterly raze the very foundation of our Faith. I have proved heretofore, that although the Church of *Rome* hath plaid the Harlot worse then ever did *Israel*, yet are they not, as now the Synagogue of the *Jews* which plainly deny Christ Jesus, quite and clean excluded from the new Covenant. But as *Samaria* compared with *Jerusalem* is termed *Aholath*, a Church or Tabernacle of her own; contrariwise, *Jerusalem Aholibath*, the resting place of the Lord: so, whatsoever we term the Church of *Rome*, when we compare her with Reformed Churches, still we put a difference, as then between *Babylon* and *Samaria*, so now between *Rome* and the Heathenish Assemblies: Which Opinion I must and will recall; I must grant and will, that the Church of *Rome* together with all her children, is clean excluded. There is no difference in the World between our Fathers and *Saracens*, *Turks* and *Painims*, if they did directly deny Christ crucified for the salvation of the World.

17. But how many millions of them were known so to have ended their lives, that the drawing of their breath hath ceased with the uttering of this Faith, *Christ my Saviour, my Redeemer Jesus?* Answer is made, That this they might unfainedly confess, and yet be far enough from Salvation. For behold, saith the Apostle, *I Paul say unto you, that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing.* Gal. 5. 2. Christ in the work of mans salvation is alone: the Galathians were cast away by joyning Circumcision and the other Rites of the Law with Christ: the Church of *Rome* doth teach her children to joyn other things likewise with him; therefore their faith, their belief doth not profit them any thing at all. It is true that they do indeed joyn other things with Christ: but how? Not in the work of Redemption it self, which they grant, that Christ alone hath performed sufficiently for the salvation of the whole world; but in the application of this inestimable treasure, that it may be effectual to their salvation: how demurely soever they confess, that they seek remission of sins no otherwise then by the blood of Christ, using humbly the means appointed by him to apply the benefit of his holy Blood; they teach indeed, so many things pernicious in Christian Faith, in setting down the means whereof they speak, that the very foundation of Faith which they hold is thereby [e] plainly overthrown, and the force of the blood of Jesus Christ extinguished. We may therefore disputing with them, urge them even with as dangerous sequels, as the Apostle doth the *Galatians*. But I demand, If some of those *Galatians* heartily embracing the Gospel of Christ, sincere and sound in Faith (this one only error excepted) had ended their lives before they were ever taught how perillous an opinion they held; shall we think that the danger of this error did so overweigh the benefit of their faith, that the mercy of God might not save them? I grant they overthrew the foundation of Faith by consequent; doth not that so likewise which the [f] *Lutheran* Churches do at this day so stifly and so firmly maintain? For mine own part I dare not here deny the possibility of their salvation which have been the chiefest instruments of ours, albeit they carried to their grave a perswasion so greatly repugnant to the truth. Forasmuch therefore as it may be said of the Church of *Rome*, she hath yet a little strength, she doth not directly deny the foundation of Christianity: I may, I trust without offence, perswade my self that thousands of our Fathers in former times living and dying within her walls, have found mercy at the hands of God.

[a] They misinterpret, not only by making false and corrupt glosses upon the Scripture, but also by forcing the old vulgar Translation as the only Authentical: Howbeit, they refuse no Book which is Canonical, though they admit sundry which are not.
[b] 1 Tim. 3. 16.
[c] John 1. 49.
[d] John 4. 42.
[e] Plainly in all mens sight whose eyes God hath inlightned to behold his truth. For they which are in error, are in darkness, and see not that which in light is plain, in that which they teach concerning the natures of Christ, they held the same with *Nestorius* fully, the same with *Eutiches* about the proprieties of his nature.
[f] The opinion of the *Lutherans* though it be no direct denial of the foundation, may notwithstanding be damnable unto some; and I do not think but that in many respects it is less damnable, as at this day some maintain it, than it was in them which held it at first; as *Luther* and others, whom I had an eye unto in this speech. The Question is not, Whether an error with such and such circumstances: but simply, Whether an error overthrowing the foundation, do exclude all possibility of salvation, if it be not recanted, and expressly repented of.

18. What, although they repented not of their errors? God forbid that I should open my mouth to gain-say that which Christ himself hath spoken: *Except ye repent,*

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ye shall all perish. And if they did not repent they perished. But withall note, that we have the benefit of a double Repentance: the least sin which we commit in Deed, Thought, or Word, is death without Repentance. Yet how many things do escape us in every of these, which we do not know? How many, which we do not observe to be sins? And without the knowledge, without the observation of sin, there is no actual Repentance. It cannot then be chosen, but that for as many as hold the foundation, and have holden all Sins and Errors in hatred, the blessing of Repentance for unknown Sins and Errors is obtained at the hands of God, through the gracious mediation of Jesus Christ, for such suiters as cry with the Prophet *David: Purge me, O Lord, from my secret sins.*

19. But we wash a wall of lome, we labour in vain, all this is nothing; it doth not prove; it cannot justifie that which we go about to maintain. Infidels and Heathen men are not so godless, but that they may no doubt, cry God mercy, and desire in general to have their sins forgiven them. To such as deny the foundation of Faith there can be no Salvation (according to the ordinary course which God doth use in saving men) without a particular repentance of that Error. The *Galathians* thinking that unless they were circumcised, they could not be saved, overthrew the foundation of Faith directly: therefore if any of them did die so perswaded, whether before or after they were told of their Errors, their end is dreadful; there is no way with them but one, death and condemnation. For the Apostle speaketh nothing of men departed, but saith generally of all, *If ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing. Ye are abolished from Christ, whosoever are justified by the Law; ye are fallen from grace, Gal.* 5. Of them in the Church of *Rome* the reason is the same. For whom Antichrist hath seduced, concerning them did not S. *Paul* speak long before, they received not the word of truth, that they might not be saved? therefore God would *send them strong delusions to beleeve lies, that all they might be damned which believe not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness.* And S. *John, All that dwell upon the earth shall worship him, whose names are not written in the book of life,* Apoc. 13. Indeed many in former times as their Books and Writings do yet shew, held the foundation, to wit, salvation by Christ alone, and therefore might be saved. God hath always had a Church amongst them, which firmly kept his saving truth. As for such as hold with the Church of *Rome,* that we cannot be saved by Christ alone without works; they do not only by a circle of consequence, but directly deny the foundation of Faith; they hold it not, no not so much as by a thred. 2 Thes. 2. 11. Apoc. 13. v. 8.

20. This to my remembrance, being all that hath been opposed with any countenance or shew of reason, I hope, if this be answered, the cause in question is at an end. Concerning general Repentance therefore: what? a Murtherer, a Blasphemer, an unclean person, a Turk, a *Jew*, any sinner to escape the wrath of God by a general Repentance, *God forgive me?* Truly, it never came within my heart, that a general Repentance doth serve for all sins: it serveth only for the common over-sights of our sinful life, and for the faults which either we do not mark, or do not know that they are faults. Our Fathers were actually penitent for sins, wherein they knew they displeased God; or else they fall not within the compass of my first speech. Again, that otherwise they could not be saved, than holding the foundation of Christian Faith, we have not only affirmed, but proved. Why is it not then confessed, that thousands of our Fathers which lived in Popish Superstitions, might yet by the mercy of God be saved? First, if they had directly denied the very foundations of Christianity, without repenting them particularly of that sin, he which saith, There could be no salvation for them, according to the ordinary course which God doth use in saving men, granteth plainly, or at the least closely insinuateth, that an extraordinary priviledge of mercy might deliver their souls from Hell, which is more then I required. Secondly, if the foundation be denied, it is denied for fear of some Heresie which the Church of *Rome* maintaineth. But how many were there amongst our Fathers, who being seduced by the common Error of that Church, never knew the meaning of her Heresies? So that although all Popish Hereticks did perish; thousands of them which lived in Popish Superstitions might be saved. Thirdly, seeing all that held Popish Heresies, did not hold all the Heresies of the Pope: why might not thousands which were infected with other leaven, live and die unsowred with this, and so be saved?

For this is the only thing alledged to prove the impossibility of their salvation: The Church of *Rome* joyneth works with Christ, which is a denial of the foundation, and unless we hold the foundation, we cannot be saved.

Fourthly, If they all held this Heresie, many there were that held it, no doubt, but onely in a general form of words, which a favourable Interpretation might expound in a sense differing far enough from the poysoned conceit of Heresie. As for example; Did they hold, that we cannot be saved by Christ without good works? We our selves do, I think, all say as much, with this Construction, salvation being taken as in that sentence, *Corde creditur ad justitiam, Ore fit confessio ad salutem*, except Infants and Men, cut off upon the point of their conversion; of the rest none shall see God, but such as seek peace and holiness, though not as a Cause of their salvation, yet as a Way which they must walk which will be saved. Did they hold, that without works we are not justified? Take justification so as it may also imply sanctification, and St. *James* doth say as much. For except there be an ambiguity in the same term, St. *Paul* and St. *James* do contradict each the other: which cannot be. Now there is no ambiguity in the name either of Faith, or of Works, being meant by them both in one and the same sense. Finding therefore, that Justification is spoken of by St *Paul*, without implying Sanctification, when he proveth that a man is justified by faith without works; finding likewise that justification doth sometime imply sanctification also with it: I suppose nothing to be more sound, then so to interpret St *James*, speaking not in that sense, but in this.

21. We have already shewed, that there be two kinds of Christian righteousness: the one without us, which we have by imputation; the other in us which consisteth of faith, hope, and charity, and other Christian Vertues: And S. *James* doth prove that *Abraham* had not only the one, because the thing believed was imputed unto him for righteousness; but also the other, because he offered up his Son. God giveth us both the one justice and the other; the one by accepting us for righteous in Christ; the other by working Christian righteousness in us. The proper and most immediate efficient cause in us of this latter is the Spirit of adoption we have received into our hearts. That whereof it consisteth, whereof it is really and formally made, are those infused vertues, proper and peculiar unto Saints, which the Spirit in the very moment when first it is given of God bringeth with it: the effects whereof are such actions as the Apostle doth call the fruits of works, the operations of the Spirit: The difference of the which operations from the root whereof they spring, maketh it needful to put two kinds likewise of sanctifying righteousness, *Habitual*, and *Actual*. *Habitual*, that holiness, wherewith our souls are inwardly indued, the same instant, when first we begin to be the Temples of the Holy Ghost. *Actual*, that holiness, which afterwards beautifieth all the parts and actions of our life, the holiness for which *Enoch*, *Job*, *Zachary*, *Elizabeth*, and other Saints, are in the Scriptures so highly commended. If here it be demanded, which of these we do first receive: I answer, that the Spirit, the vertue of the spirit, the habitual justice, which is ingrafted, the external justice of Jesus Christ, which is imputed; these we receive all at one and the same time; whensoever we have any of these, we have all; they go together: Yet sith no man is justified except he believe, and no man believeth except he hath Faith, and no man except he hath received the spirit of Adoption, hath Faith: forasmuch as they do necessarily infer justification, and justification doth of necessity presuppose them: we must needs hold that imputed righteousness, in dignity being the chiefest, is notwithstanding in order to the last of all these: but *Actual righteousness*, which is the righteousness of good works succeedeth all, followeth after all, both in order and time. Which being attentivly marked, sheweth plainly how the faith of true Believers cannot be divorced from hope and love; how faith is a part of sanctification, and yet unto justification necessary; how faith is perfected by good works, and not works of ours without faith: Finally, how our Fathers might hold, that we are justified by Faith alone, and yet hold truly that without works we are not justified. Did they think that men do merit rewards in heaven, by the works they perform on earth? The Ancients use *meriting* for *obtaining*, and in that sense they of *Wittenberg* have it in their Confession; *We teach that good works commanded of God, are necessarily to be done, and by the free kindness of God they merit their certain rewards.* Therefore speaking as our Fathers did, and we taking their speech in a sound meaning, as we may take our Fathers, and might for as much as their meaning is doubtful, and charity doth always interpret doubtful things favourably: what should induce us to

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think that rather the damage of the worſt conſtruction did light upon them all, then that the bleſſing of the better was granted unto thouſands? Fiftly, if in the worſt conſtruction that may be made, they had generally all imbraced it living, might not many of them dying utterly renounce it? Howſoever men when they ſit at eaſe, do vainly tickle their hearts with the vain conceit of I know not what proportionable correſpondence, between their merits and their rewards, which in the trance of their high ſpeculations they dream that God hath meaſured, weighed, and laid up, as it were in bundles for them: notwithſtanding, we ſee by daily experience, in a number even of them, that when the hour of death approacheth, when they ſecretly hear themſelves ſummoned forthwith to appear, and ſtand at the Bar of that Judge, whoſe brightneſs cauſeth the eyes of the Angels themſelves to dazel, all theſe idle imaginations do then begin to hide their faces; to name merits then, is to lay their ſouls upon the rack, the memory of their own deeds is lothſome unto them, they forſake all things, wherein they have put any truſt or confidence; no ſtaff to lean upon, no eaſe, no reſt, no comfort then, but onely in Jeſus Chriſt.

22. Wherefore if this propoſition were true: *To hold in ſuch wiſe, as the Church of* Rome *doth, that we cannot be ſaved by Chriſt alone without works, is directly to deny the foundation of Faith*; I ſay, that if this propoſition were true: nevertheleſs ſo many ways I have ſhewed, whereby we may hope that thouſands of our Fathers which lived in popiſh ſuperſtition, might be ſaved. But what if it be not true? What if neither that of the *Galathians*, concerning Circumciſion; nor this of the Church of *Rome* by Workes be any direct denial of the foundation as it is affirmed, that both are? I need not wade ſo far as to diſcuſs this Controverſie, the matter which firſt was brought into queſtion being ſo clear, as I hope it is. Howbeit becauſe I deſire, that the truth even in that alſo ſhould receive light, I will do mine indeavour to ſet down ſomewhat more plainly; Firſt, the foundation of Faith, what it is: Secondly, what is directly to deny the foundation: Thirdly whether they whom God hath choſen to be heirs of life, may fall ſo far as directly to deny it: Fourthly, whether the *Galathians* did ſo by admitting the error about *Circumciſion* and the *Law*; Laſt of all, whether the Church of Rome for this one opinion of Works, may be thought to do the like, and thereupon to be no more a Chriſtian Church, than are the Aſſemblies of Turks and Jews.

They may ceaſe to put any confidence in works, and yet never think living in Popiſh ſuperſtition they did amiſs *Pighius* dyed Popiſh, and yet denied Popery in the Article of Juſtification by workslong before his death.

23. This word Foundation being figuratively uſed, hath always reference to ſomewhat which reſembleth a material building, as both that Doctrine of *Laws* and the community of Chriſtians do. By the Maſters of Civil Policy nothing is ſo much inculcated, as that *Commonweals are founded upon Laws*; for that a multitude cannot be compacted into one body otherwiſe then by a common acception of Laws, whereby they are to be kept in order, The ground of all civil Laws is this: *No man ought to be hurt or injured by another:* Take away this perſwaſion, and yet take away all the Laws: take away Laws, and what ſhall become of Common-weals? So it is in our ſpiritual Chriſtian Commmunity: I do not mean that Body Myſtical, whereof Chriſt is onely the head, that Building undiſcernable by mortal eyes, wherein Chriſt is the chief corner ſtone: but I ſpeak of the viſible Church; the foundation whereof is the doctrine which the Prophets and the Apoſtles profeſt. The mark whereunto their Doctrine tendeth, is pointed at in theſe words of *Peter* unto Chriſt, *Thou haſt the words of eternal life*: In thoſe words of *Paul* to *Timothy*, *The holy Scriptures are able to make thee wiſe unto ſalvation.* It is the demand of nature it ſelf, *What ſhall we do to have eternal life?* The deſire of immortality and the knowledge of that, whereby it may be obtained, is ſo natural unto all men, that even they who are not perſwaded, that they ſhall, do notwithſtanding wiſh, that they might know a way how to ſee no end of life. And becauſe natural means are not able ſtill to reſiſt the force of Death: there is no people in the earth ſo ſavage, which hath not deviſed ſome ſupernatural help or other, to fly for aid and ſuccour in extremities, againſt the enemies of the Laws. A longing therefore to be ſaved, without underſtanding the true way how, hath been the cauſe of all the Superſtitions in the World. O that the miſerable ſtate of others, which wander in darkneſs, and wot not whither they go, could give us underſtanding hearts, worthily to eſteem the riches of the mercy of God towards us, before whoſe eys the doors of the Kingdom of Heaven are ſet wide open!

What the foundation of faith is: *Vocata ad concionem multitudine, quæ coaleſcere in populi unius corpus nulla re præterquam legibus poterat,* Liv. de Rom. lib. 1. Epheſ. 1. 23. & 4. 15. Epheſ. 2. 20.

John 6. 63. 2 Tim. 3 15.

ſhould

should we offer violence unto it? it offereth violence unto us, and we gather strength to withstand it. But I am besides my purpose, when I fall to bewail the cold affection which we bear towards that whereby we should be saved; my purpose being only to set down, what the ground of salvation is. The Doctrine of the Gospel proposeth salvation as the end: And doth it not teach the way of attaining thereunto? Yet the Damosel possest with a spirit of divination, spake the truth: *These men are the Servants of the most high God, which shew unto us the way of Salvation: A new and living way which Christ hath prepared for us, through the vail, that is, his flesh*; Salvation purchased by the death of Christ. By this foundation the children of God before the written Law were distinguished from the sons of men; the reverend Patriarks both possest it living, and spake expresly of it at the hour of their death. It comforted *Job* in the midst of grief: as it was afterwards the anker-hold of all the righteous in *Israel*, from the writing of the Law, to the time of grace. Every Prophet making mention of it. It was famously spoken of about the time, when the comming of Christ to accomplish the promises, which were made long before it, drew near, that the sound thereof was heard even amongst the Gentiles. When he was come, as many as were his, acknowledged that he was their Salvation; he, that long expected hope of *Israel*; he, that *Seed, in whom all the Nations of the earth shall be blessed.* So that now he is a name of ruine, a name of death and condemnation, unto such as dream of a new *Messias*, to as many as look for salvation by any other but by him. *For amongst men there is given no other name under heaven whereby we must be saved.* Thus much S. *Mark* doth intimate by that, which he doth put in the front of this book, making his entrance with these words: *The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God.* His Doctrine he termeth the Gospel, because it teacheth Salvation; the Gospel of Jesus Christ the son of God, because it teacheth salvation by him. This is then the foundation, whereupon the frame of the Gospel is erected; that very Jesus whom the *Virgin* conceived of the holy Ghost, whom *Simeon* imbraced in his arms, whom *Pilat* condemned, whom the *Jews* crucified, whom the *Apostles* preached, he is Christ, the Lord, the onely Saviour of the World: *Other foundation can no man lay.* Thus I have briefly opened that principle in Christianity, which we call the foundation of our faith. It followeth now that I declare unto you, what is directly to overthrow it. This will be better opened, if we understand, what it is to hold the foundation of Faith.

Acts 16. 17. Heb. 10. 20.

4 foundation of Lu

Gen. 49. Iob. 19.

Acts 4. 12.

Luke 1. 11. 1 Cor. 3.

24. There are which defend, that many of the Gentiles, who never heard the Name of Christ, held the foundation of Christianity, and why? they acknowledged many of them, the Providence of God, his infinite wisedom, strength, power; his goodness, and his mercy towards the Children of men; that God hath judgment in store for the wicked, but for the righteous, which serve him, rewards, &c. In this which they confessed, that lyeth covered which we believe; in the Rudiments of their knowledge concerning God, the foundation of our Faith concerning Christ, lyeth secretly wrapt up, and is vertually contained: therefore they held the foundation of Faith, though they never had it. Might we not with as good a colour of Reason defend, that every Plowman hath all the Sciences, wherein Philosophers have excelled? For no man is ignorant of their first Principles, which do vertually contain, whatsoever by natural means is or can be known. Yea, might we not with as great reason affirm, that a man may put three mighty Oaks whersoever three Akorns may be put? For vertually an Akorn is an Oak. To avoid such Paradoxes, we teach plainly, that, To hold the foundation, is, in expres terms to acknowledg it.

25. Now, because the foundation is an affirmative Proposition, they all overthrow it, who deny it; they directly overthrow it, who deny it directly; and they overthrow it by consequent, or indirectly, which hold any one assertion whatsoever, whereupon the direct denial thereof may be necessarily concluded. What is the Question between the Gentiles and Us, but this, *Whether salvation be by Christ?* What between the *Jews* and Us, but this, *Whether by this Jesus, whom we call Christ, yea or no?* This is to be the main point whereupon Christianity standeth, it is clear by that one sentence of *Festus* concerning *Pauls* accusers: *They brought no crime of such things as I supposed, but had certain questions against him of their superstition, and of one Jesus*

Jeſus, which was dead, whom Paul *affirmed to be alive.* Where we ſee that Jeſus, dead and raiſed for the Salvation of the World, is by *Jews* denied, deſpiſed by a Gentile, by a Chriſtian Apoſtle maintained. The Fathers therefore in the Primitive Church when they wrote; *Tertullian*, the book which he called *Apologeticus*; *Minutius Fœlix*, the Book which he intitleth *Octavius*; *Arnobius*, the ſeven books againſt the Gentiles; *Chryſoſtom*, his Orations againſt the Jews; *Euſebius*, his ten books of *Evangelical demonſtration*: they ſtand in defence of Chriſtianity againſt them, by whom the foundation thereof was directly denied. But the writings of the Fathers againſt *Novatians*, *Pelagians*, and other Hereticks of the like note, refel Poſitions, whereby the foundation of Chriſtian Faith was overthrown by conſequent onely. In the former ſort of Writings the foundation is proved; in the latter, it is alledged as a proof, which to men that had been known directly to deny, muſt needs have ſeemed a very beggerly kind of diſputing. All Infidels therefore deny the foundation of Faith directly; by conſequent, many a Chriſtian man, yea whole Chriſtian Churches have denied it, and do deny it at this preſent day. Chriſtian Churches, the foundation of Chriſtianity: not directly, for then they ceaſe to be Chriſtian Churches; but by conſequent, in reſpect whereof we condemn them as erroneous, although for holding the foundation we do and muſt hold them Chriſtians.

26. We ſee what it is to hold the foundation; what directly, and what by conſequent to deny it. The next thing which followeth, is, whether they whom God hath choſen to obtain the glory of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, may once effectually called, and through faith juſtified truly, afterwards fall ſo far, as directly to deny the foundation, which their hearts have before imbraced with joy and comfort in the Holy Ghoſt; for ſuch is the faith, which indeed doth juſtifie. Devils know the ſame things which we believe, and the minds of the moſt ungodly may be fully perſwaded of the Truth; which knowledge in the one, and in the other, is ſometimes termed faith, but equivocally, being indeed no ſuch faith as that, whereby a Chriſtian man is juſtified. It is the Spirit of Adoption, which worketh faith in us, in them not: the things which we believe, are by us apprehended, not onely as true, but alſo as good and that to us: as good, they are not by them apprehended; as true, they are. Whereupon followeth the third difference; the Chriſtian man the more he encreaſeth in faith, the more his joy and comfort aboundeth: but they, the more ſure they are of the truth, the more they quake and tremble at it. This begetteth another effect, where the hearts of the one ſort have a different diſpoſition from the other. *Non ignoro pleroſque conſcientia meritorum, nihil ſe eſſe per mortem magis optare quam credere, Malunt enim extingui penitus, quàm ad ſupplicia reparari.* I am not ignorant, ſaith *Minutius*, that there be many, who being conſcious what they are to look for, do rather wiſh that they might, then think that they ſhall ceaſe, when they ceaſe to live; becauſe they hold it better that death ſhould conſume them unto nothing, then God revive them unto puniſhment. So it is in other Articles of Faith, whereof wicked men think, no doubt, many times they are too true: On the contrary ſide, to the other, there is no grief or torment greater, then to feel their perſwaſion weak in things, whereof when they are perſwaded, they reap ſuch comfort and joy of ſpirit: ſuch is the faith whereby we are juſtified; ſuch, I mean, in reſpect of the quality. For touching the principal object of Faith; longer then it holdeth the foundation whereof we have ſpoken, it neither juſtifieth, nor is, but ceaſeth to be faith; when it ceaſeth to believe, that Jeſus Chriſt is the onely Saviour of the World. The cauſe of life ſpiritual in us, is Chriſt, not carnally or corporally inhabiting, but dwelling in the ſoul of man, as a thing which (when the minde apprehendeth it) is ſaid to inhabite or poſſeſs the minde. The minde conceiveth Chriſt by hearing the Doctrine of Chriſtianity, as the light of Nature doth the minde to apprehend thoſe truths which are meerly rational, ſo that ſaving truth, which is far above the reach of Humane Reaſon, cannot otherwiſe, then by the Spirit of the Almighty, be conceived. All theſe are implied, whereſoever any of them is mentioned as the cauſe of the ſpiritual life. Wherefore if we have read, that [a] *the Spirit is our life*; or, [b] *the Word our life*; or, [c] *Chriſt our life*: We are in every of theſe to underſtand, that our life is Chriſt, by the hearing of the Goſpel, apprehended as a Saviour, and aſſented unto through the power of the Holy Ghoſt. The firſt intellectual conceit and

[a] Rom. 8. 10.
[b] Phil. 2. 15.
[c] Col. 3. 4.

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1 Pet. 1. Ephes. 2. 5. John 5. 1:. comprehension of Christ so imbraced, St. *Peter* calleth *the seed whereof we be new born*: our first imbracing of Christ, is our first reviving from the state of death and condemnation. *He that hath the Son, hath life*, saith St. *John*, *and he that hath not the Son of God hath not life.* If therefore he which once hath the Son, may cease to have the Son, though it be for a moment, he ceaseth for that moment to have life. But the life of them which have the Son of God, is everlasting *in the world to come.* But because as Christ being raised from the dead dyed no more, death hath no more power over him: so justified man, being allied to God in Jesus Christ our Lord, doth as necessarily from that time forward always live, as Christ, by whom he hath life, liveth always. I might, if I had not otherwhere largely done it already, shew by many and sundry manifest and clear proofs, how the motions and operations of life are sometime so indiscernable, and so secret, that they seem stone-dead, who notwithstanding are still alive unto God in Christ.

1 John 5. 13. Perpetuity of faith. Rom. 6. 10. John 14. 19.

For as long as that abideth in us, which animateth, quickneth, and giveth life, so long we live, and we know that the cause of our Faith abideth in us for ever. If Christ the Fountain of Life, may flit and leave the Habitation, where once he dwelleth What shall become of his Promise, *I am with you to the Worlds end?* If the Seed of God, which containeth Christ, may be first conceived, and then cast out: how doth S. *Peter* term it *immortal?* How doth St. *John* affirm, *It abideth?* If the Spirit, which is given to cherish, and preserve the Seed of Life, may be given and taken away, how is it the earnest of our inheritance until Redemption? how doth it continue with us for ever? If therefore the man which is once just by faith, shall live by Faith, and live for ever, it followeth, that he which once doth believe the foundation, must needs believe the foundation for ever. If he believe it for ever, how can he ever directly deny it? Faith holding the direct affirmation; the direct negation, so long as Faith continueth, is excluded.

1 Pet. 1. 1. 1 John 3. 9. Ephes. 1. 4, 5. John 4. 14.

Object. But you will say, *That as he that is to day holy, may to morrow forsake his holiness, and become impure, as a friend may change his minde, and be made an enemy; as hope may wither: so faith may dye in the heart of man, the Spirit may be quenched, Grace may be extinguished, they which believe may be quite turned away from the Truth,*

Sol. The case is clear, long experience hath made this manifest, it needs no proof. I grant we are apt, prone, and ready to forsake God; but is God as ready to forsake us? Our mindes are changeable; is His so likewise? Whom God hath justified hath not Christ assured, that it is *his Fathers will to give them a Kingdom?* Notwithstanding, it shall not be otherwise given them, than if they continue grounded and stablished in the Faith, and be not moved away from the hope of the Gospel; *if they abide in love and holiness.* Our Saviour therefore, when he spake of the sheep effectually called, and truly gathered into his fold, *I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of my hands*; in promising to save them, he promised, no doubt, to preserve them in that, without which there can be no salvation, as also from that whereby it is irrecoverably lost. Every errour in things appertaining unto God, is repugnant unto Faith; every fearful cogitation, unto hope; unto love, every straggling inordinate desire; unto holiness, every blemish wherewith either the inward thoughts of our mindes, or the outward actions of our lives are stained. But heresie, such as that of *Ebion*, *Cerinthus*, and others, against whom the Apostles were forced to bend themselves, both by word, and also by writing; that repining discouragement of heart, which tempteth God, whereof we have Israel in the Desart for a pattern; coldness, such as that in the Angels of *Ephesus*; foul sins, known to be expresly against the first, or second table of the Law, such as *Noah*, *Manasses*, *David*, *Solomon*, and *Peter* committed: These are each in their kind so opposite to the former vertues, that they leave no place for salvation without an actual repentance. But Infidelity, extream despair, hatred of God and all goodness, obduration in Sin cannot stand where there is but the least spark of Faith, hope, love and sanctity; even as cold in the lowest degree cannot be, where heat in the highest degree is found. Whereupon I conclude, that although in the first kind, no man liveth,

Coll. 1. 23. 1 Tim. 2. 15. John 10.

which

which sinneth not; and in the second, as perfect as any do live, may sinne: yet sith the man which is born of God, hath a promise, That in him *the Seed of God shall abide*; which Seed is a sure Preservative against the sinnes that are of the third suit: Greater and clearer assurance we cannot have of any thing, than of this, that from such sinnes God shall preserve the Righteous, as the apple of his Eye for ever. Directly to deny the foundation of Faith, is plain Infidelity; where Faith is entred, there Infidelity is for ever excluded: Therefore by him which hath once sincerely believed in Christ, the foundation of Christian Faith can never be directly denied? Did not *Peter*? Did not *Marcellinus*? Did not others both directly deny Chirist, after that they had believed; and again believe, after they had denied? No doubt, as they confesse in words, whose Condemnation is nevertheless their not believing: (for example we have *Judas*:) So likewisewise, they may believe in Heart, whose Condemnation, without Repentance, is their not Confessing. Although therefore, *Peter* and the rest, for whose Faith Christ hath prayed, that it might not fail, did not by denial, sinne the Sinne of Infidelity, which is an inward abnegation of Christ; (for if they had done this, their Faith had clearly failed:) Yet, becaus they sinned notoriously and grievously, committing that which they knew to be expresly forbidden by the Law, which saith, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him onely shalt thou serve*; necessary it was, that he which purposed to save their Souls, should, as he did touch their Hearts with true unfeigned repentance, that his mercy might restore them again to life, whom Sinne had made the children of Death and Condemnation. Touching the point therefore, I hope I may safely set down, that if the Justified erre, as he may, and never come to understand his errour, God doth save him through general repentance: But if he fall into Heresie, he calleth him at one time or other by actual repentance; but from Infidelity, which is an inward direct denial of the foundation, he preserveth him by special providence for ever. Whereby we may easily know, what to think of those *Galatians*, whose hearts were so possest with the love of the Truth, that, if it had been possible, they would have pluckt out their eyes to bestow upon their Teachers. It is true, that they were greatly *changed, both in perswasion and affection: so that the *Galatians*, when Saint *Paul* wrote unto them, were not now the *Galatians* which they had been in former time, for that through errour they wandred, although they were his sheep. I do not deny, but that I should deny, that they were his sheep, if I should grant, that through errour they perished. It was a perilous opinion that they held; perilous even in them that held it only as an Errour, because it overthroweth the foundation by consequent. But in them which obstinately maintain it, I cannot think it less than a damnable Heresie. We must therefore put a difference between them which erre of ignorance, retaining nevertheless a mind desirous to be instructed in Truth, and them, which after the Truth is laid open, persist in the stubborn defence of their blindness. Heretical defenders, froward and stiff-necked Teachers of Circumcision, the blessed Apostle calls Doggs: Silly men, who were seduced to think they taught the Truth, he pitieth, he taketh up in his arms, he lovingly imbraceth, he kisseth, and with more than fatherly tenderness doth so temper, qualifie, and correct the speech he useth towards them, that a man cannot easily discern, whether did most abound, the love which he bare to to their godly Affection, or the grief which the danger of their Opinion bred him. Their Opinion was dangerous; was not theirs also, who thought the Kingdome of Christ should be Earthly? was not theirs, which thought the Gospel onely should be preached to the Jewes? What more opposite to Prophetical Doctrine, concerning the comming of Christ, than the one? concerning the Catholick Church, than the other? Yet they which had these Fancies, even when they had them, were not the worst men in the World. The Heresie of *Free-will* was a milstone about the *Pelagians* neck; shall we therefore give Sentence of Death inevitable against all those Fathers in the Greek Church, which being mis-perswaded,

1 John 3. 9.

* Howsoever men be changed (for changed they may be, even the best amongst men) if they that have received, as it seemeth some of the *Galatians* which fell into errour, had received the Gifts and Graces of God, which are called, ἀμεταμέλητα, such as Faith, Hope, and Charity are, which God doth never take away from him, to whom they are given, as if it repented him to have given them; if such might be so farr changed by errour, as that the very root of Faith should be quite extinguished in them, and so their Salvation utterly lost: It would shake the hearts of the strongest and stoutest of us all. See the contrary in *Beza* his observations upon the harmony of Confessions.

dyed in the Errour of *Free-will?* Of these *Galatians* therefore, which first were justified, and then deceived, as I can see no cause, why as many as dyed before admonition, might not by mercy be received; even in errour; so I make no doubt, but as many as lived till they were admonished, found the mercy of God effectual in converting them from their [a] errour, lest any one that is Christ's should perish. Of this I take it, there is no Controversie: Only against the Salvation of them that dyed, though before admonition, yet in errour, it is objected; that their opinion was a very plain direct denial of the foundation. If *Paul* and *Barnabas* had been so perswaded, they would haply have used the terms otherwise; speaking of the Masters themselves, who did first set that errour abroach, [b] Certain of the Sect of the Pharisees which believed. What difference was there between these Pharisees, and other Pharisees, from whom, by a special description they are distinguished, but this? These which came to *Antioch*, teaching the necessity of Circumcision; were Christians; the other, enemies of Christianity. Why then should these be termed so distinctly Believers, if they did directly deny the foundation of our Belief; besides which, there was no other thing, that made the rest to be no Believers? We need go no farther than Saint *Paul*'s very reasoning against them, for proof of this matter; Seeing you know God, or rather are known of God? how turn you again to impotent Rudiments? the [c] Law engendreth Servants, her Children are in bondage: [d] They which are begotten by the Gospel, are free. [e] Brethren, we are not Children of the Servant, but of the Free-woman, and will ye yet be under the Law? That they thought it unto Salvation necessary, for the Church of Christ to [f] observe dayes, and months, and times, and years, to keep the Ceremonies and Sacraments of the Law, this was their errour. Yet he which condemneth their errour, confesseth, that, notwithstanding, they knew God, and were known of him; he taketh not the honour from them to be termed Sonnes, begotten of the immortal seed of the Gospel. Let the heaviest words which he useth, be weighed; consider the drift of those dreadful Conclusions: *If ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing: As many as are justified by the Law, are fallen from Grace.* It had been to no purpose in the World so to urge them, had not the Apostle been perswaded, that at the hearing of such Sequels, *No benefit by Christ*, a *defection from Grace*, their hearts would tremble and quake within them: And why? becaus that they knew, that in Christ, and in Grace, their Salvation lay, which is a plain direct acknowledgement of the Foundation. Lest I should herein seem to hold that which no one learned or godly hath done, let these words be considered, which import as much as I affirm. Surely those Brethren, which in Saint *Pauls* time, thought that God did lay a necessity upon them to make choyse of dayes and meats, spake as they believed, and could not but in words condemn the liberty, which they supposed to be brought in against the Authority of Divine Scripture. Otherwise it had been needless for Saint Paul to admonish them, not to condemn such as eat without scrupulosity, whatsoever was set before them. This errour, if you weigh what it is of it self, did at once overthrow all Scriptures, whereby we are taught Salvation by Faith in Christ, all that ever the Prophets did foretell, all that ever the Apostles did preach of Christ, it drew with it the denial of Christ utterly: Insomuch, that Saint *Paul* complaineth, that his labour was lost upon the *Galatians*, unto whom this errour was obtruded, affirming, that Christ, if so be they were circumcised, should not profit them any thing at all. Yet so farr was Saint *Paul* from striking their names out of Christ's book, that he commandeth others to entertain them, to accept with singular humanity, to use them like Brethren; he knew man's imbecillity, he had a feeling of our blindnesse which are mortal men; how great it is, and being sure that they are the Sonnes of God whosoever be endued with his fear, would not have them counted Enemies of that whereunto they could not as yet frame themselves to be Friends, but did ever upon a very Religious affection to the Truth, willingly reject the truth. They acknowledged Christ to be their onely and perfect Saviour, but saw not how repugnant their believing the necessity of Mosaical Ceremonies was to their Faith in Jesus Christ. Hereupon a reply is made, that if they had not directly denied the foundation, they might have been saved; but saved they

[a] Error convicted, and afterwards maintained, is more than errour; for although opinion be the same it was, in which respect I still call it errour, yet they are not now the same they were when they are taught what the Truth is, and plainly taught.

[b] Acts 15. 5.
[c] Gal. 4. 14. 15.
[d] Vers. 18.
[e] Vers. 31.
[f] Vers. 21.

Bucer. de Unit. Eccles. servanda.

they could not be, therefore their opinion was, not onely by consequent, but directly, a denial of the foundation. When the question was about the possibility of their Salvation, their denying of the foundation was brought to prove, that they could not be saved: now, that the Question is about their denial of the foundation, the impossibility of their Salvation is alledged to prove, they denied the foundation. Is there nothing which excludeth men from Salvation, but onely the foundation of Faith denied? I should have thought, that, besides this, many other things are death unto as many as understanding that to cleave thereunto, was to fall from Christ, did notwithstanding cleave unto them. But of this enough. Wherefore I come to the last Question, *Whether that the Doctrin of the Church of* Rome, *concerning the necessity of Works unto Salvation, be a direct denial of our Faith?*

27. I seek not to obtrude unto you any private Opinion of mine own; the best learned in our profession, are of this Judgement, That all the corruptions of the Church of *Rome*, do not prove her to deny the Foundation directly; if they did, they should grant her simply to be no Christian Church. *But, I suppose*, saith one, *that in the Papacy some Church remaineth, a Church crazed, or, if you will, broken quite in pieces, forlorn, mishapen; yet some Church*: his reason is this, *Antichrist must sit in the Temple of God.* Lest any man should think such Sentences as these to be true, onely in regard of them whom that Church is supposed to have kept by the special providence of God, as it were, in the secret corners of his Bosome, free from infection, and as sound in the Faith, as we trust, by his mercy, we our selves are; I permit it to your wise considerations, whether it be more likely, that as frenzy, though it take away the use of reason, doth notwithstanding prove them reasonable Creatures which have it, because none can be frantick but they: So Antichristianity being the bane and plain overthrow of Christianity, may nevertheless argue, the Church where Antichrist sitteth, to be Christian. Neither have I ever hitherto heard or read any one word alledged of force to warrant, that God doth otherwise, than so as in the two next Questions before hath been declared, binde himself to keep his Elect from worshipping the Beast, and from receiving his mark in their foreheads: but he hath preserved, and will preserve them from receiving any deadly wound at the hands of the Man of Sinne, whose deceit hath prevailed over none unto death, but onely unto such as never loved the Truth, such as took pleasure in unrighteousnesse: They in all ages, whose hearts have delighted in the principal Truth, and whose Souls have thirsted after righteousnes, if they received the mark of Errour, the mercy of God, even erring, and dangerously erring, might save them; if they received the mark of Heresie, the same mercy did, I doubt not, convert them. How farr Romish Heresies may prevail over God's Elect, how many God hath kept falling into them, how many have been converted from them, is not the question now in hand: for if Heaven had not received any one of that coat for these thousand years, it may still be true, that the Doctrine which this day they do professe, doth not directly deny the foundation, and so prove them simply to be no Christian Church. One I have alleadged, whose words, in my ears, sound that way: shall I adde another, whose speech is plain? *I deny her not the name of a Church*, saith another, *no more than to a man the name of a man, as long as he liveth, what sickness soever he hath.* His Reason is this, *Salvation in Jesus Christ, which is the mark which joyneth the Head with the Body, Jesus Christ with the Church, is so cut off by many merits, by the merits of Saints, by the Popes Pardons, and such other wickedness, that the life of the Church holdeth by a very thred*, yet still the life of the Church holdeth. A third hath these words, *I acknowledge the Church of* Rome, *even at this present day, for a Church of Christ, such a Church as Israel did* Jeroboam, *yet a Church.* His reason is this, *Every man seeth, except he willingly hoodwink himself, that as alwayes, so now, the Church of* Rome *holdeth firmly and stedfastly the Doctrine of Truth concerning Christ; and baptizeth in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; confesseth and avoucheth Christ for the onely Redeemer of the World, and the Judge that shall sit upon quick and dead, receiving true Believers into endless joy, faithless and godless men being cast with Satan and his Angels into flames unquenchable.*

Cal. Ep 104.

Morn. de Eccles.

Zanch. præfat. de Relig.

28. I may, and will, rein the question shorter than they doe. Let the Pope take down his top, and captivate no more mens Souls by his Papal Jurisdiction; let him no longer count himself *Lord Paramount* over the Princes of the World, no longer hold Kings as his Servants *paravaile*; Let his stately Senate submit their Necks to the yoke of Christ, and cease to die their Garments, like *Edom*, in Blood; Let them from the highest to the lowest, hate and forsake their Idolatry, abjure all their Errours and Heresies, wherewith they have any way perverted the truth; Let them strip their Churches, till they leave no polluted ragg, but onely this one about her, *By Christ alone, without works we cannot be saved:* It is enough for me, if I shew, that the holding of this one thing, doth not prove the foundation of Faith directly denied in the Church of *Rome*.

29. Works are an addition: Be it so, what then? the foundation is not subverted by every kinde of addition: Simply to adde unto those fundamental words, is not to mingle Wine with Water, Heaven and Earth, things polluted with the sanctified blood of Christ: Of which Crime, indict them which attribute those operations in whole or in part to any Creature, which in the work of our Salvation wholly are peculiar unto Christ; and if I open my mouth to speak in their defence, if I hold my peace, and plead not against them as long as breath is within my Body, let me be guilty of all the dishonor that ever hath been done to the Son of God. But the more dreadful a thing it is to deny salvation by Christ alone, the more slow and fearful I am, except it be too manifest, to lay a thing so grievous to any man's charge. Let us beware, lest if we make too many ways of denying Christ, we scarce leave any way for our selves truly and soundly to confess him. Salvation only by Christ is the true foundation whereupon indeed Christianity standeth. But what if I say, You cannot be saved only by Christ, without this addition, Christ believed in heart, confessed with mouth, obeyed in life and conversation? Because I adde, do I therefore deny that which I did directly affirm? There may be an additament of explication, which overthroweth not, but proveth and concludeth the Proposition, whereunto it is annexed. He which saith, *Peter* was a Chief Apostle, doth prove that *Peter* was an Apostle: He which saith, Our
1 Thess. 1. 13. Salvation is of the Lord, through Sanctification of the Spirit, and Faith of the Truth, proveth that our Savation is of the Lord. But if that which is added be such a privation as taketh away the very essence of that whereunto it is added, then by the sequel it overthroweth it. He which saith, *Judas* is a dead man, though in word he granteth *Judas* to be a man, yet in effect he proveth him by that very speech no man, because death depriveth him of being. In like sort, he that should say, our Election is of Grace for our
Rom. 11. 6. Works sake, should grant in sound of words, but indeed by consequent deny that our Election is of Grace; for the Grace which electeth us, is no Grace, if it elect us for our Works sake.

30. Now whereas the Church of *Rome* addeth Works, we must note further, that the adding of * Works is not like the adding of Circumcision unto Christ. Christ came not to abrogate and put away good Works: he did, to change Circumcision; for we see that in place thereof, he hath substituted holy Baptism. To say, Ye cannot be saved by Christ, except ye be circumcised, is to adde a thing excluded, a thing not only not necessary to be kept, but necessary not to be kept by them that will be saved. On the other side, to say, Ye cannot be saved by Christ without Works, is to add things, not only not excluded, but commanded, as being, in their place, and in their kinde necessary, and therefore subordinated unto Christ, by Christ himself, by whom the web of Salvation is spun: [a] *Except your Righteousness exceed the Righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall not enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* They were [b] rigorous exacters of things not utterly to be neglected, and left undone, washing and tything, &c. As they were in these, so must we be in judgement and the love of God. Christ, in Works Ceremonial giveth more liberty, in [c] moral much less, than they did. Works of Righteousness therefore are added in the one Proposition; as in the other, Circumcision is.

* I deny not but that the Church of *Rome* requireth some kinds of works which she ought not to require at mens hands. But our question is general about the adding of good works, not whether such or such Works be good. In this comparison, it is enough to touch so much of the matter in question between St. *Paul* and the *Galatians*, as inferreth those Conclusions, *Ye are fallen from grace, Christ can profit you nothing:* which Conclusions will so low Circumcision and Rites of the Law Ceremonial, if they be required as things necessary to Salvation. This only was alledged against me: and need I touch more than was alledged? *a* Mat. 5. 20. *b* Luke 11. 39. *c* Mat. 5. 21.

31. But

31. But we say, our Salvation is by Christ alone; therefore howsoever, or whatsoever we adde unto Christ in the matter of Salvation, we overthrow Christ. Our Case were very hard, if this Argument, so universally meant as it is proposed, were sound and good. We our selves do not teach Christ alone, excluding our own Faith, unto Justification; Christ alone, excluding our own Works, unto Sanctification; Christ alone, excluding the one or the other unnecessary unto Salvation. It is a childish Cavil wherewith in the matter of Justification, our Adversaries do so greatly please themselves, exclaiming, that we tread all Christian vertues under our feet, and require nothing in Christians but Faith, because we teach that Faith alone justifieth: whereas by this speech we never meant to exclude either Hope or Charity from being always joyned as inseparable Mates with Faith in the man that is justified; or Works from being added as necessary Duties, required at the hands of every justified man: But to shew that Faith is the onely hand which putteth on Christ unto Justification; and Christ the onely Garment, which, being so put on, covereth the shame of our defiled natures, hideth the imperfection of our Works, preserveth us blameless in the sight of God, before whom otherwise, the weakness of our Faith were cause sufficient to make us culpable, yea, to shut us from the Kingdom of Heaven, where nothing that is not absolute can enter. That our dealing with them be not as childish as theirs with us: when we hear of Salvation by Christ alone, considering that [*alone*] as an exclusive Particle, we are to note what it doth exclude, and where. If I say, *Such a Judge onely ought to determine such a case*, all things incident to the determination thereof, besides the Person of the Judge, as Laws, Depositions, Evidences, &c. are not hereby excluded; Persons are not excluded from witnessing herein, or assisting, but onely from determining and giving Sentence. How then is our Salvation wrought by Christ alone: Is it our meaning, that nothing is requisite to man's Salvation but Christ to save, and he to be saved quietly without any more adoe? No, we acknowledge no such Foundation. As we have received, so we teach, that besides the bare and naked work, wherein Christ without any other Associate, finished all the parts of our Redemption, and purchased Salvation himself alone; for conveyance of this eminent blessing unto us, many things are of necessity required, as to be known and chosen of God before the foundation of the World; in the World to be called, justified, sanctified; after we have left the World, to be received unto glory; Christ in every of these hath somewhat which he worketh alone. Through him, according to the Eternal purpose of God, before the foundation of the World, Born, Crucified, Buried, Raised, &c. we were in a gracious acceptation known unto God, long before we were seen of men: God knew us, loved us, was kinde to us in Jesus Christ, in him we were elected to be Heirs of Life. Thus farr God through Christ hath wrought in such sort alone, that our selves are mere Patients, working no more than dead and senseless Matter, Wood, Stone, or Iron, doth in the Artificers hands; no more than Clay, when the Potter appointeth it to be framed for an honourable use; nay, not so much: for the matter whereupon the Craftsman worketh he chuseth, being moved by the fitness which is in it to serve his turn; in us no such thing. Touching the rest which is laid for the foundation of our Faith; it importeth farther, That [a] by him we are called, that we have [b] Redemption, [c] Remission of sins through his [d] blood, Health by his [e] stripes, Justice by him; that [f] he doth sanctifie his Church, and make it glorious to himself, that [g] entrance into joy shall be given us by Him; yea, all things by him alone. Howbeit, not so by him alone, as if in us to our [h] Vocation, the hearing of the Gospel; to our Justification, Faith; to our Sanctification, the fruits of the Spirit; to our entrance into rest, perseverance in Hope, in Faith, in Holiness, were not necessary.

Eph. 2. 7. 16.

a Gal. 5. 8.
b 1 Pet. 2. 9. and 5 3.
c Ephes. 1 7.
d Isa. 53. 11. Jer. 23. 6.
e Eph. 3. 25.
f Mat. 15. 23.
g 2 Thess. 2. 14.
h Gal. 2. 16. and 5. 3. 2 Thess. 2. 15.

32. Then what is the fault of the Church of *Rome*? Not that she requireth Works at their hands which will be saved: but that she attributeth unto Works a power of satisfying God for Sinne; yea, a vertue to merit both Grace here, and in Heaven Glory. That this overthroweth the foundation of Faith, I grant willingly; that it is a direct denyal thereof, I utterly deny: What it is to hold, and what directly to deny the foundation of Faith, I have already opened. Apply it particularly to this Cause, and there needs no more adoe. The thing

which

which is handled, if the form under which it is handled be added thereunto, it ſheweth the foundation of any Doctrine whatſoever. Chriſt is the Matter whereof the Doctrin of the Goſpel treateth; and it treateth of Chriſt, as of a Saviour. Salvation therefore by Chriſt is the foundation of Chriſtianity: as for works, they are a thing ſubordinate, no otherwiſe than becauſe our Sanctification cannot be accompliſhed without them: The Doctrine concerning them is a thing builded upon the foundation; therefore the Doctrin which addeth unto them the power of ſatisfying, or of meriting, addeth unto a thing ſubordinated, builded upon the foundation, not to the very foundation it ſelf; yet is the foundation by this addition conſequently overthrown, foraſmuch as out of this addition it may be negatively concluded, He which maketh any work good, and acceptable in the ſight of God, to proceed from the natural freedom of our will; he which giveth unto any good works of ours, the force of ſatisfying the wrath of God for ſinne, the power of meriting either earthly or heavenly rewards; he which holdeth Works going before our Vocation, in congruity to merit our Vocation; Works following our firſt, to merit our ſecond Juſtification, and by condignity our laſt Reward in the Kingdom of Heaven, pulleth up the Doctrin of Faith by the roots; for out of every of theſe, the plain direct denial thereof may be neceſſarily concluded. Not this onely, but what other Hereſie is there, that doth not raze the very foundation of Faith by conſequent? Howbeit, we make a difference of Hereſies; accounting them in the next degree to infidelity, which directly deny any one thing to be, which is expreſly acknowledged in the Articles of our Belief; for out of any one Article ſo denied, the denial of the very foundation it ſelf is ſtraightway inferred. As for Example, if a man ſhould ſay, *There is no Catholick Church*, it followeth immediately thereupon, that this *Jeſus* whom we call the Saviour, is not the Saviour of the World; becauſe all the Prophets bear witneſſe, that the true *Meſſias* ſhould *ſhew light unto the Gentiles*; that is to ſay, gather ſuch a Church as is Catholick, not reſtrained any longer unto one circumciſed Nation. In the ſecond rank we place them, out of whoſe Poſitions, the denial of any the foreſaid Articles may be with like facility concluded: ſuch as are they which have denied, with *Hebion*, or with *Marcion*, his Humanity; an example whereof may be that of *Caſſianus*, defending the Incarnation of the Son of God, againſt *Neſtorius* Biſhop of *Antioch*, which held, That the Virgin, when ſhe brought forth Chriſt, did not bring forth the Son of God, but a ſole and mere man: out of which Hereſie, the denial of the Articles of the Chriſtian faith he deduceth thus, *If thou doſt deny our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, in denying the Son, thou canſt not chooſe but deny the Father; for, according to the voyce of the Father himſelf,* He that hath not the Son, hath not the Father. *Wherefore denying him which is begotten, thou denieſt him which doth beget. Again, denying the Son of God to have been born in the Fleſh, how canſt thou believe him to have ſuffered? believing not his Paſſion, what remaineth, but that thou deny his Reſurrection? For we believe him not raiſed, except we firſt believe him dead: Neither can the reaſon of his riſing from the dead ſtand, without the faith of his death going before. The denial of his Death and Paſſion, inferreth the denial of his Riſing from the Depth. Whereupon it followeth, that thou alſo deny his Aſcenſion into Heaven. The Apoſtle affirmeth*, That he which aſcended, did firſt deſcend; *ſo that, as much as lieth in thee, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt hath neither riſen from the depth, nor is aſcended into Heaven, nor ſitteth on the right hand of God the Father, neither ſhall he come at the day of the final account which is looked for, nor ſhall judge the Quick and the Dead. And dareſt thou yet ſet foot in the Church? Canſt thou think thy ſelf a Biſhop, when thou haſt denied all thoſe things whereby thou doſt obtain a Biſhoply Calling? Neſtorius* confeſſed all the Articles of the Creed, but his opinion did imply the denial of every part of his Confeſſion. Hereſies there are of the third ſort, ſuch as the Church of *Rome* maintaineth, which be removed by a greater diſtance from the foundation, although indeed they overthrow it. Yet becauſe of that weakneſs, which the Philoſopher noteth in mens capacities, when he ſaith, That the common ſort cannot ſee things which follow in reaſon, when they follow, as it were, afar off by many deductions;

Hæc ratio Eccleſiaſtici Sacramenti & Catholicæ Fidei eſt; ut qui partem divini Sacramenti negat, partem non valeat confiteri. Ita enim ſibi connexa & concorporata ſunt omnia, ut aliud ſine alio ſtare non poſſit, & qui unum ex omnibus denegaverit; alia ei omnia credidiſſe non proſit, *Caſſian.* lib. 6. de Incarnat. Dom. If he obſtinately ſtand in denial, pag 193.

Acts 26. 23. Lib. 6. de Incar. Dom. cap. 16.

deductions; therefore the repugnancy of ſuch Hereſie and the foundation, is not ſo quickly, or ſo eaſily found, but that an Heretick of this, ſooner than of the former kinde, may directly grant, and conſequently nevertheleſs deny the foundation of Faith.

33. If reaſon be ſuſpected, tryal will ſhew that the Church of *Rome* doth no otherwiſe, by teaching the Doctrine ſhe doth teach concerning good works. Offer them the very fundamental words, and what man is there that will refuſe to ſubſcribe unto them? Can they directly grant, and directly deny one and the very ſelf-ſame thing? Our own proceedings in diſputing againſt their works ſatisfactory and meritorious, do ſhew not onely that they hold, but that we acknowledge them to hold the foundation, notwithſtanding their opinion. For are not theſe our Arguments againſt them? *Chriſt alone hath ſatisfied and appeaſed his Fathers wrath: Chriſt hath merited Salvation alone.* We ſhould do fondly to uſe ſuch Diſputes, neither could we think to prevail by them, if that whereupon we ground, were a thing which we know they do not hold, which we are aſſured they will not grant. Their very Anſwers to all ſuch Reaſons as are in this Controverſie brought againſt them, will not permit us to doubt, whether they hold the foundation or no. Can any man that hath read their Books concerning this matter, be ignorant how they draw all their Anſwers unto theſe heads? *That the remiſsion of all our ſins, the pardon of all whatſoever puniſhments thereby deſerved, the rewards which God hath laid up in Heaven, are by the Blood of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt purchaſed, and obtained ſufficiently for all men: but for no man effectually for his benefit in particular, except the blood of Chriſt be apply'd particularly to him, by ſuch means as God hath appointed that to work by. That thoſe means of themſelves, being but dead things, onely the blood of Chriſt is that which putteth life, force, and efficacy in them to work, and to be available, each in his kinde, to our Salvation. Finally, that Grace being purchaſed for us by the blood of Chriſt, and freely without any merit or deſert at the firſt beſtowed upon us, the good things which we doe, after Grace received, be thereby made ſatisfactory and meritorious.* Some of their Sentences to this effect, I muſt alledge for mine own warrant. If we deſire to hear foreign Judgements, we finde in one this Confeſſion, *He that could reckon how many the vertues and merits of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt hath been, might likewiſe underſtand how many the benefits have been that are to come to us by him, forſomuch as men are made Partakers of them all by means of his Paſsion: by him is given unto us remiſsion of our Sinnes, Grace, Glory, Liberty, Praiſe, Salvation, Redemption, Juſtification, Juſtice, Satisfaction, Sacraments, Merits, and all other things which we had, and were behoveful for our Salvation.* In another, we have theſe Oppoſitions and Anſwers made unto them: *All Grace is given by Chriſt Jeſus: True, but not except Chriſt Jeſus be applied. He is the propitiation for our ſinne; by his ſtripes we are healed, he hath offered himſelf up for us: all this is true, but apply it. We put all ſatisfaction in the blood of Jeſus Chriſt; but we hold, that the means which Chriſt hath appointed for us in the Caſe to apply it, are our penal works.* Our Countrey-men in *Rhemes* make the like anſwer, That they ſeek Salvation no other way than by the Blood of Chriſt; and that humbly they doe uſe Prayers, Faſtings, Almes, Faith, Charity, Sacrifice, Sacraments, Prieſts, onely as the means appointed by Chriſt, to apply the benefit of his holy Blood unto them: touching our good Works, that in their own natures they are not meritorious, nor anſwerable to the joyes of Heaven; it commeth by the Grace of Chriſt, and not of the Work it ſelf, that we have by well doing a right to Heaven, and deſerve it worthily. If any man think that I ſeek to varniſh their Opinions, to ſet the better foot of a lame Cauſe formoſt; Let him know; that ſince I began throughly to underſtand their meaning, I have found their halting greater than perhaps it ſeemeth to them which know not the deepneſſe of Satan, as the bleſſed Divine ſpeaketh. For, although this be proof ſufficient, that they doe not directly deny the foundation of Faith; yet, if there were no other leaven in the lump of their Doctrine but this, this were ſufficient to prove, that their Doctrine is not agreeable to the foundation of Chriſtian Faith. The *Pelagians* being over-great friends unto Nature, made themſelves Enemies unto Grace; for all their confeſſing, that men have their Souls, and all the faculties thereof, their wills, and all the ability of their wills from God. And is not the Church of *Rome* ſtill an Adverſary unto Chriſt's

Lewis of Granad. Medit. cap. laſt. 3.

Paulgarola let. 11.

Annot. in 1 John 1.

Christ's Merits, because of her acknowledging, that we have received the power of meriting by the blood of Christ? Sir *Thomas Moor* setteth down the odds between us and the Church of *Rome* in the matter of Works, thus. *Like as we grant them, that no good work of man is rewardable in Heaven of its own nature, but through the meer goodnesse of God, that lists to set so high a price upon so poor a thing; and that this price God setteth through Christ's Passion, and for that also they be his own Works with us; for good works to God-ward worketh no man, without God work in him: and as we grant them also, that no man may be proud of his works, for his imperfect working; and for that in all that man may doe, he can doe God no good, but is a Servant unprofitable, and doth but his bare duty: as we, I say, grant unto them these things, so this one thing or twain doe they grant us again, That men are bound to work good works, if they have time and power; and that whoso worketh in true faith most, shall be most rewarded: but then set they thereto, That all his Rewards shall be given him for his Faith alone, and nothing for his Works at all, because his Faith is the thing, they say, that forceth him to work well.* In his Book of Consolation. I see by this of Sir *Thomas Moor*, how easie it is for men of the greatest capacity, to mistake things written or spoken, as well on the one side as on the other. Their Doctrine, as he thought, maketh the work of man rewardable in the World to come, through the goodnesse of God, whom it pleased to set so high a price upon so poor a thing: and ours, that a man doth receive that eternal and high reward, not for his Works, but for his Faiths sake, by which he worketh; whereas in truth our Doctrine is no other than that we have learned at the feet of Christ; namely, That God doth justifie the believing man, yet not for the worthinesse of his belief, but for the worthinesse of him which is believed; God rewardeth abundantly every one which worketh, yet not for any meritorious dignity which is, or can be in the Work, but through his mere mercy by whose Commandment he worketh. Contrariwise, their Doctrine is, That as pure Water of it self hath no savour, but if it passe through a sweet Pipe, it taketh a pleasant smell of the Pipe through which it passeth: so, although before Grace received, our Works doe neither satisfie nor merit; yet after, they doe both the one and the other. Every vertuous Action hath then power in such to satisfie; that if we our selves commit no mortal sinne, no hainous crime, whereupon to spend this treasure of satisfaction in our own behalf, it turneth to the benefit of other mens release, on whom it shall please the Steward of the House of God to bestow it; so that we may satisfie for our selves and others; but merit onely for our selves. In meriting, our Actions do work with two hands; with one they get their morning stipend, the encrease of Grace; with the other their evening hire, the everlasting Crown of Glory. Indeed they teach, that our good Works doe not these things as they come from us, but as they come from Grace in us; which Grace in us is another thing in their Divinity, than is the mere goodnesse of God's mercy towards us in Christ Jesus. Works of Supererogation.

34. If it were not a long deluded Spirit which hath possession of their Hearts; were it possible but that they should see how plainly they doe herein gain-say the very ground of Apostolick Faith? Is this that Salvation by Grace, whereof so plentiful mention is made in the Scriptures of God? Was this their meaning, which first taught the World to look for Salvation onely by Christ? By Grace, the Apostle saith, and by Grace in such sort as a Gift: a thing that commeth not of our selves, nor of our Works, lest any man should boast, and say, *I have wrought out my own Salvation.* By Grace they confesse; but by Grace in such sort, that as many as wear the Diadem of Blisse, they wear nothing but what they have won. The Apostle, as if he had foreseen how the Church of *Rome* would abuse the World in time, by ambiguous terms, to declare in what sense the name of Grace must be taken, when we make it the cause of our Salvation, saith, *He saved us according to his mercy*: which mercy, although it exclude not the washing of our new birth, the renewing of our Hearts by the Holy Ghost, the Means, the Vertues, the Duties which God requireth of our hands which shall be saved; yet it is so repugnant unto Merits, that to say, We are saved for the worthines of any thing which is ours, is to deny we are saved by Grace. Grace bestoweth freely; and therefore justly requireth the glory of that which is bestowed. We deny the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ; we

abuse,

abuse, disanul, and annihilate the benefit of his bitter passion, if we rest in these proud imaginations; that life is deservedly ours, that we merit it, and that we are worthy of it.

35. Howbeit, considering how many vertuous and just men, how many Saints, how many Martyrs, how many of the Antient Fathers of the Church, have had their sundry perilous Opinions: and amongst sundry of their Opinions this, that they hoped to make God some part of amends for their sinnes, by the voluntary punishment which they laid upon themselves, because by a Consequent it may follow hereupon, that they were injurious unto Christ: shall we therefore make such deadly Epitaphs, and set them upon their Graves, *They denied the foundation of Faith directly, they are damned, there is no Salvation for them?* Saint *Austin* saith of himself, *Errare possum, Hæreticus esse nolo.* And, except we put a difference between them that erre, and them that obstinately persist in Errour, how is it possible that ever any man should hope to be saved? Surely, in this Case, I have no respect of any Person either alive or dead. Give me a man, of what estate or condition soever, yea, a Cardinal or a Pope, whom in the extreme point of his life affliction hath made to know himself, whose heart God hath touched with true sorrow for all his sinnes, and filled with love towards the Gospel of Christ, whose eyes are opened to see the Truth, and his mouth to renounce all Heresie and Errour, any wise opposite thereunto: This one opinion of Merits excepted, he thinketh God will require at his hands, and because he wanteth, therefore trembleth, and is discouraged; it may be I am forgetful, and unskilful, not furnished with things new and old, as a wise and learned Scribe should be, nor able to alledge that, whereunto, if it were alledged, he doth bear a minde most willing to yield, and so to be recalled, as well from this, as from other Errours: And shall I think, because of this onely Errour, that such a man toucheth not so much as the hem of Christ's garment? If he do, Wherefore should not I have hope, that vertue may proceed from Christ to save him? Because his Errour doth by consequent overthrow his Faith, shall I therefore cast him off, as one that hath utterly cast off Christ? one that holdeth not so much as by a slender thred? No, I will not be afraid to say unto a Pope or Cardinal in this plight, Be of good comfort, we have to do with a merciful God, ready to make the best of a little which we hold well, and not with a captious Sophister, which gathereth the worst out of every thing wherein we erre. Is there any Reason, that I should be suspected, or you offended for this speech? Is it a dangerous thing to imagine that such men may finde mercy? The hour may come, when we shall think it a blessed thing to hear, that if our sinnes were the sinnes of the Pope and Cardinals, the bowels of the mercy of God are larger. I do not propose unto you a Pope with the neck of an Emperour under his feet; a Cardinal, riding his horse to the bridle in the blood of Saints: but a Pope or a Cardinal sorrowful, penitent, dis-robed, stript, not onely of usurped power, but also delivered and recalled from Error and Antichrist, converted and lying prostrate at the foot of Christ: and shall I think that Christ shall spurn at him? and shall I cross and gain-say the merciful promises of God, generally made unto penitent sinners, by opposing the name of a Pope or Cardinal? What difference is there in the world between a Pope and a Cardinal, and *John a Stile* in this Case? If we think it impossible for them, if they be once come within that rank, to be afterwards touched with any such remorse, let that be granted. The Apostle saith, *If I, or an Angel from heaven preach unto, &c.* Let it be as likely, that S. *Paul*, or an Angel from Heaven should preach Heresie, as that a *Pope* or *Cardinal* should be brought so farr forth to acknowledge the truth: yet if a *Pope* or *Cardinal* should, what finde we in their Persons why they might not be saved? It is not the Persons you will say, but the Errour wherein I suppose them to dye, which excludeth them from the hope of mercy; the opinion of merits doth take away all possibility of Salvation from them. What if they hold it onely as an Errour? Although they hold the truth truly and sincerely in all other parts of Christian Faith? Although they have in some measure all the Vertues and Graces of the Spirit, all other tokens of God's Elect Children in them? Although they be farr from having any proud presumptuous opinion, that they shall be saved by the worthiness of their deeds? Although the onely thing which troubleth

Let all Affection be laid aside; Let the Matter indifferently be considered.

and moleſted them, be but a little too much dejection, ſomewhat too great a fear, riſing from an erroneous conceit, that God would require a worthineſſe in them, which they are grieved to finde wanting in themſelves? Although they be not obſtinate in this perſwaſion? Although they be willing, and would be glad to forſake it, if any one reaſon were brought ſufficient to diſpove it? Although the onely left; why they doe not forſake it, ere they dye, be the ignorance of the means, by which it might be diſproved? Although the cauſe why the ignorance in this point is not removed, be the want of knowledge in ſuch as ſhould be able, and are not, to remove it? Let me dye, if ever it be proved, that ſimply an Errour doth exclude a Pope or a Cardinal in ſuch a caſe, utterly from hope of life. Surely, I muſt confeſſe unto you, if it be an Errour, that God may be merciful to ſave men even when they erre, my greateſt Comfort is my Errour; were it not for the love I bear unto this Errour, I would never wiſh to ſpeak, nor to live.

36. Wherefore to reſume that mother-Sentence, whereof I little thought that ſo much trouble would have grown, *I doubt not but that God was merciful to ſave thouſands of our Fathers, living in Popiſh Superſtitions, inaſmuch as they ſinned ignorantly.* Alas! what bloody matter is there contained in this Sentence, that it ſhould be an occaſion of ſo many hard Cenſures? Did I ſay, that *thouſands of our Fathers might be ſaved?* I have ſhewed which way it cannot be denied. Did I ſay, *I doubt not but they were ſaved?* I ſee no impiety in this Perſwaſion, though I had no reaſon for it. Did I ſay, *Their ignorance did make me hope they did finde mercy, and ſo were ſaved?* What hindreth Salvation but Sinne? Sinnes are not equal; and Ignorance, though it doth not make Sinne to be no Sinne, yet ſeeing it did make their ſinne the leſs, why ſhould it not make our hope concerning their life, the greater? We pity the moſt, and doubt not but God hath moſt compaſſion over them that ſinne for want of underſtanding. As much is confeſſed by ſundry others, almoſt in the ſelf-ſame words which I have uſed. It is but onely my evil hap, that the ſame Sentences which ſavour Verity in other mens books, ſhould ſeem to bolſter Hereſie, when they are once by me recited. If I be deceived in this point, not they, but the bleſſed Apoſtle hath deceived me. What I ſaid of others, the ſame he ſaid of himſelf, *I obtained mercy for I did it ignorantly.* Conſtrue his words, and you cannot miſconſtrue mine. I ſpake no otherwiſe, I meant no otherwiſe, than he did.

37. Thus have I brought the queſtion concerning our Fathers, at length, unto an end. Of whoſe eſtate, upon ſo fit an occaſion as was offered me, handling the weighty cauſes of ſeparation between the Church of *Rome* and us, and the weak motives which are commonly brought to retain men in that Society; amongſt which motives, the examples of our Fathers deceaſed is one; although I ſaw it convenient to utter the Sentence which I did, to the end that all men might thereby underſtand, how untruly we are ſaid to condemn as many as have been before us otherwiſe perſwaded than we our ſelves are; yet more than that one Sentence, I did not think it expedient to utter, judging it a great deal meeter for us to have regard to our own eſtate, than to ſift over-curiouſly what is become of other men. And fearing, leſt that ſuch queſtions as theſe, if voluntarily they ſhould be too farr waded in, might ſeem worthy of that rebuke, which our Saviour thought needfull in a caſe not unlike, *What is this unto thee?* When I was forced, much beſide my expectation, to render a reaſon of my ſpeech, I could not but yield at the Call of others, and proceed ſo farr as Duty bound me, for the fuller ſatisfying of mindes. Wherein I have walked, as with Reverence, ſo with Fear: with Reverence, in regard of our Fathers, which lived in former times; not without Fear, conſidering them that are alive.

38. I am not ignorant, how ready men are to feed and ſooth up themſelves in evil. Shall I (will the man ſay, that loveth the preſent World, more than he loveth Chriſt) ſhall I incurr the high diſpleaſure of the mightieſt upon Earth? Shall I hazard my Goods, endanger my Eſtate, put my ſelf into jeopardy, rather than to yield to that which ſo many of my Fathers imbraced, and yet found favour in the ſight of God, *Curſe ye Meroz*, ſaith the Lord, *curſe her Inhabitants, becauſe they helped not the Lord, they helped him not againſt the Mighty.* If I ſhould not onely not help the Lord

Lord againſt the Mighty, but help to ſtrengthen them that are mighty, againſt the Lord; worthily might I fall under the burthen of that Curſe, worthy I were to bear to bear my own Judgement: But, if the Doctrine which I teach, be a flower gathered in the Garden of the Lord; a part of the ſaving Truth of the Goſpel; from whence notwithſtanding, poyſonous Creatures do ſuck venom: I can but wiſh it were otherwiſe, and content my ſelf with the lott that hath befallen me, the rather, becauſe it hath not befallen me alone. Saint *Paul* taught a Truth, and a comfortable truth, when he taught, that the greater our miſery is, in reſpect of our Iniquities, the readier is the mercy of God for our releaſe. If we ſeek unto him, the more we have ſinned, the more praiſe, and glory, and honour unto him that pardoneth our ſinne. But mark what lewd Collections were made hereupon by ſome: *Why then am I condemned for a Sinner?* And the Apoſtle (as we are blamed, and as ſome affirm that we ſay, *Why doe we not evil that good may come of it?*) he was accuſed to teach that which ill-diſpoſed People did gather by his teaching, though it were clean not onely beſides, but againſt his meaning. The Apoſtle addeth, *Their Condemnation* (which thus doe) *is juſt.* I am not haſty to apply Sentences of Condemnation. I wiſh from mine Heart their Converſion, whoſoever are thus perverſly affected. For I muſt needs ſay, Their Caſe is fearful, their Eſtate dangerous, which harden themſelves, preſuming on the mercy of God towards others. It is true, that God is merciful, but let us beware of preſumptuous ſinnes. God delivered *Jonah* from the bottome of the Sea, will you therefore caſt your ſelves head-long from the tops of Rocks, and ſay in your Hearts, God ſhall deliver us? He pitieth the Blinde that would gladly ſee; but will he pity him that may ſee, and hardeneth himſelf in blindeneſſe? No, Chriſt hath ſpoken too much unto you, to claim the priviledge of your Fathers.

39. As for us that have handled this Cauſe concerning the condition of our Fathers, whether it be this thing or any other, which we bring unto you, the Counſel is good which the Wiſe man giveth, *Stand thou faſt in thy ſure underſtanding, in the way and knowledge of the Lord, and have but one manner of word, and follow the Word of peace and righteouſneſſe.* As a looſe tooth is a grief to him that eateth: ſo doth a wavering and unſtable word in ſpeech, that tendeth to inſtruction, offend. *Shall a wiſe man ſpeak words of the winde*, ſaith *Eliphaz*, leight, unconſtant, unſtable words? Surely the wiſeſt may ſpeak words of the winde, ſuch is the untoward Conſtitution of our nature, that we doe neither ſo perfectly underſtand the way and knowledge of the Lord, nor ſo ſtedfaſtly imbrace it when it is underſtood; nor ſo graciouſly utter it, when it is imbraced; nor ſo peaceably maintain it, when it is uttered; but that the beſt of us are over-taken ſometime through blindeneſſe, ſometime through haſtineſſe, ſometime through impatience, ſometimes through other paſſions of the minde, whereunto (God doth know) we are too ſubject. We muſt therefore be contented both to pardon others, and to crave that others may pardon us for ſuch things. Let no man, that ſpeaketh as a man, think himſelf, while he liveth, alwayes freed from ſcapes and over-ſights in his ſpeech. The things themſelves which I have ſpoken unto you are ſound, howſoever they have ſeemed otherwiſe unto ſome: at whoſe hands I have, in that reſpect, received Injury. I willingly forget it: although indeed, conſidering the benefit which I have reaped by this neceſſary ſpeech of Truth, I rather incline to that of the Apoſtle, *They have not injured me at all.* I have cauſe to wiſh them as many Bleſſings in the Kingdom of Heaven, as they have forced me to utter words and ſyllables in this Cauſe; wherein I could not be more ſparing of ſpeech than I have been. *It becommeth no man*, ſaith Saint *Jerom*, *to be patient in the crime of Hereſie.* Patient, as I take it, we ſhould be alwayes, though the crime of Hereſie were intended; but ſilent in a thing of ſo great Conſequence I could not, beloved, I durſt not be; eſpecially the love which I bear to the truth of Chriſt Jeſus, being hereby ſomewhat called in queſtion. Whereof I beſeech them in the meekneſſe of Chriſt, that have been the firſt original cauſe, to conſider that a Watch-man may cry (*an Enemy*) when indeed a Friend commeth. In which Cauſe, as I deem ſuch a Watch-man more

worthy to be loved for his Care, than mis-liked for his Errour: So I have judged it my own part in this, as much as in me lyeth, to take away all suspition of any unfriendly intent or meaning against the Truth, from which, God doth know, my heart is free.

40. Now to you, Beloved, which have heard these things, I will use no other words of admonition, than those that are offered me by St. *James*; *My Brethren, have not the Faith of our glorious Lord Jesus, in respect of Persons.* Ye are not now to learn, that as of it self it is not hurtful, so neither should it be to any scandalous and offensive in doubtful cases, to hear the different judgments of men. Be it that *Cephas* hath hath one interpretation, and *Apollos* hath another; that *Paul* is of this minde, and *Barnabas* of that; if this offend you, the fault is yours. Carry peaceable mindes, and you may have comfort by this variety.

Now the God of Peace, give you peaceable mindes, and turn it to your everlasting comfort.

A LEARNED SERMON OF THE NATURE OF PRIDE.

HABAK. 2. 4.

His mind ſwelleth, and is not right in him: But the Juſt by his Faith ſhall live.

THE nature of Man being much more delighted to be led than drawn, doth many times ſtubbornly reſiſt Authority, when to Perſwaſion it eaſily yieldeth. Whereupon the Wiſeſt Law-makers have endeavoured always, that thoſe Laws might ſeem moſt reaſonable, which they would have moſt inviolably kept. A Law ſimply commanding or forbidding, is but dead in compariſon of that which expreſſeth the reaſon wherefore it doth the one or the other. And ſurely, even in the Laws of God, although that he hath given Commandment, be in it ſelf a reaſon ſufficient to exact all obedience at the hands of men; yet a forcible inducement it is to obey with greater alacrity and chearfulneſſe of minde, when we ſee plainly, that nothing is impoſed more than we muſt needs yield unto, except we will be unreaſonable. In a word, whatſoever be taught, be it Precept for direction of our Manners; or Article for inſtruction of our Faith; or documenr any way for information of our mindes, it then taketh root and abideth, when we conceive not onely what God doth ſpeak, but why. Neither is it a ſmall thing, which we derogate as well from the honour of his Truth,

Truth, as from the comfort, joy and delight which we our ſelves ſhould take by it, when we looſely ſlide over his ſpeech, as though it were as our own is, commonly vulgar and trivial: Whereas he uttereth nothing but it hath, beſides the ſubſtance of Doctrine delivered, a depth of wiſdom, in the very choice and frame of words to deliver it in: The reaſon whereof being not perceived, but by greater intention of brain, than our nice mindes for the moſt part can well away with; fain we would bring the World, if we might, to think it but a needleſs curioſity, to rip up any thing further than extemporal readineſs of wit doth ſerve to reach unto. Which courſe, if here we did liſt to follow, we might tell you, that in the firſt branch of this Sentence, God doth condemn the *Babylonian*'s pride; and in the ſecond teach, what happineſs of ſtate ſhall grow to the righteous by the conſtancy of their Faith, notwithſtanding the troubles which now they ſuffer; and after certain notes of wholſome inſtruction hereupon collected, paſs over without detaining your mindes in any further removed ſpeculation. But, as I take it, there is a difference between the talk that beſeemeth Nurſes among Children, and that which men of Capacity and Judgment do or ſhould receive inſtruction by.

The minde of the Prophet being erected with that which hath been hitherto ſpoken, receiveth here for full ſatisfaction a ſhort abridgement of that which is afterwards more particularly unfolded. Wherefore as the queſtion before diſputed of doth concern two ſorts of men, the Wicked flouriſhing as the Bay, and the righteous like the withered Graſs; the one full of pride, the other caſt down with utter diſcouragement: ſo the anſwer which God doth make for reſolution of doubts hereupon ariſen, hath reference unto both ſorts, and this preſent ſentence containing a brief Abſtract thereof comprehendeth ſummarily as well the fearful eſtate of iniquity over-exalted, as the hope laid up for righteouſneſs oppreſt. In the former branch of which Sentence, let us firſt examine what this rectitude or ſtraitneſs importeth, which God denieth to be in the minde of the *Babylonian*. All things which God did create, he made them at the firſt, true, good, and right. True, in reſpect of correſpondence unto that pattern of their Being, which was eternally drawn in the Counſel of God's fore-knowledge; Good, in regard of the uſe and benefit which each thing yieldeth unto other; Right, by an apt conformity of all parts with that end which is outwardly propoſed for each thing to tend unto. Other things have ends propoſed, but have not the faculty to know, judge, and eſteem of them, and therefore as they tend thereunto unwittingly, ſo likewiſe in the means whereby they acquire their appointed ends, they are by neceſſity ſo held, that they cannot divert from them. The ends why the Heavens do move, the Heavens themſelves know not, and their motions they cannot but continue. Only men in all their actions know what it is which they ſeek for, neither are they by any ſuch neceſſity tyed naturally unto any certain determinate mean to obtain their end by, but that they may, if they will, forſake it. And therefore in the whole World, no Creature but onely man, which hath the laſt end of his actions propoſed as a recompence and reward, whereunto his minde directly bending it ſelf, is termed right or ſtrait, otherwiſe perverſe.

To make this ſomewhat more plain, we muſt note, that as they which travel from City to City, enquire ever for the ſtraighteſt way, becauſe the ſtreighteſt is that which ſooneſt bringeth them unto their journeys end: So we having here, as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh, no abiding City, but being always in travel towards that place of joy, immortality, and reſt, cannot but in every of our deeds, words, and thoughts, think that to be beſt, which with moſt expedition leadeth us thereunto, and is for that very cauſe termed right. That Soveraign good, which is the eternal fruition of all good, being our laſt and chiefeſt felicity, there is no deſperate Deſpiſer of God and godlineſs living, which doth not wiſh for. The difference between right and crooked mindes, is in the means which the one or the other eſchew or follow. Certain it is, that all particular things which are naturally deſired in the world, as Food, Rayment, Honor, Wealth, Pleaſure, Knowledge, they are ſubordinated in ſuch wiſe unto that future Good which we look for in the World to come, that even in them there lyeth a direct way tending unto this. Otherwiſe we muſt think, that God making promiſes of good things in this life, did ſeek to pervert men, and to lead them from their right minds. Where is then the obliquity of the minde of man? his minde is perverſe,

verſe, cam, and crooked, not when it bendeth it ſelf unto any of theſe things, but when it bendeth ſo, that it ſwerveth either to the right hand or to the left, by exceſs or defect, from that exact rule whereby Human actions are meaſured. The rule to meaſure and judge them by, is the Law of God. For this cauſe, the Prophet doth make ſo often and ſo earneſt ſuit, *O direct me in the way of thy Commandments: As long as I have reſpect to thy Statutes, I am ſure not to tread amiſs.* Under the name of the *Law*, we muſt comprehend not only that which God hath written in Tables and Leaves, but that which Nature alſo hath engraven in the hearts of men. Elſe how ſhould thoſe Heathens which never had Books, but Heaven and Earth to look upon, be convicted of Perverſeneſs? *But the Gentiles which had not the Law in Books, had,* ſaith the Apoſtle, *the effect of the Law written in their hearts.*

Then ſeeing that the heart of man is not right exactly, unleſs it be found in all parts ſuch, that God examining and calling it unto account with all ſeverity of rigour, be not able once to charge it with declining or ſwarving aſide, (which abſolute perfection when did God ever finde in the Sons of mere mortal men?) Doth it not follow, that all Fleſh muſt of neceſſity fall down and confeſs, We are not duſt and aſhes, but worſe, our mindes from the higheſt to the loweſt are not right? If not right, then undoubtedly not capable of that bleſſedneſs which we naturally ſeek, but ſubject unto that which we moſt abhorr, Anguiſh, Tribulation, Death, Wo, endleſs Miſery. For whatſoever miſſeth the way of Life, the iſſue thereof cannot be but Perdition. By which reaſon, all being wrapped up in ſinne, and made thereby the Children of Death, the mindes of all men being plainly convicted not to be right; ſhall we think that God hath indued them with ſo many excellencies, more not onely than any, but then all the Creatures in the World beſides, to leave them in ſuch eſtate, that they had been happier if they they had never been? Here commeth neceſſarily in a new way unto Salvation, ſo that they which were in the other perverſe, may in this be found ſtrait and righteous. That the way of Nature; this the way of Grace. The end of that way, Salvation merited, preſuppoſing the righteouſneſs of mens works; their Righteouſneſs, a natural hability to do them; that hability, the goodneſs of God which created them in ſuch perfection. But the end of this way, Salvation beſtowed upon men as a Gift, preſuppoſing not their righteouſneſs, but the forgiveneſs of their unrighteouſneſs, Juſtification; their Juſtification, not their natural ability to do good, but their hearty ſorrow for their not doing, and unfeigned belief in him, for whoſe ſake not-doers are accepted, which is their Vocation; their Vocation, the Election of God, taking them out from the number of loſt Children; their Election a Mediator in whom to be elect: This Mediation, inexplicable Mercy; his Mercy, their Miſery, for whom he vouchſafed to make himſelf a Mediator. The want of exact diſtinguiſhing between theſe two wayes, and obſerving what they have common, what peculiar, hath been the cauſe of the greateſt part of that confuſion whereof Chriſtianity at this day laboureth. The lack of diligence in ſearching, laying down, and inuring mens mindes with thoſe hidden grounds of Reaſon, whereupon the leaſt particular in each of theſe are moſt firmly and ſtrongly builded, is the onely reaſon of all thoſe ſcruples and uncertainties wherewith we are in ſuch ſort intangled, that a number deſpair of ever diſcerning what is right or wrong in any thing. But we will let this matter reſt, whereinto we ſtepped to ſearch out a way how ſome mindes may be, and are right truly, even in the ſight of God, though they be ſimply in themſelves not right.

a new way to Salvation. i.e away of grace. no pre-supposed righteousn. of down ye cause of ye election or justification &c

Wt is Election? Ans. Gods taking some out from ye number of lost children.

Howbeit, there is not onely this difference between the juſt and impious, that the minde of the one is right in the ſight of God, becauſe his obliquity is not imputed; the other perverſe, becauſe his ſin is unrepented of: but even as lines that are drawn with a trembling hand, but yet to the point which they ſhould, are thought ragged and uneven, nevertheleſs direct in compariſon of them which run clean another way; ſo there is no incongruity in terming them right-minded men, whom though God may charge with many things amiſs, yet they are not as thoſe hideous and ugly Monſters, in whom, becauſe there is nothing but wilful oppoſition of minde againſt God, a more than tolerable deformity is noted in them, by ſaying, that their mindes are not right. The Angel of the Church of *Thyatyra*, unto whom the Son of God ſendeth this greeting, *I know thy works, and thy love, and ſervice, and faith, notwithſtanding, I have a*

few

few things against thee, was not as he unto whom Saint *Peter*, *Thou hast no fellowship in this busines, for thy heart is not right in the sight of God.* So that whereas the orderly disposition of the minde of man should be this; Perturbation, and sensual Appetites all kept in awe by a moderate and sober will, in all things framed by Reason; Reason, directed by the Law of God and Nature; this *Babylonian* had his minde, as it were, turned upside down: In him unreasonable cecity and blindnesse trampled all Laws both of God and Nature under feet; Wilfulness tyrannized over Reason; and Brutish Sensuality over Will: An evident token, that his out-rage would work his overthrow, and procure his speedy ruine. The Mother whereof was that which the Prophet in these words signified, *His minde doth swell.*

Immoderate swelling, a token of very eminent breach, and of inevitable destruction: Pride, a vice which cleaveth so fast unto the hearts of men, that if we were to strip our selves of all faults one by one, we should undoubtedly finde it the very last and hardest to put off. But I am not here to touch the secret itching humour of vanity wherewith men are generally touched. It was a thing more than meanly inordinate, wherewith the *Babylonian* did swell. Which that we may both the better conceive, and the more easily reap profit by the nature of this vice, which setteth the whole World out of course, and hath put so many even of the wisest besides themselves, is first of all to be inquired into. Secondly, the dangers to be discovered, which it draweth inevitably after it, being not cured. And last of all, the ways to cure it.

Whether we look upon the gifts of Nature, or of Grace, or whatsoever is in the World admired as a part of man's excellency, adorning his Body, beautifying his Minde, or externally any way commending him in the account and opinion of men, there is in every kinde somewhat possible which no man hath, and somewhat had which few men can attain unto. By occasion whereof, there groweth disparagement necessarily; and by occasion of disparagement, Pride through mens ignorance. First therefore, although men be not proud of any thing which is not, at lest in opinion good, yet every good thing they are not proud of, but onely of that which neither is common unto many, and being desired of all, causeth them which have it, to be honoured above the rest. Now there is no man so void of brain, as to suppose that Pride consisteth in the bare possession of such things; for then to have Vertue were a Vice, and they should be the happiest men who are most wretched, because they have least of that which they would have. And though in speech we do intimate a kinde of vanity to be in them of whom we say, *They are Wise men and they know it*, yet this doth not prove, That every Wiseman is proud which doth not think himself to be blockish. What we may have and know that we have it without offence, do we then make offensive, when we take joy and delight in having it? What difference between men enriched with all abundance of earthly and heavenly Blessings, and Idols gorgeously attired, but this, *The one takes pleasures in that which they have, the other none?* If we may be possest with Beauty, Strength, Riches, Power, Knowledge, if we may be privy to what we are every way, if glad and joyful for our own wel-fare, and in all this remain unblameable; nevertheless some there are, who granting thus much, doubt whether it may stand with humility to accept those testimonies of Praise and Commendation, those Titles, Rooms, and other Honours which the World yieldeth, as acknowledgements of some mens excellencies above others. For inasmuch as Christ hath said unto those that are his; *The Kings of the Gentiles raign over them, and they that bear rule over them are called, Gracious Lords; Be ye not so:* the Anabaptist hereupon urgeth equality amongst Christians, as if all exercise of Authority were nothing else but Heathenish Pride. Our Lord and Saviour had no such meaning. But his Disciples feeding themselves with a vain imagination for the time, that the Messias of the World should in *Jerusalem* erect his Throne, and exercise Dominion with great pomp and outward statelinesse, advanced in honour and Terrene Power above all the Princes of the Earth, began to think how with their Lord's condition, their own would also rise: that having left and forsaken all to follow him, their Place about him should not be mean: and because they were many, it troubled them much, which of them should be the greatest man. When suit was made

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for two by name, that of them one might sit at his right hand, and the other at his left; the rest began to stomack, each taking it grievously, that any should have what all did affect; their Lord and Master, to correct this humour, turneth aside their cogitations from these vain and fansieful conceits, giving them plainly to understand, that they did but deceive themselves. His coming was not to purchase an earthly, but to bestow an heavenly Kingdom, wherein they (if any) shall be greatest, whom unfeigned Humility maketh in this World lowest, and least amongst others: *Ye are they which have continued with me in my temptations, therefore I leave unto you a Kingdom, as my Father hath appointed me, that ye may eat and drink at my Table in my Kingdom, and sit on Seats, and judge the twelve Tribes of Israel.* But my Kingdom is no such Kingdom as ye dream of. And therefore these hungry ambitious contentions are seemlier in Heathens, than in you. Wherefore from Christ's intent and purpose nothing is further removed, than dislike of distinction in Titles and Callings annexed for Order's sake unto Authority, whether it be Ecclesiastical or Civil. And when we have examined throughly what the nature of this Vice is, no man knowing it, can be so simple, as not to see an ugly shape thereof apparent many times in rejecting Honours offered, more than in the very exacting of them at the hands of men. For as *Judas* his care for the Poor was meer covetousnes; and that frank-hearted wastfulnes spoken of in the Gospel, thrift; so, there is no doubt, but that going in raggs may be Pride, and Thrones be cloathed with unfeigned humility.

We must go further therefore and enter somewhat deeper, before we can come to the Closet wherein this Poyson lyeth. There is in the heart of every proud man, first, an errour of understanding; a vain opinion whereby he thinketh his own excellency, and by reason thereof, his worthiness of estimation, regard and honour, to be greater than in truth it is. This maketh him, in all his affections, accordingly to raise up himself, and by his inward affections his outward acts are fashioned. Which, if you list to have exemplified, you may either by calling to minde things spoken of them, whom God himself hath in Scripture specially noted with this fault; or, by presenting to your secret cogitations that which you daily behold in the odious lives and manners of high-minded men. It were too long to gather together so plentiful an harvest of examples in this kinde as the sacred Scripture affordeth. That which we drink in at our ears, doth not so piercingly enter, as that which the minde doth conceive by sight. Is there any thing written concerning the *Assyrian* Monarch in the tenth of *Esay*, of his swelling minde, his haughty looks, his great and presumptuous taunts: *By the power of mine own hand I have done all things, and by mine own wisdom I have subdued the World?* Any thing concerning the Dames of *Sion*, in the third of the Prophet *Esay*, of their stretched-out Necks, their immodest Eyes, their Pageant-like, stately, and pompous Gate? Any thing concerning the practises of *Corah*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, of their impatience to live in subjection, their mutinies, repining at lawful Authority, their grudging against their Superiours Ecclesiastical and Civil? Any thing concerning Pride in any sort of Sect, which the present face of the World doth not, as in a glass, represent to the view of all mens beholding? So that if Books, both prophane and holy, were all lost, as long as the manners of men retain the estate they are in: for him that observeth, how that when men have once conceived an over-weening of themselves, it maketh them in all their affections to swell, how deadly their hatred, how heavy their displeasure, how un-appeaseable their indignation and wrath is above other mens, in what manner they compose themselvs to be as *Heteroclits*, without the compass of all such Rules as the common sort are measured by; how the Oaths which religious hearts do tremble at, they affect as principal graces of speech; what felicity they take to see the enormity of their crimes above the reach of Laws and punishments; how much it delighteth them when they are able to appale with the cloudiness of their looks; how far they exceed the terms wherewith man's nature should be limited; how high they bear their heads over others; how they brow-beat all men which do not receive their Sentences as Oracles, with marvellous applause and approbation; how they look upon no man, but with an indirect countenance, nor hear any thing saving their own praise, with patience, nor speak without scornfulnes and disdain; how they use their Servants, as if they were Beasts, their Inferiors as Servants, their Equals as Inferiors, and as for Superiors they acknowledg none; how they admire themselves as venerable, puissant, wise, circumspect, provident, every

way great, taking all men beſides themſelves for cyphers, poor, inglorious, ſilly creatures, needleſs burthens of the earth, off-ſcowrings, nothing: in a word, for him which marketh how irregular and exorbitant they are in all things, it can be no hard thing hereby to gather, that Pride is nothing but an inordinate elation of the minde, proceeding from a falſe conceit of mens excellency in things honored, which accordingly frameth alſo their deeds and behaviour, unleſs they be cunning to conceal it; For a foul ſcarr may be covered with a fair cloath: And, as proud as *Lucifer*, may be in outward appearance lowly.

2 No man expecteth Grapes of Thiſtles; nor from a thing of ſo bad a nature, can other than ſuitable fruits be looked for. What harm ſoever in private Families there groweth by diſobedience of Children, ſtubbornneſs of Servants, untractableneſs in them who although they otherwiſe may rule, yet ſhould, in conſideration of the imparity of their ſex, be alſo ſubject; whatſoever, by ſtrife amongſt men combined in the fellowſhip of greater Societies, by tyranny of Potentates, ambition of Nobles, rebellion of Subjects in Civil States; by Hereſies, Schiſms, Diviſions in the Church; naming Pride, we name the Mother which brought them forth, and the onely Nurſe that feedeth them. Give me the hearts of all men humbled; and what is there that can overthrow or diſturb the peace of the World? Wherein many things are the cauſe of much evil; but Pride, of all.

To declaim of the ſwarms of Evils iſſuing out of Pride, is an eaſie labour. I rather wiſh, that I could exactly preſcribe, and perſwade effectually the remedies, whereby a ſore ſo grievous might be cured, and the means how the pride of ſwelling mindes might be taken down. Whereunto ſo much we have already gained, that the evidence of the Cauſe, which breedeth it, pointeth directly unto the likelieſt and fitteſt helps to take it away: Diſeaſes that come of fulneſs, emptineſs muſt remove. Pride is not cured, but by abating the Errour which cauſeth the Minde to ſwell. Then ſeeing that they ſwell by miſ-conceit of their own excellency; for this cauſe, all which tend to the beating down of their Pride, whether it be advertiſement from men, or from God himſelf chaſtiſement; it then maketh them ceaſe to be proud, when it cauſeth them to ſee their errour in over-ſeeing the thing they were proud of. At this mark *Job*, in his Apology unto his eloquent Friends, aimeth. For perceiving how much they delighted to hear themſelves talk, as if they had given their poor afflicted familiar a ſchooling of marvellous deep and rare inſtruction, as if they had taught him more than all the World beſides could acquaint him with: his Anſwer was to this effect: Ye ſwell, as though ye had conceived ſome great matter; but as for that which ye are delivered of, who knoweth it not? Is any man ignorant of theſe things? At the ſame mark the bleſſed Apoſtle driveth: Ye abound in all things, ye are rich, ye raign, and would to Chriſt we did raign with you: But boaſt not. For what have ye, or are ye of your ſelves? To this mark, all thoſe humble Confeſſions are referred, which have been always frequent in the mouths of Saints, truly wading in the tryal of themſelves: as that of the Prophet's, *We are nothing but ſoreneſs and feſtered corruption:* our very light is darkneſs, and our righteouſneſs it ſelf unrighteouſneſs; That of GREGORY, *Let no man ever put confidence in his own deſerts; Sordet in conſpectu Judicis, quod fulget in conſpectu operantis*, In the ſight of the dreadful Judge, it is noyſom, which in the doer's judgment maketh a beautiful ſhew: That of ANSELM, *I adore thee, I bleſs thee, Lord God of Heaven, and Redeemer of the World, with all the power, ability, and ſtrength of my heart and ſoul, for thy goodneſs ſo unmeaſurably extended; not in regard of my merits, whereunto onely torments were due, but of thy mere unprocured benignity.* If theſe Fathers ſhould be raiſed again from the duſt, and have the Books laid open before them, wherein ſuch Sentences are found as this: *Works no other than the value, deſert, price, and worth of the joyes of the kingdom of Heaven; Heaven, in relation to our works, as the very ſtipend, which the hired Labourer covenanteth to have of him whoſe work he doth, as a thing equally and juſtly anſwering unto the time and waight of his travels, rather than to a voluntary or bountiful gift.* If, I ſay, thoſe reverend fore-rehearſed Fathers, whoſe Books are ſo full of Sentences, witneſſing their Chriſtian humility, ſhould be raiſed from the dead, and behold with their eyes ſuch things written; would they not plainly pronounce of the Authors of ſuch Writs, that they were fuller of *Lucifer* than of Chriſt; that they were proud-hearted men, and carried more ſwelling mindes than ſincerely and feelingly known Chriſtianity can tolerate?

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But as unruly Children, with whom wholsom admonition prevaileth little, are notwithstanding brought to fear that ever after, which they have once well smarted for; so the Mind which falleth not with Instruction, yet under the rod of Divine chastisement ceaseth to swell. If therefore the Prophet *David*, instructed by good experience, have acknowledged: Lord, I was even at the point of clean forgetting my self, and so straying from my right minde: but thy Rod hath been my Reformer; it hath been good for me, even as much as my Soul is worth, that I have been with sorrow troubled: If the blessed Apostle did need the corrosive of sharp and bitter strokes, lest his Heart should swell with too great abundance of heavenly Revelations, surely, upon us whatsoever God in this World doth, or shall inflict, it cannot seem more than our Pride doth exact, not only by way of revenge, but of remedy. So hard it is to cure a sore of such qua-
3 lity as Pride is, in as much as that which rooteth out other Vices, causeth this, and (which is even above all conceit) if we were clean from all spot and blemish both, of other faults; of Pride, the fall of Angels doth make it almost a question, whether we might not need a Preservative still, lest we should haply wax proud that we are not proud. What is Vertue, but a medicine, and Vice, but a Wound? Yet we have so often deeply wounded our selves with Medicine; that God hath been fain to make wounds medicinable; to cure by Vice where Vertue hath strucken; to suffer the just man to fall, that being raised, he may be taught what Power it was which upheld him standing: I am not afraid to affirm it boldly with St. *Augustin*, That men puffed up through a proud opinion of their own sanctity and holiness, receive a benefit at the hands of God, and are assisted with his Grace, when with his Grace they are not assisted, but permitted, and that grievously to transgress; whereby, as they were in over-great liking of themselves supplanted, so the dislike of that which did supplant them, may establish them afterwards the surer. Ask the very Soul of *Peter*, and it shall undoubtedly make you it self this Answer; My eager Protestations, made in the glory of my ghostly strength, I am ashamed of; but those Crystal tears wherewith my sin and weakness was bewailed, have procured my endless joy; my Strength hath been my Ruine, and my Fall my Stay.

A REMEDY AGAINST Sorrow and Fear, DELIVERED IN A FUNERAL SERMON.

JOHN 14. 27.

Let not your Hearts be troubled, nor Fear.

THE Holy Apoſtles having gathered themſelves together by the ſpecial appointment of Chriſt, and being in expectation to receive from him ſuch Inſtructions as they had been accuſtomed with, were told, that which they leaſt looked for, namely, That the time of his departure out of the World was now come. Whereupon they fell into conſideration: firſt, of the manifold benefits which his abſence ſhould bereave them of; and ſecondly of the ſundry evils which themſelves ſhould be ſubject unto, being once bereaved of ſo gracious a Maſter and Patron. The one conſideration over-whelmed their Souls with heavineſs: the other with fear. Their Lord and Saviour, whoſe words had caſt down their hearts, raiſeth them preſently again with choſen ſentences of ſweet encouragement. My dear, it is for your own ſakes I leave the World. I know the affections of your hearts are tender, but if your love were directed with that adviſed and ſtaid judgment which ſhould be in you, my ſpeech of leaving the World, and going unto my Father, would not a little augment your joy. Deſolate and comfortleſs I will not leave you; in Spirit I am with you to the Worlds end, whether I be preſent or abſent, nothing ſhall ever take you out of theſe hands: my going is to take poſſeſſion of that, in your names, which is not only for me, but alſo for you prepared; where I am, you ſhall be. In the mean while, *my peace I give, not as the World giveth, give I unto you: Let not your hearts be troubled, nor fear.* The former part of which Sentence having otherwhere already been ſpoken of, this unacceptable occaſion to open the latter part thereof here, I did not look for. But ſo God diſpoſeth the wayes of men. Him I heartily beſeech, that the thing which he hath thus order-

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ed by his Providence, may, through his gracious goodneſſe turn unto your comfort.

Our Nature for coveteth preſervation from things hurtful. Hurtful things being preſent, do breed heavineſs; being future, do cauſe fear. Our Saviour to abate the one, ſpeaketh thus unto his Diſciples: *Let not your Hearts be troubled*; and, to moderate the other, addeth *Fear not*. Grief and heavineſs in the preſence of ſenſible Evils cannot but trouble the mindes of men. It may therefore ſeem that Chriſt required a thing impoſſible. Be not troubled. Why, how could they chooſe? But we muſt note this being natural, and therefore ſimply not reproveable, is in us good or bad, according to the cauſes for which we are grieved, or the meaſure of our grief. It is not my meaning to ſpeak ſo largely of this affection, as to go over all particulars whereby men do one way or other offend in it, but to teach it ſo farr onely as it may cauſe the very Apoſtles equals to ſwerve. Our grief and heavineſs therefore is reproveable, ſometime in reſpect of the cauſe from whence, ſometime in regard of the meaſure whereunto it groweth.

When Chriſt, the life of the World, was led unto cruel death, there followed a number of People and Women, which Women bewayled much his heavy caſe. It was a natural compaſſion which cauſed them, where they ſaw undeſerved miſeries, there to pour forth unreſtrained tears. Nor was this reproved. But in ſuch readineſs to lament where they leſs needed, their blindneſs in not diſcerning that for which they ought much rather to have mourned; this our Saviour a little toucheth, putting them in minde that the tears which were waſted for him, might better have been ſpent upon themſelves. *Daughters of Jeruſalem, weep not for me, weep for your ſelves, and for your children.* It is not, as the Stoicks have imagined, a thing unſeemly for a Wiſe man to be touched with grief of minde: but to be ſorrowful when we leaſt ſhould; and where we ſhould lament, there to laugh, this argueth our ſmall wiſdom. Again, when the Prophet *David* confeſſeth thus of himſelf, *I grieved to ſee the great proſperity of godleſs men, how they flouriſh and go untoucht*, Pſal. 73. Himſelf hereby openeth both our common and his peculiar imperfection, whom this cauſe ſhould not have made ſo penſive. To grieve at this, is to grieve where we ſhould not, becauſe this grief doth riſe from Errour. We erre when we grieve at wicked mens impunity and proſperity, becauſe their Eſtate being rightly diſcerned, they neither proſper nor go unpuniſhed. It may ſeem a Paradox, it is truth, That no wicked man's eſtate is proſperous, fortunate, or happy. For what though they bleſs themſelves, and think their happineſſe great? Have not frantick Perſons many times a great opinion of their own wiſdome? It may be that ſuch as they think themſelves, others alſo do account them. But what others? Surely ſuch as themſelves are. Truth and Reaſon diſcerneth farr otherwiſe of them. Unto whom the Jews wiſh all proſperity, unto them the phraſe of their ſpeech is to wiſh Peace. Seeing then the name of Peace containeth in it all parts of true happineſs, when the Prophet ſaith plainly, That the Wicked have no peace, how can we think them to have any part of other than vainly imagined Felicity? What wiſe man did ever account Fools happy? If Wicked men were wiſe, they would ceaſe to be wicked. Their Iniquity therefore proving their Folly, how can we ſtand in doubt of their miſery? They abound in thoſe things which all men deſire. A poor happineſſe to have good things in poſſeſſion, *A man to whom God hath given Riches, and Treaſures, and Honour, ſo that he wanteth nothing for his Soul of all that it deſireth, but yet God giveth him not the power to eat thereof*; ſuch a felicity *Solomon* eſteemeth but as a vanity, a thing of nothing. If ſuch things adde nothing to mens happineſs, where they are not uſed, ſurely Wicked men that uſe them ill, the more they have, the more wretched. Of their Proſperity therefore we ſee what we are to think. Touching their Impunity, the ſame is likewiſe but ſuppoſed. They are oftner plagued than we are aware of. The pangs they feel are not always written in their forehead. Though Wickedneſs be Sugar in their mouths, and Wantonneſs as Oyl to make them look with chearful Countenance, nevertheleſs if their Hearts were diſcloſed, perhaps their glittering ſtate would not greatly be envied. The voyces that have broken out from ſome of them, *O that God had given me a heart ſenſleſs, like the flints in the rocks of ſtone?* which as it can taſte no pleaſure, ſo it feeleth no wo; theſe and the like ſpeeches are Eccluſ. 6. 2.

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ſurely tokens of the curſe which *Zophar* in the Book of *Job* poureth upon the head of the impious man, *He ſhall ſuck the gall of Aſps, and the Viper's tongue ſhall ſlay him.* If this ſeem light, becauſe it is ſecret, ſhall we think they go unpuniſhed, becauſe no apparent Plague is preſently ſeen upon them? The Judgments of God do not always follow crimes, as Thunder doth Lightning; but ſometimes the ſpace of many Ages coming between. When the Sun hath ſhined fair the ſpace of ſix dayes upon their Tabernacle, we know not what Clouds the ſeventh may bring. And when their puniſhment doth come, let them make their account, in the greatneſs of their ſufferings to pay the intereſt of that reſpite which hath been given them. Or if they chance to eſcape clearly in this World, which they ſeldome do; in the Day when the Heavens ſhall ſhrivel as a ſcrowl, and the Mountains move as frighted men out of their places, what Cave ſhall receive them? What Mountain or Rock ſhall they get by intreaty to fall upon them? What covert to hide them from that wrath, which they ſhall neither be able to abide or avoid? No man's miſery therefore being greater than theirs whoſe impiety is moſt fortunate; much more cauſe there is for them to bewail their own infelicity, than for others to be troubled with their proſperous and happy eſtate, as if the hand of the Almighty did not, or would not touch them. For theſe cauſes, and the like unto theſe, therefore, Be not troubled.

Now, though the cauſe of our heavineſs be juſt, yet may not our affections herein be yielded unto with too much indulgency and favour. The grief of Compaſſion, whereby we are touched with the feeling of other mens woes, is of all other leaſt dangerous: Yet this is a lett unto ſundry duties; by this we are apt to ſpare ſometimes where we ought to ſtrike. The grief which our own ſufferings do bring, what temptations have not riſen from it? What great advantage Satan hath taken even by the godly grief of hearty contrition for ſins committed againſt God, the near approaching of ſo many afflicted Souls, whom the conſcience of ſinne hath brought unto the very brink of extreme deſpair, doth but too abundantly ſhew. Theſe things, whereſoever they fall, cannot but trouble and moleſt the minde. Whether we be therefore moved vainly with that which ſeemeth hurtful, and is not; or have juſt cauſe of grief, being preſſed indeed with thoſe things which are grievous, our Saviour's Leſſon is, touching the one, Be not troubled; nor over-troubled for the other. For, though to have no feeling of that which meerly concerneth us, were ſtupidity, nevertheleſs, ſeeing that as the Authour of our Salvation was himſelf Conſecrated by affliction, ſo the way which we are to follow him by, is not ſtrewed with ruſhes, but ſet with thorns; be it never ſo hard to learn, we muſt learn to ſuffer with patience, even that which ſeemeth almoſt impoſſible to be ſuffered, that in the hour when God ſhall call us unto our trial, and turn this honey of peace and pleaſure wherewith we ſwell, into that gall and bitterneſs which Fleſh doth ſhrink to taſte of, nothing may cauſe us in the troubles of our Souls to ſtorm, and grudge, and repine at God, but every Heart be enabled with divinely-inſpired courage, to inculcate unto it ſelf, *Be not troubled*; and in thoſe laſt and greateſt Conflicts to remember, that nothing may be ſo ſharp and bitter to be ſuffered, but that ſtill we our ſelves may give our ſelves this encouragement, *Even learn alſo patience, O my Soul.*

Naming Patience, I name that vertue which onely hath power to ſtay our Souls from being over-exceſſively troubled: A vertue, wherein, if ever any, ſurely that Soul had good experience, which extremity of pains, having chaſed out of the Tabernacle of this Fleſh, Angels, I nothing doubt, have carried into the boſom of her Father *Abraham.* The death of the Saints of God is precious in his ſight. And ſhall it ſeem unto us ſuperfluous at ſuch times as theſe are, to hear in what manner they have ended their lives? The Lord himſelf hath not diſdained ſo exactly to regiſter in the Book of Life, after what ſort his Servants have cloſed up their dayes on Earth, that he deſcendeth even to their very meaneſt actions, what meat they have longed for in their Sickneſſe, what they have ſpoken unto their Children, Kinsfolks, and Friends, where they have willed their dead Carkaſſes to be laid, how they have framed their Wills and Teſtaments; yea, the very turning of their Faces to this ſide or that, the ſetting of their Eyes, the

degrees

degrees whereby their natural Heat hath departed from them, their Cryes, their Groans, their Pantings, Breathings, and Laſt-gaſpings, he hath moſt ſolemnly commended unto the memory of all Generations. The care of the living both to live and dye well, muſt needs be ſomewhat encreaſed, when they know that their departure ſhall not be foulded up in ſilence, but the ears of many be made acquainted with it. Again, when they hear how mercifully God hath dealt with others in the hour of their laſt need, beſides the praiſe which they give to God, and the joy which they have, or ſhould have, by reaſon of their Fellowſhip and Communion of Saints, is not their hope alſo much confirmed againſt the day of their own diſſolution? Finally, the ſound of theſe things doth not ſo paſſe the ears of them that are moſt looſe and diſſolute of life, but it cauſeth them ſometime or other to wiſh in their hearts, *Oh, that we might dye the death of the Righteous, and that our end might be like his!* Howbeit, becauſe to ſpend herein many words, would be to ſtrike even as many wounds into their mindes, whom I rather wiſh to comfort: Therefore concerning this vertuous Gentlewoman, onely this little I ſpeak, and that of knowledge, *She lived a Dove, and dyed a Lambe.* And, if amongſt ſo many Vertues, hearty Devotion towards God, towards Poverty tender Compaſſion, Motherly Affection toward Servants; towards Friends even ſerviceable kindneſs, milde behaviour, and harmleſs meaning towards all; if where ſo many Vertues were eminent, any be worthy of ſpecial mention, I wiſh her deareſt Friends of that ſex to be her neareſt Followers in two things: *Silence*, ſaving only where duty did exact ſpeech; and *Patience*, even then when extremity of pains did enforce grief. *Bleſſed are they that dye in the Lord.* And concerning the dead which are bleſſed, let not the hearts of any living be over-charged, with grief over-troubled.

Touching the latter affection of Fear, which reſpecteth evil to come, as the other which we have ſpoken of doth preſent evils; firſt, in the nature thereof it is plain, that we are not of every future evil afraid. Perceive we not how they, whoſe tenderneſſe ſhrinketh at the leaſt raſe of a Needle's Point, do kiſſe the Sword that pierceth their Souls quite thorow? If every Evil did cauſe Fear, Sinne, becauſe it is Sinne, would be feared; whereas properly Sinne is not feared as Sinne, but onely as having ſome kinde of harm annexed. To teach men to avoid ſinne, it had been ſufficient for, the Apoſtle to ſay, Flye it. But to make them afraid of committing ſinne, becauſe the naming of Sin ſufficed not, therefore he addeth further, That it is as a *Serpent which ſtingeth the Soul.* Again, be it that ſome nocive or hurtful thing be towards us, muſt fear of neceſſity follow hereupon? Not, except that hurtful thing doe threaten us either with deſtruction or vexation, and that ſuch as we, have neither a conceit of ability to reſiſt, nor of utter impoſſibility to avoid. That which we know our ſelves able to withſtand, we fear not; and that which we know are unable to deferr or diminiſh, or any way avoid, we ceaſe to fear; we give our ſelves over to bear and ſuſtain it. The evil therefore which is feared, muſt be in our perſwaſion unable to be reſiſted when it cometh, yet not utterly impoſſible for a time in whole or in part to be ſhunned. Neither doe we much fear ſuch evils, except they be imminent and near at hand; nor if they be near, except we have an opinion that they be ſo. When we have once conceived an opinion, or apprehended an imagination of ſuch evils preſt, and ready to invade us; becauſe they are hurtful unto our nature, we feel in our ſelves a kinde of abhorring; becauſe they are thought near, yet not preſent, our nature ſeeketh forthwith how to ſhift and provide for it ſelf; becauſe they are evils which cannot be reſiſted, therefore ſhe doth not provide to withſtand, but to ſhun and avoid. Hence it is, that in extream fear, the Mother of Life contracting herſelf, avoiding as much as may be the reach of evil, and drawing the heat together with the ſpirits of the Body to her, leaveth the outward parts cold, pale, weak, feeble, unapt to perform the functions of Life; as we ſee in the fear of *Balthaſar* King of *Babel.* By this it appeareth, that Fear is nothing elſe but a perturbation of the minde, through an opinion of ſome imminent evil, threatning the deſtruction or great annoyance of our Nature, which to ſhun, it doth contract and deject it ſelf.

Now

Now because, not in this place onely, but otherwhere often, we hear it repeated, *Fear not*; it is by some made a question, *Whether a man may fear destruction or vexation without sinning?* First, the reproof wherewith Christ checketh his Disciples more than once, *O men of little Faith, wherefore are ye afraid?* Secondly, the punishment threatned in *Revelat.* 21. *viz.* the Lake, and Fire, and Brimstone, not onely to Murtherers, unclean Persons, Sorcerers, Idolaters, Lyers, but also to the fearful and faint-hearted: this seemeth to argue, That Fearfulness cannot but be sinne. On the contrary side we see, that he which never felt motion unto sinne, had of this affection more than a slight feeling. How clear is the evidence of the Spirit, That *in the days of his Flesh he offered up Prayers and Supplications, with strong cryes and tears, unto him that was able to save him from death, and was also heard in that which he feared*, *Heb.* 5.7. Whereupon it followeth, that Fear in it self is a thing not sinful. For, is not Fear a thing natural, and for mens preservation necessary, implanted in us by the provident and most gracious Giver of all good things, to the end, that we might not run head-long upon those mischiefs wherewith we are not able to encounter, but use the remedy of shunning those Evils which we have not ability to withstand? Let that People therefore which receive a benefit by the length of their Prince's days, the Father or Mother which rejoyceth to see the Offspring of their Flesh grow like green and pleasant Plants, let those Children that would have their Parents, those men that would gladly have their Friends and Brethrens dayes prolonged on earth (as there is no natural-hearted man but gladly would) let them bless the Father of Lights, as in other things, so even in this, that he hath given man a fearful heart, and settled naturally that affection in him, which is a preservation against so many ways of death. Fear then, in it self, being meer Nature, cannot, in it self, be Sin, which Sin is not Nature, but thereof an accessary deprivation.

But in the matter of Fear we may sin, and do, two wayes. If any man's danger be great, theirs is greatest that have put the fear of danger fartherest from them. Is there any estate more fearful than that Babylonian Strumpet's, that sitteth upon the tops of seven Hills, glorying, and vaunting, *I am a Queen*, &c. *Revel.* 18.7. How much better and happier are they, whose estate hath been always as his who speaketh after this sort of himself, *Lord, from my youth have I born thy yoke*: They which sit at continual ease, and are settled in the lees of their security, look upon them, view their countenance, their speech, their gesture, their deeds, *Put them in fear, O God*, saith the Prophet, *that so they may know themselves to be but men*; Worms of earth, dust and ashes, frail, corruptible, feeble things. To shake off security therefore, and to breed fear in the hearts of mortal men, so many admonitions are used concerning the power of Evils which beset them, so many threatnings of calamities, so many descriptions of things threatned, and those so lively, to the end they may leave behind them a deep impression of such as have force to keep the heart continually waking. All which doe shew, that we are to stand in fear of nothing more than the extremity of not fearing.

When fear hath delivered us from that pit, wherein they are sunk that have put farr from them the evil day; that have made a league with death, and have said, *Tush, we shall feel no harm*; it standeth us upon to take heed it cast us not into that, wherein Souls destitute of all hope are plunged. For our direction, to avoid, as much as may be, both extremities, that we may know, as a Ship-master by his Card, how farr we are wide, either on the one side, or on the other; we must note, that in a Christian man there is, First, Nature: Secondly, Corruption perverting Nature: Thirdly, Grace, correcting and amending Corruption. In fear, all these have their several operations: Nature teacheth simply, to wish preservation and avoidance of things dreadful; for which cause our Saviour himself prayeth, and that often, *Father, if it be possible.* In which cases, corrupt Nature's suggestions are, For the safety of Temporal-life, not to stick at things excluding from eternal; wherein how farr, even the best may be led, the chiefest Apostle's frailty teacheth. Were it not therefore for such cogitations as, on the contrary side, Grace and Faith ministreth, such as that of *Job*, *Though God kill me*; that of *Paul*, *Scio cui credidi*, I know him on whom I do rely; small evils would soon be able to overthrow even the best of us. *A*

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wiſe man, ſaith *Solomon*, *doth ſee a plague coming, and hideth himſelf.* It is *Nature* which teacheth a Wiſe man in fear to *hide* himſelf, but *Grace* and *Faith* doth teach him *where.* Fools care not to hide their heads: but where ſhall a Wiſe man hide himſelf, when he feareth a Plague coming? Where ſhould the frighted Childe hide his head, but in the boſom of his loving Father? where a Chriſtian but under the ſhadow of the Wings of Chriſt his Saviour? *Come my People*, ſaith God in the Prophet, *Enter into thy Chamber, hide thy ſelf, &c.* Iſa. 26. But becauſe we are in danger, like chaſed Birds, like Doves, that ſeek and cannot ſee the reſting holes, that are right before them; therefore our Saviour giveth his Diſciples theſe encouragements before-hand, that Fear might never ſo amaze them, but that always they might remember, that whatſoever Evils at any time did beſet them, to him they ſhould ſtill repair for comfort, counſel, and ſuccour. For their aſſurance whereof, his *Peace he gave them, his Peace he left unto them, not ſuch Peace as the World offereth*, by whom his name is never ſo much pretended, as when deepeſt treachery is meant; but *Peace which paſſeth all underſtanding*, *Peace* that bringeth with it all happineſſe, *Peace* that continueth for ever and ever, with them that have it.

This Peace, *God the Father grant, for his Son's ſake; unto whom, with the Holy Ghoſt, three Perſons, one Eternal and Everliving God, be all Honour, and Glory, and Praiſe, now and for ever. Amen.*

A Learned and Comfortable

SERMON

Of the certainty and perpetuity of

FAITH in the ELECT:

Especially of the Prophet *Habakkuk*'s FAITH.

HABAK. 1. 4.

Whether the Prophet Habakkuk, *by admitting this cogitation into his minde,* The Law doth fail, *did thereby shew himself an Unbeliever?*

WE have seen in the opening of this clause, which concerneth the weakness of the Prophet's Faith: First, what things they are whereunto the Faith of sound Believers doth assent: Secondly, wherefore all men assent not thereunto: and Thirdly, why they that doe, doe it many times with small assurance. Now, because nothing can be so truly spoken, but through mis-understanding it may be depraved; therefore to prevent, if it be possible, all mis-construction in this cause; where a small errour cannot rise but with great danger, it is perhaps needful ere we come to the fourth Point, that something be added to that which hath been already spoken concerning the third.

That meer natural men do neither know nor acknowledge the things of God, we do not marvel, because they are spiritually to be discerned: but they in whose hearts the light of Grace doth shine, they that are taught of God, why are they so weak in Faith? why is their assenting to the Law so scrupulous? so much mingled with fear and wavering? It seemeth strange, that ever they should imagin the Law to fail. It cannot seem strange if we weigh the reason. If the things which we believe be considered in themselves, it may truly be said, that Faith is more certain than any Science: That which we know, either by sense, or by infallible demonstration is not so certain as the Principles, Articles, and Conclusions of Christian Faith. Concerning which we must note, that there is a *certainty* of *evidence*, and a *certainty* of *adherence*. *Certainty* of *evidence* we call that, when the minde doth assent unto this or that, not because it is true in it self, but because the truth is clear, because it is manifest unto us. Of things

things in themſelves moſt certain, except they be alſo moſt evident, our perſwaſion is not ſo aſſured, as it is of things more evident, although in themſelves they be leſſe certain. It is as ſure, if not ſurer, that there be ſpirits as that there be men: but we be more aſſured of theſe than of them, becauſe theſe are more evident. The truth of ſome things is ſo evident, that no man which heareth them can doubt of them: as when we hear that *a part of any thing is leſs than the whole*, the minde is conſtrained to ſay, This is true. If it were ſo in matters of Faith, then, as all men have equal certainty of this, ſo no Believer ſhould be more ſcrupulous and doubtful than another. But we finde the contrary. The Angels and Spirits of the Righteous in Heaven, have certainty moſt evident of things ſpiritual: but this they have by the light of glory. That which we ſee by the light of Grace, though it be indeed more certain, yet it is not to us ſo evidently certain, as that which ſenſe, or the light of Nature, will not ſuffer a man to doubt of. Proofs are vain and frivolous, except they be more certain than is the thing proved: and do we not ſee how the Spirit every where in the Scripture proving matters of Faith, laboureth to confirm us in the things which we believe by things whereof we have ſenſible knowledge? I conclude therefore, that we have leſs *certainty* of *evidence* concerning things believed, than concerning ſenſible or naturally perceived. Of theſe, who doth doubt at any time? Of them, at ſomtime, who doubteth not? I will not here alledge the ſundry confeſſions of the perfecteſt that have lived upon earth, concerning their great imperfections this way; which, if I did, I ſhould dwell too long upon a matter ſufficiently known by every faithful man that doth know himſelf.

The other, which we call the *certainty* of *adherence*, is, when the heart doth cleave and ſtick unto that which it doth believe: This certainty is greater in us than the other. The reaſon is this, The faith of a Chriſtian doth apprehend the words of the Law, the promiſes of God, not onely as true, but alſo as good; and therefore even then when the evidence which he hath of the Truth is ſo ſmall, that it grieveth him to feel his weakneſs in aſſenting thereto; yet is there in him ſuch a ſure adherence unto that which he doth but faintly and fearfully believe, that his Spirit having once truly taſted the heavenly ſweetneſs thereof, all the world is not able quite and clean to remove him from it: but he ſtriveth with himſelf to hope againſt all reaſon of believing, being ſetled with *Job* upon this unmoveable reſolution, *Though God kill me, I will not give over truſting in him.* For why? This leſſon remaineth for ever imprinted in him, *It is good for me to cleave unto God*, Pſal. 37.

Now the mindes of all men being ſo darkned, as they are with the foggy damp of original corruption, it cannot be that any man's heart living ſhould be either ſo enlightned in the knowledge, or ſo eſtabliſhed in the love of that wherein his Salvation ſtandeth, as to be perfect, neither doubting nor ſhrinking at all. If any ſuch were, what doth lett why that man ſhould not be juſtified by his own inherent righteouſneſs? For Righteouſneſs inherent, being perfect, will juſtifie. And perfect Faith is a part of perfect Righteouſneſs inherent; yea, a principal part, the root and the Mother of all the reſt: ſo that if the Fruit of every Tree be ſuch as the Root is, Faith being perfect, as it is, if it be not at all mingled with diſtruſt and fear, what is there to exclude other Chriſtian vertues from the like perfections? And then what need we the righteouſneſs of Chriſt? His Garment is ſuperfluous? we may be honourably cloathed with our own Robes, if it be thus. But let them beware who challenge to themſelves a ſtrength which they have not, leſt they loſe the comfortable ſupport of that weakneſs which indeed they have.

Some ſhew, although no foundneſs of ground, there is, which may be alledged for defence of this ſuppoſed perfection in certainty touching matters of our Faith: as firſt that *Abraham* did believe, and doubted not: ſecondly, that the ſpirit which God hath given us to no other end, but only to aſſure us that we are the Sons of God; to embolden us to call upon him as our Father, to open our eyes, and to make the truth of things believed evident unto our mindes; is much mightier in operation than the common light of nature; whereby we diſcern ſenſible things: wherefore we muſt needs be more ſure of that we believe, than of that we ſee; we muſt needs be more certain of the mercies of God in Chriſt Jeſus, than we are of the light of the Sun when it ſhineth upon our faces. To that of *Abraham*, *He did not doubt*: I anſwer that this

negation doth not exclude all fear, all doubting; but onely that which cannot ſtand with true Faith. It freeth *Abraham* from doubting through Infidelity, not from doubting through Infirmity; from the doubting of Unbelievers, not of weak Believers; from ſuch a doubting as that whereof the Prince of *Samaria* is attainted, who hearing the promiſe of ſudden Plenty in the midſt of Extream Dearth, anſwered, *Though the Lord would make windows in Heaven, were it poſſible ſo to come to paſs?* But that *Abraham* was not void of all doubting, what need we any other proof than the plain evidence of his own words? *Gen.* 17. 17. The reaſon which is taken from the power of the Spirit were effectual, if God did work like a natural Agent; as the fire doth inflame, and the Sun enlighten, according to the uttermoſt ability which they have to bring forth their effects. But the incomprehenſible wiſdom of God doth limit the effects of his power, to ſuch a meaſure as ſeemeth beſt unto himſelf. Wherefore he worketh that certainty in all, which ſufficeth abundantly to their Salvation in the life to come; but in none ſo great as attaineth in this life unto perfection. Even ſo, O Lord, it hath pleaſed thee; even ſo it is beſt and fitteſt for us, that feeling ſtill our own Infirmities, we may no longer breathe than pray, *Adjuva Domine, Help Lord our incredulity.* Of the third Queſtion, this, I hope, will ſuffice, being added unto that which hath been thereof already ſpoken. The fourth Queſtion reſteth, and ſo an end of this Point.

That which cometh laſt of all in this firſt branch to be conſidered concerning the weakneſs of the Prophet's Faith, is, *Whether he did by this very thought*, The Law doth fail, *quench the Spirit, fall from Faith, and ſhew himſelf an Unbeliever or no?* The Queſtion is of moment; the repoſe and tranquillity of infinite Souls doth depend upon it. The Prophet's caſe is the caſe of many; which way ſoever we caſt for him, the ſame way it paſſeth for all others. If in him this cogitation did extinguiſh Grace; why the like thoughts in us ſhould not take the like effect, there is no cauſe. Foraſmuch therefore as the matter is weighty, dear and precious, which we have in hand; it behoveth us with ſo much the greater charineſs to wade through it, taking ſpecial heed both what we build, and whereon we build, that if our Building be Pearl, our Foundation be not Stubble; if the Doctrine we teach be full of comfort and conſolation, the ground whereupon we gather it be ſure: otherwiſe we ſhall not ſave, but deceive both our ſelves and others In this we know we are not deceived, neither can we deceive you, when we teach that the Faith whereby ye are ſanctified, cannot fail; it did not in the Prophet, it ſhall not in you. If it be ſo, let the difference be ſhewed between the condition of Unbelievers and his, in this or in the like imbecillity and weakneſs. There was in *Habakkuk*, that which Saint *John* doth call the *ſeed of God*, meaning thereby, the *firſt grace* which God powreth into the hearts of them that are incorporated into Chriſt; which having received, if becauſe it is an adverſary to Sinne, we do therefore think we ſinne not both otherwiſe, and alſo by diſtruſtful and doubtfull apprehending of that which we ought ſtedfaſtly to believe, ſurely, we do but deceive our ſelves. Yet they which are of God, do not ſinne either in this, or in any thing, any ſuch ſinne as doth quite extinguiſh Grace, clean cutt them off from Chriſt Jeſus: becauſe the *ſeed of God abideth* in them, and doth ſhield them from receiving any irremediable wound. Their Faith when it is at ſtrongeſt is but weak; yet even then, when it is at the weakeſt, ſo ſtrong, that utterly it never faileth, it never periſheth altogether, no not in them who think it extinguiſhed in themſelves. There are, for whoſe ſakes I dare not deal ſlightly in this Cauſe; ſparing that labour which muſt be beſtowed to make it plain. Men in like agonies unto this of the Prophet *Habakkuk*'s, are, through the extremity of grief, many times in judgement ſo confounded, that they finde not themſelves in themſelves. For that which dwelleth in their hearts they ſeek, they make diligent ſearch and enquiry. It abideth, it worketh in them, yet ſtill they ask where? Still they lament as for a thing which is paſt finding: they mourn as *Rachel*, and refuſe to be comforted, as if that were not which indeed is; and, as if that which is not, were; as if they did not believe when they doe; and, as if they did deſpair when they do not. Which,

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in some, I grant, is but a melancholly passion, proceeding onely from that dejection of minde, the cause whereof is in the Body, and by bodily means can be taken away. But where there is no such bodily cause, the minde is not lightly in this mood, but by some of these three occasions: One, that judging by comparison, either with other men, or with themselves at some other time more strong, they think imperfection to be a plain deprivation, weakness to be utter want of Faith. Another cause is: they often mistake one thing for another. Saint *Paul* wishing well to the Church of *Rome*, prayeth for them after this sort: *The God of Hope fill you with all joy of Believing.* Hence an errour groweth, when men in heavinesse of Spirit, suppose they lack Faith, because they finde not the sugred joy and delight which indeed doth accompanie Faith, but so as a separable accident, as a thing that may be removed from it; yea, there is a cause why it should be removed. The light would never be so acceptable, were it not for that usual intercourse of darkness. Too much honey doth turn to gall, and too much joy even spiritual, would make us Wantons. Happier a great deal is that man's case, whose Soul by inward desolation is humbled, than he whose heart is through abundance of Spiritual delight lifted up, and exalted above measure. Better it is sometimes to go down into the pit with him, who beholding darkness, and bewailing the loss of inward joy and consolation, cryeth from the bottom of the lowest hell, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* than continually to walk arm in arm with Angels, to sit, as it were, in *Abraham*'s bosom, and to have no thought, no cogitation, but, *I thank my God it is not with me as it is with other men.* No; God will have them that shall walk in light, to feel now and then what it is to sit in the shadow of death. A grieved spirit therefore is no argument of a faithless minde. A third occasion of mens mis-judging themselves, as if they were faithless when they are not, is; They fasten their cogitations upon the distrustful suggestions of the flesh, whereof finding great abundance in themselves, they gather thereby; surely, unbelief hath full dominion, it hath taken plenary possession of me; if I were faithful it could not be thus. Not marking the motions of the Spirit, and of Faith, because they lye buried and over-whelmed with the contrary: when notwithstanding, as the blessed Apostle doth acknowledge, that the *Spirit groaneth*, and that God heareth when we do not; so there is no doubt, but that our Faith may have, and hath her private operations secret to us, yet known to him by whom they are. Tell this to a man that hath a minde deceived by too hard an opinion of himself, and it doth but augment his grief: he hath his answer ready, Will you make me think otherwise than I finde, than I feel in my self? I have throughly considered, and exquisitely sifted all the corners of my heart, and I see what there is; never seek to perswade me against my knowledge, *I do not, I know I do not believe.* Well, to favour them a little in their weakness: let that be granted which they do imagine; be it that they be faithless and without belief. But are they not grieved for their unbelief? They are. Do they not wish it might, and also strive that it may be otherwise? We know they do. Whence cometh this, but from a secret love and liking which they have of those things that are believed? No man can love things which in his own opinion are not. And if they think those things to be, which they shew that they love when they desire to believe them; then must it needs be, that by desiring to believe, they prove themselves true Believers: For without Faith, no man thinketh that things believed are. Which argument all the subtilty of infernal powers will never be able to dissolve. The Faith therefore of true Believers, though it hath many and grievous down-falls, yet doth it still continue invincible; it conquereth, and recovereth it self in the end. The dangerous conflicts whereunto it is subject, are not able to prevail against it. The Prophet *Habakkuk* remained faithful in weakness, though weak in Faith. It is true, such is our weak and wavering nature, we have no sooner received Grace, but we are ready to fall from it: we have no sooner given our assent to the Law that it cannot fail, but the next conceit which we are ready to embrace, is, that it may, and that it doth fail. Though we finde in our selves a most willing heart to cleave unseparably unto God, even so farr as to think unfeignedly with *Peter*, *Lord, I am ready to go with thee into Prison and to death:* yet how soon, and how easily, upon how small occasions are we changed, if we be but a while let alone, and left unto our selves? The *Galatians* to day, for their sakes

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which teach them the truth of Christ, are content, if need were, to pluck out their own eyes, and the next day ready to pluck out theirs which taught them. The love of the Angel to the Church of *Ephesus*, how greatly enflamed, and how quickly slacked? the higher we flow, the nearer we are unto an ebb, if men be respected as mere men, according to the wonted course of their alterable inclination, without the heavenly support of the Spirit. Again, the desire of our ghostly enemy is so incredible, and his means so forcible to over-throw our Faith, that whom the blessed Apostle knew betrothed and made hand-fast unto Christ, to them he could not write but with great trembling: *I am jealous over you with a godly jealousie, for I have prepared you to one Husband, to present you a pure Virgin unto Christ: but I fear, lest as the Serpent beguiled* Eve *through his subtilty, so your mindes should be corrupted from the simplicity which is in Christ.* The simplicity of Faith which is in Christ, taketh the naked promise of God, his bare Word, and on that it resteth. This simplicity the Serpent laboureth continually to pervert, corrupting the mind with many imaginations of repugnancy and contrariety between the promise of God and those things which sense or experience, or some other fore-conceived perswasion hath imprinted. The word of the promise of God unto his People, is, *I will not leave thee, nor forsake thee*: upon this the simplicity of Faith resteth, and is not afraid of famine. But mark how the subtilty of Satan did corrupt the mindes of that Rebellious generation, whose Spirits were not faithful unto God. They beheld the desolate state of the desart in which they were, and by the wisdom of their sense concluded the promise of God to be but folly: *Can God prepare a Table in the Wildernesse?* The word of the promise to *Sarah*, was, *Thou shalt bear a Son.* Faith is simple, and doubteth not of it: but Satan, to corrupt this simplicity of Faith, entangleth the mind of the Woman with an argument drawn from common experience to the contrary: *A Woman that is old*; Sarah, *now to be acquainted again with fogotten passions of youth!* The word of the promise of God by *Moses* and the Prophets, made the Saviour of the World so apparent unto *Philip*, that his simplicity could conceive no other Messias than *Jesus* of *Nazareth* the Son of *Joseph*. But to stay *Nathaniel*, lest being invited to come and see, he should also believe, and so be saved, the subtilty of *Satan* casteth a mist before his eyes, putteth in his head, against this, the common conceived perswasion of all men concerning *Nzaareth*; *Is it possible that any good thing should come from thence?* this stratagem he doth use with so great dexterity, that the minds of all men are so strangely bewitched with it, that it bereaveth them for the time of all perceivance of that which should relieve them and be their comfort; yea, it taketh all remembrance from them, even of things wherewith they are most familiarly acquainted. The people of *Israel* could not be ignorant, that he which led them through the Sea, was able to feed them in the Desart: but this was obliterated, and put out by the sense of their present want. Feeling the hand of God against them in their food, they remember not his hand in the day that he delivered them from the hand of the Oppressour. *Sarah* was not then to learn, That *with God all things were possible.* Had *Nathaniel never* noted how *God doth chuse the base things of this World to disgrace them that are most honourably esteemed?* The Prophet *Habakkuk* knew, that the promises of Grace, protection and favour which God in the Law doth make unto his People, do not grant them any such immunity as can free and exempt them from all chastisements; he knew, that, as God said, *I will continue for ever my mercy towards them*; so he likewise said, *Their transgressions I will punish with a rod*: he knew, that it could not stand with any reason, we should set the measure of our own punishments, and prescribe unto God how great, or how long, our sufferings shall be; he knew, that we were blind, and altogether ignorant what is best for us; that we sue for many things very unwisely against our selves, thinking we ask Fish, when indeed we crave a Serpent: he knew, that when the thing we ask is good, and yet God seemeth slow to grant it; he doth not deny, but deferr our Petitions, to the end we might learn to desire great things greatly: all this he knew. But beholding the Land which God had severed for his own People, and seeing it abandoned unto Heathen Nations; viewing how reproachfully they did tread it down, and wholly make havock of it at their pleasure; beholding the Lords own Royal Seat made an heap of Stones, his Temple defiled, the carkasses of his Servants cast out for the fowls of the air to devour, and the flesh of

his

his meek ones for the beasts of the fields to feed upon; being conscious to himself how long and how earnestly he had cryed, *Succour us, O God of our welfare, for the Glory of thine own Name*; and feeling that their sore was still encreased; the conceit of repugnancy between this which was objected to his eyes, and that which Faith, upon promise of the Law, did look for, made so deep an impression, and so strong, that he disputeth not the matter, but without any further inquiry or search, inferreth as we see: *The Law doth fail.*

Of us who is here, which cannot very soberly advice his Brother? Sir, you must learn to strengthen your Faith by that experience which heretofore you have had of God's great goodness towards you, *Per ea quæ agnoscas præstita, discas sperare promissa*; By those things which you have known performed, learn to hope for those things which are promised. Doe you acknowledge to have received much? Let that make you certain to receive more: *Habenti dabitur, To him that hath, more shall be given.* When you doubt what you shall have, search what you have had at God's hands. Make this reckoning, that the benefits which he hath bestowed, are Bills obligatory and sufficient Sureties that he will bestow further. His present mercy is still a warrant of his future love, because *whom he loveth, he loveth unto the end.* Is it not thus? Yet if we could reckon up as many evident, clear, undoubted signs of God's reconciled love towards us, as there are years, yea dayes, yea hours past over our heads; all these set together have no such force to confirm our Faith, as the loss, and sometimes the onely fear of losing a little transitory goods, credit, honour, or favour of men, a small calamity, a matter of nothing to breed a conceit, and such a conceit as is not easily again removed; that we are clean crost out of God's book, that he regards us not, that he looketh upon others, but passeth by us like a Stranger, to whom we are not known. Then we think, looking upon others, and comparing them with our selves; Their Tables are furnished day by day, earth and ashes are our bread: they sing to the Lute, and they see their Children dance before them; our hearts are heavy in our bodies as lead, our sighs beat as thick as a swift Pulse, our tears do wash the beds wherein we lye: the Sun shineth fair upon their fore-heads; we are hanged up like Bottles in the smoak, cast into corners like the sherds of a broken Pot: tell not us of the promises of God's favour, tell such as do reap the fruit of them; they belong not to us, they are made to others: the Lord be merciful to our weakness, but thus it is. Well, let the frailty of our Nature, the subtilty of Satan, the force of our deceivable imaginations be, as we cannot deny, but they are things that threaten every moment the utter subversion of our Faith; Faith notwithstanding is not hazarded by these things. That which one sometimes told the Senators of *Rome*, *Ego sic existimabam*, P. C. *uti patrem sæpe meum prædicantem audiveram, Qui vestram amicitiam diligenter colerent, eos multum laborem suscipere, cæterùm ex omnibus maxime tutos esse*: As I have often heard my Father acknowledge, so I my self did ever think, that the friends and favourers of this State charged themselves with great labour, but no man's condition so safe as theirs; the same we may say a great deal more justly in this case: Our Fathers and Prophets, our Lord and Master hath full often spoken, by long experience we have found it true; as many as have entred their names in the mystical book of life, *eos maximum laborem suscipere*, they have taken upon them a laboursome, a toylsome, a painful profession, *sed omnium maximè tutos esse*, but no man's security like to theirs. *Simon, Simon, Satan hath desired to winnow thee as wheat*; Here is our toyl: *but I have prayed for thee, that thy Faith fail not*, this is our safety. No man's condition so sure as ours: the Prayer of Christ is more than sufficient both to strengthen us, be we never so weak: and to overthrow all adversary power, be it never so strong and potent. His Prayer must not exclude our labour: their thoughts are vain, who think that their watching can preserve the City which God himself is not willing to keep. And are not theirs as vain, who think that God will keep the City, for which they themselves are not careful to watch? The Husband-man may not therefore burn his Plough, nor the Merchant forsake his Trade, because God hath promised, *I will not forsake thee.* And do the promises of God concerning our stability, think you, make it a matter indifferent for us, to use, or not to use the means whereby to attend, or not to attend to reading? to pray, or not to pray, that we fall not into temptations? Surely, if we look to stand in the faith of the Sons of God, we must

hourly,

hourly, continually be providing and ſetting our ſelves to ſtrive. It was not the meaning of our Lord and Saviour in ſaying, *Father keep them in thy name*, that we ſhould be careleſs to keep our ſelves. To our own ſafety, our own ſedulity is required. And then bleſſed for ever and ever be that Mothers Child, whoſe Faith hath made him the Child of God. The Earth may ſhake, the Pillars of the World may tremble under us: the countenance of the Heaven may be appaled, the Sun may loſe his light, the Moon her beauty, the Stars their glory: but concerning the man that truſteth in God, if the fire have proclaimed it ſelf unable, as much as to ſinge a hair of his head; if Lyons, Beaſts ravenous by nature, and keen with hunger, being ſet to devour, have, as it were, religiouſly adored the very fleſh of the Faithful man, what is there in the World that ſhall change his Heart, over-throw his Faith, alter his affection towards God, or the affection of God to him? If I be of this note, who ſhall make a ſeparation between me and my God? ſhall tribulation, or anguiſh, or perſecution, or famine, or nakedneſs, or peril, or ſword? No; I am perſwaded, that neither tribulation, nor anguiſh, nor perſecution, or famine, nor nakedneſs, nor peril, nor ſword, nor death, nor life, nor Angels, nor Principalities, nor Powers, nor things preſent, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other Creature, ſhall ever prevail ſo far over me. I know in whom I have believed; I am not ignorant whoſe precious blood hath been ſhed for me; I have a Shepheard full of kindneſs, full of care, and full of power, unto him I commit my ſelf; his own finger hath engraven this ſentence in the Tables of my heart: *Satan hath deſired to winnow thee as wheat, but I have prayed that thy Faith fail not*: Therefore the aſſurance of my hope I will labour to keep as a Jewel unto the end; and by labour, through the gracious mediation of his Prayer, I ſhall keep it.

To

To the Worshipful Mr. GEORGE SUMMASTER, Principal of *Broad-Gates Hall* in *Oxford*, *Henry Jackson* wisheth all Happiness.

SIR,

Your kinde acceptance of a former testification of that respect I owe you, hath made me venture to shew the World these godly Sermons under your name. In which, as every point is worth observation, so some especially are to be noted, The first, that, as the spirit of Prophesie is from God himself, who doth inwardly heat and enlighten the hearts and mindes of his holy Pen-men, (which if some would diligently consider, they would not puzzle themselves with the contentions of Scot, *and* Thomas, Whether God only, or his Ministring Spirits, do infuse into men's mindes prophetical Revelations, *per species intelligibiles) so God framed their words also. Whence the holy Father St.* Augustine *religiously observeth, That all those who understand the Sacred Writers, will also perceive, that they ought not to use other words than they did, in expressing those heavenly Mysteries which their hearts* conceived, *as the* Blessed Virgin *did our Saviour,* By the Holy Ghost. *The greater is* Castellio *his offence, who hath laboured to teach the Prophets to speak otherwise than they have already. Much like to that impious King of* Spain, Alphonsus *the tenth, who found fault with God's works,* Si, *inquit,* Creationi affuissem, Mundum melius ordinassem, *If he had been with God at the Creation of the World, the World had gone better than now it doth. As this man found fault with God's works, so did the other with God's words; but, because we have a* most sure word of the Prophets, *to which we must take* heed; *I will let his words pass with the winde, having elsewhere spoken to you more largely of his errours, whom notwithstanding for his other excellent parts, I much respect.*

Lib 4. cap. 6. de doct. chr.

Rob. Tolet. lib. 4. cap. 5.

2 Pet. 1.

Præf in Orat. D. Rainold.

You shall moreover from hence understand, how Christianity consists not in formal and seeming purity (under which, who knows not notorious Villany to mask?) but in the heart root. Whence the Author truly teacheth, that Mockers, which use Religion as a cloak, to put off and on, as the Weather serveth, are worse than Pagans and Infidels. Where I cannot omit to shew, how justly this kinde of men hath been reproved by that renowned Martyr of Jesus Christ, *B.* Latimer, *both because it will be apposite to this purpose, and also free that Christian Worthy from the slanderous reproaches of him, who was, if ever any, a Mocker of God, Religion, and all good men. But first I must desire you; and in you all Readers, not to think lightly of that excellent man, for using this and the like witty similitudes in his Sermons. For whosoever will call to minde, with what riff-raff God's people were fed in those days, when their Priests, whose* lips should have preserved Knowledge, *preached nothing else but dreams and false miracles of counterfeit Saints, enrolled in that sottish Legend coyned and amplified by a drousie head, between sleeping and waking. He that will consider this, and also how the People were delighted with such toys (God sending them strong delusions that they should believe lyes) and how hard it would have been for any man, wholly, and upon the sudden, to draw their mindes to another bent, will easily perceive; both how necessary it was to use Symbolical Discourse, and how wisely and moderately it was applied by the religious Father, to the end he might lead their understanding so far, till it were so convinced, informed, and setled, that it might forget the means and way by which it was led, and think only of that it had acquired. For in all such mystical speeches who knows not that the end for which they are used is only to be thought upon?*

Parsons in 3. convers.

Mal. 2. 7.

Canus locor. l. 11. c. 6. Ives, lib. 2. de corrupt. art.

Hard. lib. 4.

This then being first considered, let us hear the story, as it is related by Mr. Fox: '*Mr.* 'Latimer (*saith he*) *in his Sermon gave the People certain Cards out of the fifth, sixth, and* '*seventh Chapters of* Matthew. *For the chief Triumph in the Cards he limited the Heart,* '*as the principal thing that they should serve God withal, whereby he quite overthrew all hypo-* '*critical and external Ceremonies, not tending to the necessary furtherance of God's holy Word*

Pag. 1903. edit. 1570.

'*and*

'and Sacraments. By this, *he exhorted all men to serve the Lord with inward heart, and* 'true affection, *and not with outward Ceremonies; adding moreover to the praise of that* 'Triumph, *that though it were never so small, yet it would take up the best Coat-card be-* 'side *in the Bunch, yea, though it were the King of Clubs, &c. meaning thereby, how the* 'Lord *would be worshipped and served in simplicity of the heart, and verity, wherein consist-* 'eth *true Christian Religion, &c.* Thus Master Fox.

By which it appears, that the holy man's intention was to lift up the Peoples hearts to God, and not that he made a Sermon of playing at Cards, and taught them how to play at Triumph, and plaid (himself) at Cards in the Pulpit, as that base companion [a] Parsons *reports the matter, in his wonted scurrilous vein of railing, whence he calleth it a* [b] Christmas-Sermon. *Now he that will think ill of such Allusions, may, out of the abundance of his folly, jest at* Demosthenes *for his story of the* [c] *Sheep, Wolves, and Doggs; and* [d] Menenius, *for his fiction of the Belly. But,* hinc illæ lacrymæ; *The good Bishop meant that the Romish Religion came not from the heart, but consisted in outward Ceremonies: Which sorely grieved* Parsons, *who never had the least warmth or spark of honesty. Whether B.* Latimer *compared the Bishops to the* Knave of Clubs, *as the Fellow interprets him, I know not: I am sure* Parsons, *of all others, deserved those colours; and so I leave him. We see then, what inward purity is required of all Christians, which if they have, then in Prayer, and all other Christian duties, they shall lift up pure hands, as the* [e] *Apostle speaks, not as* [f] Baronius *would have it, washed from sins with holy water; but pure, that is, holy, free from the pollution of sin, as the Greek word* ὁσίους *doth signifie.*

You may also see here refuted those calumnies of the Papists, that we abandon all religious Rites, and godly duties, as also the confirmation of our Doctrine touching certainty of Faith (and so of Salvation) which is so strongly denied by some of that Faction, that they have told the world, [g] *S. Paul* himself was uncertain of his own salvation. *What then shall we say, but pronounce a wo to the most strict observers of St.* Francis *rules, and his Canonical Discipline (though they make him even* [h] *equal with Christ) and the most meritorious Monk that ever was registred in their Kalender of Saints? But we, for our comfort, are otherwise taught out of the holy Scripture, and therefore exhorted to build our selves in our most* holy Faith, *that so,* when our earthly house of this Tabernacle *shall be* destroyed, *we may have a* Building given of God, a house not made with hands, but eternal in the Heavens.

[a] In the third part of the 3. conversions of *England*: in the Examination of *Foxes* Saints, c. 14. sect. 53, 54. p. 215.
[b] Sect. 55.
[c] Plut. in Demosthen.
[d] Liv. Dec 1. l. 2. an. V. C. 60
[e] 1 Tim. 2. 8.
[f] Annal. tom. 1. An. 57. n. 109, 110. & tom. 2. An. 132. num.
[g] S. Paulus de sua salute incertus *Kicheom* Jesuit. l. 2. c. 12. Idolat. Huguen. p. 119. in marg. edit. Lat. Mogunt. 113. interpret. Marcel. Bomper. Jesuita.
[h] Witness the verses of *Horatius* a Jesuite, recited by *Posse. Biblioth.* Select. part. 2. l. 17. c. 19. Exue Franciscum tunicâ laceroque cucullo. Qui Franciscus erat, jam tibi Christus erit. Franciscî exuviis (si quâ licet) indue Christum: Jam Franciscus erit, qui modo Christus erat. The like hath *Bencius* another Jesuite. 2 Cor. 5. 1.

This is that which is most piously and feelingly taught in these few leaves, so that you shall read nothing here, but what, I perswade my self, you have long practised in the constant course of your life. It remaineth only, that you accept of these Labours tendred to you by him, who wisheth you the long joys of this world, and the eternal of that which is to come.

Oxon. from Corp. Christi Colledge, this 13. of *January*, 1613.

TWO

TWO SERMONS

Upon Part of

Saint Judes Epistle.

The First Sermon.

Epist. JUDE, Verse 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.

But ye, beloved, remember the words which were spoken before of the Apostles of our Lord *Jesus Christ:*
How that they told you, that there should be Mockers in the last time, which should walk after their own ungodly lusts.
These are makers of Sects, sleshly, having not the Spirit.
But ye, beloved, edifie your selves in your most holy Faith, praying in the Holy Ghost.
And keep your selves in the love of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, unto eternal life.

THE occasions whereupon, together with the end wherefore, this Epistle was written, is opened in the front and entry of the same. There were then, as there are now, many evil and wickedly disposed Persons, not of the Mystical Body, yet within the visible bounds of the Church, men which were of old ordained to condemnation, ungodly men, which turned the grace of our God into wantonness, and denyed the Lord Jesus. For this cause the Spirit of the Lord is in the hand of *Jude*, the Servant of *Jesus*, and Brother of *James*, to exhort them that are called, and sanctified of God the Father, that they would earnestly contend to maintain the Faith, which was once delivered unto the Saints. Which Faith, because we cannot maintain, except we know perfectly; first, against whom; secondly, in what sort it must be maintained; therefore in the former three verses of that parcel of Scripture which I have read,

the Enemies of the Crosse of Christ are plainly described; and in the latter two, they that love the Lord Jesus, have a sweet Lesson given them, how to strengthen and stablish themselves in the Faith. Let us first therefore examine the description of these Reprobates concerning Faith; and afterwards come to the words of the Exhortation; wherein Christians are taught how to rest their hearts on God's eternal and everlasting Truth. The description of these godless Persons is two-fold, *general*, and *special*. The *general* doth point them out, and shew what manner of men they should be. The *Particular* pointeth at them, and saith plainly, These are they. In the *general* description, we have to consider of these things: *First*, when they were described, *They were told of before*. *Secondly*, the men by whom they were described, *They were spoken of by the Apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ*. *Thirdly*, the days, when they should be manifest unto the World, they told you, *They should be in the last time*. *Fourthly*, their disposition and whole demeanour, *Mockers, and Walkers after their own ungodly lusts*.

2. In the third to the *Philippians*, the Apostle describeth certain: *They are men*, (saith he) *of whom I have told you often, and now with tears I tell you of them, their God is their belly, their glory and rejoycing is in their own shame, they minde earthly things*.

These were Enemies of the Crosse of Christ, Enemies whom he saw, and his eys gusht out with tears to behold them. But we are taught in this place, how the Apostles spake also of Enemies, whom as yet they had not seen, described a family of men as yet unheard of, a generation reserved for the end of the World, and for the last time; they had not only declared what they heard and saw in the days wherein they lived, but they have prophesied also of men in time to come. And *you do well* (said St. *Peter*) *in that ye take heed to the words of Prophesie, so that ye first know this, that no Prophesie in the Scripture cometh of any man's own resolution*. No Prophesie in Scripture cometh of any man's own resolution: For all Prophesie, which is in Scripture, came by the secret inspiration of God. But there are Prophesies which are no Scripture; yea, there are Prophesies against the Scripture: My Brethren, beware of such Prophesies, and take heed you heed them not. Remember the things that were spoken of before; but spoken of before by the Apostles of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Take heed to Prophesies, but to Prophesies which are in Scripture; for both the manner and matter of those Prophesies do shew plainly, that they are of God.

Of the spirit of Prophesie received from God himself.

3. Touching the manner, how men, by the spirit of Prophesie in holy Scripture, have spoken and written of things to come, we must understand, that, as the knowledge of that they spake, so likewise the utterance of that they knew, came not by these usual and ordinary means, whereby we are brought to understand the mysteries of our Salvation, and are wont to instruct others in the same. For whatsoever we know, we have it by the hands and Ministry of men, which lead us along like Children, from a letter to a sylláble, from a syllable to a word, from a word to a line, from a line a to a sentence, from a sentence to a side, and so turn over. But God himself was their Instructor, he himself taught them, partly by Dreams and Visions in the Night, partly by Revelations in the Day, taking them aside from amongst their Brethren, and talking with them, as a man would talk with his Neighbour in the way. Thus they became acquainted even with the secret and hidden Counsels of God, they saw things, which themselves were not able to utter, they beheld that whereat men and Angels are astonished. They understood in the beginning, what should come to passe in the last dayes.

Of the Prophets manner of speech.

4. God, which lightned thus the eyes of their understanding, giving them knowledge by unusual and extraordinary means, did also miraculously himself frame and fashion their Words and Writings, in so much that a greater difference there seemeth not to be between the manner of their knowledge, than there is between the manner of their speech and ours. When we have conceived a thing in our hearts, and throughly understand it, as we think, within our selves; ere we can utter in such sort, that our Brethren may receive instruction or comfort at our mouths, how great, how long, how earnest meditation are we forced to use? And after much travail,

travail, and much pains, when we open our lips to speak of the wonderful works of God, our tongues do faulter within our mouths, yea many times we disgrace the dreadful mysteries of our Faith, and grieve the spirit of our Hearers by words unsavoury, and unseemly speeches: *Shall a Wise-man fill his Belly with the Eastern winde*, saith *Eliphaz? shall a Wise-man dispute with words not comely? or with talk that is not profitable?* Yet behold, even they that are wisest amongst us living, compared with the Prophets, seem no otherwise to talk of God, than as if the Children which are carried in arms, should speak of the greatest matters of State. They whose words do most shew forth their wise understanding, and whose lips do utter the purest knowledge, so long as they understand and speak as men, are they not fain sundry ways to excuse themselves? Sometimes acknowledging with the Wiseman, *Hardly can we discern the things that are on earth, and with great labour finde we out the things that are before us, Who can then seek out the things that are in Heaven?* Sometimes confessing with *Job* the righteous, in treating of things too wonderful for us, we have spoken we wist not what. Sometimes ending their talk, as doth the History of the *Macchabees*; If we have done well, and as the Cause required, it is that we desire; if we have spoken slenderly and barely, we have done what we could. But *God hath made my mouth like a sword*, saith *Esay*. And *we have received*, saith the Apostle, *not the spirit of the World, but the spirit which is of God, that we might know the things that are given to us of God, which things also we speak, not in words, which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost doth teach.* This is that which the Prophets mean by those Books written full within, and without; which Books were so often delivered them to eat, not because God fed them with Ink and Paper, but to teach us, that so oft as he imployed them in this heavenly Work, they neither spake nor wrote any word of their own, but uttered syllable by syllable as the Spirit put it into their mouths, no otherwise than the Harp or the Lute doth give a sound according to the discretion of his hands that holdeth and striketh it with skill. The difference is only this: An Instrument, whether it be a Pipe or Harp, maketh a distinction in the times and sounds, which distinction is well perceived of the Hearer, the Instrument it self understanding not what is Piped or Harped. The Prophets and holy men of God, not so: *I opened my mouth*, saith *Ezekiel*, and *God reached me a scroul, saying, Son of man, cause thy Belly to eat, and fill thy Bowels with this I give thee; I ate it, and it was sweet in my mouth as honey*, saith the Prophet. Yea sweeter, I am perswaded, than either honey or the honey comb. For herein they were not like Harps or Lutes, but they felt, they felt, the power and strength of their own words. When they spake of our peace, every corner of their hearts was filled with joy. When they propheſied of mournings, lamentations, and woes to fall upon us, they wept in the bitterness and indignation of Spirit, the arm of the Lord being mighty and strong upon them.

Job 15. 2, 3.

Wisd. 9. 16.

Esay 49. 2.

Ezekiel 3.

5. On this manner were all the Propheſies of holy Scripture. Which Propheſies, although they contain nothing which is not profitable for our instruction, yet as one Star differeth from another in glory, so every word of Propheſie hath a treasure of matter in it, but all matters are not of like importance, as all Treasures, are not of equal price. The chief and principal matter of Propheſie is the promise of Righteousness, Peace, Holiness, Glory, Victory, Immortality, unto every Soul which believeth, that Jesus is Christ, of the *Jew* first, and of the *Gentile*. Now because the doctrine of Salvation to be looked for by Faith in him, who was in outward appearance as it had been a man forsaken of God; in him who was numbred, judged, and condemned with the wicked; in him whom men did see buffeted on the face, scofft at by Souldiers, scourged by Tormentors, hanged on the Cross, pierced to the Heart; in him whom the eyes of many Witnesses did behold, when the anguish of his Soul enforced him to roar, as if his heart had rent in sunder; *O my God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* I say, because the doctrine of Salvation by him, is a thing improbable to a natural man, that whether we preach to the Gentile, or to the Jew, the one condemneth our Faith as madness, the other as Blasphemy; therefore to establish, and confirm the certainty of this saving Truth in the hearts of men, the Lord, together with their Preachings, whom he sent immediately from himself to reveal

veal these things unto the World, mingled Propheſies of things, both Civil and Eccleſiaſtical, which were to come in every age from time to time, till the very laſt of the latter dayes, that by thoſe things wherein we ſee daily their words fulfilled and done, we might have ſtrong conſolation in the hope of things which are not ſeen, becauſe they have revealed as well the one as the other. For when many things are ſpoken of before in Scripture, whereof we ſee firſt one thing accompliſhed, and then another, and ſo a third, perceive we not plainly, that God doth nothing elſe but lead us along by the hand, till he have ſettled us upon the rock of an aſſured hope, that not one jot or tittle of his Word ſhall paſs till all be fulfilled? It is not therefore ſaid in vain, that theſe godleſs wicked ones *were ſpoken of before.*

6. But by whom? By them whoſe words, if men or Angels from Heaven gainſay, they are accurſed; by them, whom whoſoever deſpiſeth, deſpiſeth not them, but me, ſaith Chriſt. If any man therefore doth love the Lord Jeſus (and wo worth him that loveth not the Lord Jeſus!) hereby we may know that he loveth him indeed, if he deſpiſe not the things that are ſpoken of by his Apoſtles; whom many have deſpiſed even for the baſeneſs and ſimpleneſs of their Perſons. For it is the property of fleſhly and carnal men to honour and diſhonour, credit and diſcredit the words and deeds of every man, according to that he wanteth or hath without. If a man with gorgeous apparel come amongſt us, although he be a Thief or a Murtherer (for there are Thieves and Murtherers in gorgeous apparel) be his heart whatſoever, if his Coat be of Purple, or Velvet, or Tiſſue, every one riſeth up, and all the reverend Solemnities we can uſe, are too little. But the man that ſerveth God, is contemned and deſpiſed amongſt us for his Poverty. *Herod* ſpeaketh in judgement, and the People cry out, *The voyce of God, and not of man.* *Paul* preacheth Chriſt, they term him a Trifler. Hearken, beloved: Hath not God choſen the Poor of this World, that they ſhould be rich in Faith? Hath he not choſen the Reffuſe of the World to be Heirs of his Kingdom, which he hath promiſed to them that love him? Hath he not choſen the Off-ſcowrings of Men to be the Lights of the World, and the Apoſtles of Jeſus Chriſt? Men unlearned, yet how fully repleniſhed with underſtanding? Few in number, yet how great in power? Contemptible in ſhew, yet in Spirit how ſtrong? how wonderful? *I would fain learn the myſtery of the eternal generation of the Son of God*, ſaith *Hilary*. Whom ſhall I ſeek? Shall I get me to the Schools of the *Grecians*? Why? I have read, *Ubi Sapiens? ubi Scriba? ubi Conquiſitor hujus ſæculi?* Theſe Wiſe-men in the World muſt needs be dumbe in this, becauſe they have rejected the wiſdom of God. Shall I beſeech the Scribes and Interpreters of the Law, to become my Teachers? how can they know this, ſith they are offended at the Croſs of Chriſt? It is death for me to be ignorant of the unſearchable myſtery of the Son of God: of which myſtery notwithſtanding I ſhould have been ignorant, but that a poor Fiſher-man, unknown, unlearned, new come from his Boat, with his Cloaths wringing-wet, hath opened his mouth and taught me, *In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.* Theſe poor ſilly Creatures have made us rich in the knowledge of the myſteries of Chriſt.

A natural man perceiveth not heavenly things.

James 2.

Acts 12.

Acts 17.

7. Remember therefore that which is ſpoken of by the Apoſtles; Whoſe words, if the Children of this World do not regard, is it any marvail? They are the Apoſtles of our Lord Jeſus; not of their Lord, but of ours. It is true which one hath ſaid in a certain place, *Apoſtolicam fidem ſeculi homo non capit*, A man ſworn to the World, is not capable of that Faith which the Apoſtles do teach. What mean the Children of this World then to tread in the Courts of our God? What ſhould your Bodies do at *Bethel*, whoſe Hearts are at *Bethaven*? The god of this World, whom ye ſerve, hath provided Apoſtles and Teachers for you, *Chaldeans*, *Wizzards*, *Sooth-ſayers*, *Aſtrologers*, and ſuch like: Hear them. Tell not us, that ye will ſacrifice to the Lord our God, if we will ſacrifice to *Aſhtaroth* or *Melcom*; that ye will read our Scriptures, if we will liſten to your Traditions; that if ye may have a Maſs by permiſſion, we ſhall have a Communion with good leave and liking; that ye will admit the things that are ſpoken of by the Apoſtles of our Lord Jeſus, if your Lord and Maſter may have his Ordinances obſerved, and his Statutes

We muſt not halt between two opinions.

tutes kept. *Solomon* took it (as he well might) for an evident proof, that she did not bear a motherly affection to her Childe, which yielded to have it cut in divers parts. He cannot love the Lord Jesus with his heart, which lendeth one ear to his Apostles, and another to false Apostles: which can brook to see a mingle-mangle of Religion and Superstition, Ministers and Massing-Priests, Light and Darkness, Truth and Error, Traditions and Scriptures. No; we have no Lord, but Jesus; no Doctrine, but the Gospel; no Teachers, but his Apostles. Were it reason to require at the hand of an English Subject, obedience to the Laws and Edicts of the *Spaniards?* I do marvel, that any man bearing the name of a Servant of the Servants of Jesus Christ, will go about to draw us from our Allegiance. We are his sworn Subjects; it is not lawful for us to hear the things that are not told us by his Apostles. They have told us, that in the last days there shall be Mockers; therefore we believe it; *Credimus quia legimus*, We are so perswaded, because we read it must be so. If we did not read it, we would not teach it: *Namquæ libro Legis non continentur, ea nec nosse debemus*, saith *Hilary*: Those things that are not written in the book of the Law, we ought not so much as to be acquainted with them. *Remember the words which were spoken of before, by the Apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ.*

8. The third thing to be considered in the description of these men of whom we speak, is the time, wherein we should be manifested to the World. They told you, there should be mockers in the last time. *Noah* at the commandement of God, built an Ark, and there were in it Beasts of all sorts, clean and unclean. A Husbandman planteth a Vineyard, and looketh for Grapes, but when they come to the gathering, behold, together with Grapes there are found also wilde Grapes A rich man prepareth a great Supper, and biddeth many, but when he sitteth him down, he findeth amongst his Friends here and there a man whom he knoweth not. This hath been the state of the Church sithence the beginning. God always hath mingled his Saints with faithless and godless Persons, as it were the clean with the unclean, Grapes with sowre grapes, his Friends and Children with Aliens and Strangers. Marvel not then, if in the last dayes also ye see the men, with whom you live and walk arm in arm, laugh at your Religion, and blaspheme that glorious name, whereof you are called. Thus it was in the days of the Patriarks and Prophets; and are we better than our Fathers? Albeit we suppose, that the blessed Apostles, in foreshewing what manner of men were set out for the last dayes, meant to note a calamity special and peculiar to the Ages and Generations, which were to come: As if he should have said; As God hath appointed a time of Seed for the Sower, and a time of Harvest for him that reapeth, as he hath given unto every Herb and every Tree his own fruit, and his own season, not the season nor the fruit of another (for no man looketh to gather Figgs in the Winter, because the Summer is the season for them; nor Grapes of Thistles, because Grapes are the fruit of the Vine) so the same God hath appointed sundry for every Generation of them, other men for other times, and for the last times the worst men, as may appear by their properties, which is the fourth point to be considered of in this description. Mockers in the last time.

9. They told you, that there should be *Mockers*: He meaneth men that shall use Religion as a Cloak, to put off, and on, as the weather serveth; such as shall, with *Herod*, hear the Preaching of *John Baptist* to day, and to morrow condescend to have him beheaded; or with the other *Herod*, say, they will worship Christ, when they purpose a massacre in their hearts; kiss Christ with *Judas*, and betray Christ with *Judas*. These are Mockers. For *Ishmael* the Son of *Hagar* laughed at *Isaac*, which was heir of the Promise; so shall these men laugh at you as the maddest People under the Sun, if ye be like *Moses*, choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sinne for a season. And why? God hath not given them eyes to see, nor hearts to conceive that exceeding recompence of your reward. The promises of Salvation made to you are matters wherein they can take no pleasure, even as *Ishmael* took no pleasure in that promise, wherein God had said unto *Abraham*, *In Isaac shall thy seed be called*; because the Promise concerned not him, but *Isaac*. They are termed for their impiety towards Mockers;

wards God, *Mockers*; and for the impurity of their life and conversation, *Walkers after their own ungodly lusts*. Saint *Peter*, in his second Epistle, and third Chapter, soundeth the very depth of their impiety: shewing, first, how they shall not shame at the length to profess themselves prophane, and irreligious, by flat denying the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and deriding the sweet and comfortable promises of his appearing: Secondly, that they shall not be onely deriders of all Religion, but also disputers against God, using Truth to subvert the Truth: yea, Scriptures themselves to disprove Scriptures. Being in this sort Mockers, they must needs be also Followers of *their own ungodly lusts*. Being Atheists in perswasion, can they choose but be Beasts in conversation? For why remove they quite from them the fear of God? Why take they such pains to abandon, and put out from their hearts all sense, all taste, all feeling of Religion? but onely to this end and purpose, that they may without inward remorse and grudging of Conscience give over themselves to all uncleanness. Surely the state of these men is more lamentable, than is the condition of Pagans and Turks. For at the bare beholding of Heaven and Earth, the Infidel's heart by and by doth give him, that there is an eternal, infinite, immortal, and ever-living God; whose hands have fashioned and framed the World; he knoweth, that every House is builded of some man, though he see not the man which built the House; and he considereth, that it must be God, which hath built and created all things; although, because the number of his days be few, he could not see when God disposed his Works of old, when he caused the light of his Clouds first to shine, when he laid the Corner-stone of the Earth, and swadled it with bands of Water and Darkness, when he caused the Morning-star to know his place, and made bars and doors to shut up the Sea within his House, saying, *Hitherto shalt thou come, but no farther*: he hath no eye-witnesse of these things: Yet the light of Natural reason hath put this wisdom in his reins, and hath given his Heart thus much understanding. Bring a Pagan to the Schools of the Prophets of God; propheſie to an Infidel, rebuke him, lay the judgements of God before him, make the secret sinnes of his heart manifest, and he shall fall down and worship God. They that crucified the Lord of Glory, were not so farr past recovery, but that the preaching of the Apostles was able to move their hearts, and to bring them to this, *Men and Brethren, what shall we doe? Agrippa*, that sate in judgement against *Paul* for Preaching, yielded notwithstanding thus farr unto him, *Almost thou perswadest me to become a Christian*. Although the Jews for want of knowledge have not submitted themselves to the righteousnesse of God; yet I bear them record, saith the Apostle, *That they have a zeal*. The *Athenians*, a people having neither zeal, nor knowledge, yet of them also the same Apostle beareth witnesse, *Ye men of Athens, I perceive ye are* δεισιδαιμονέστεροι, some way religious: but Mockers, walking after their own ungodly lusts, they have smothered every spark of that heavenly light, they have stifled even their very natural understanding. O Lord, thy Mercy is over all thy Works, thou savest Man and Beast! yet a happy case it had been for these men, if they had never been born: and so I leave them.

Mockers worse than Pagans and Infidels.

Rom. 10.

10. Saint *Jude* having his minde exercised in the Doctrine of the Apostles of Jesus Christ, concerning things to come in the last time, became a man of wise and staid judgement. Grieved he was, to see the departure of many, and their falling away from the Faith, which before they did professe: *grieved*, but not *dismayed*. With the simpler and weaker sort it was otherwise: Their countenance began by and by to change, they were half in doubt they had deceived themselves in giving credit to the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

Judas vir sapiens & certi judicii.

Saint *Jude*, to comfort and refresh these silly Babes, taketh them up in his armes, and sheweth them the men at whom they were offended. Look upon them that forsake this blessed Profession wherein you stand: they are now before your eyes; view them, mark them, are they not carnal? are they not like to noysom carrion cast out upon the Earth? is there that Spirit in them which cryeth *Abba* Father in your bosoms? Why should any man be discomforted? Have you not heard, that there should be Mockers in the last time? These verily are they, that now do separate themselves.

11. For

11. For your better understanding, what this severing and separating of themselves doth mean, we must know, that the multitude of them which truly believe (howsoever they be dispersed farr and wide each from other) is all *one Body*, whereof the Head is Christ; *one building*, whereof he is the Corner-stone, in whom they as the Members of the Body being knit, and as the stones of the Building, being coupled, grow up to a man of perfect stature, and rise to an holy Temple in the Lord. That which linketh Christ to us, is his mere mercy and love towards us. That which tyeth us to him, is our faith in the promised Salvation revealed in the Word of Truth. That which uniteth and joyneth us amongst our selves, in such sort that we are now as if we had but one Heart and one Soul, is our love. Who be inwardly in Heart the lively Members of this Body, and the polished stones of this Building, coupled and joyned to Christ, as flesh of his flesh, and bones of his bones, by the mutual bond of his unspeakable love towards them, and their unfeigned faith in him, thus linked and fastned each to other by a spiritual, sincere, and hearty affection of love, without any manner of simulation; who be Jewes within, and what their names be; none can tell, save he whose eyes do behold the secret disposition of all mens hearts. We, whose eyes are too dim to behold the inward man, must leave the secret judgement of every Servant to his own Lord, accounting and using all men as Brethren, both near and dear unto us, supposing Christ to love them tenderly, so as they keep the profession of the Gospel, and joyn in the outward communion of Saints. Whereof the one doth warrantize unto us their Faith, the other their love, till they fall away, and forsake either the one, or the other, or both; and then it is no injury to term them as they are. When they separate themselves, they are αὐτοκατάκριτοι, not judged by us, but by their own doings. Men do separate themselvs either by Heresie, Schism, or Apostasie. If they lose the bond of Faith, which then they are justly supposed to do, when they frowardly oppugn any principal point of Christian Doctrine, this is to separate themselves by *Heresie*. If they break the bond of Unity, whereby the Body of the Church is coupled and knit in one, as they doe which wilfully forsake all external Communion with Saints in holy Exercises purely and orderly established in the Church, this is to separate themselves by *Schism*. If they willingly cast off, and utterly forsake both profession of Christ, and communion with Christians, taking their leave of all Religion, this is to separate themselves by plain *Apostasie*. And Saint *Jude*, to expresse the manner of their departure, which by *Apostasie* fell away from the Faith of Christ, saith, *They separated themselves*; noting thereby, that it was not constraint of others, which forced them to depart, it was not infirmity and weaknesse in themselves; it was not fear of Persecution to come upon them, whereat their hearts did fail; it was not grief of torment, whereof they had tasted, and were not able any longer to endure them: No, they voluntarily did separate themselves with a fully settled, and altogether determined purpose, never to name the Lord Jesus any more, nor to have any fellowship with his Saints, but to bend all their counsel, and all their strength, to raze out their memorial from amongst them.

Three fold Separation: 1. Heresie. 2. Schism. 3. Apostasie.

12. Now, because that by such examples, not onely the hearts of Infidels were hardned against the Truth, but the mindes of weak Brethren also much troubled, the Holy Ghost hath given sentence of these Backsliders, that they were carnal men, and had not the Spirit of Christ Jesus, lest any man having an overweening of their Persons, should be overmuch amazed and offended at their fall. For simple men, not able to discern their Spirits, were brought by their Apostasie, thus to reason with themselves: If Christ be the Sonne of the Living God, if he have the words of Eternal life, if he be able to bring Salvation to all men that come unto him, what meaneth this Apostasie, and unconstrained departure? Why do his Servants so willingly forsake him? Babes, be not deceived, his Servants forsake him not. They that separate themselves were amongst his Servants, but if they had been of his Servants, they had not separated themselves. They were amongst us, not of us, saith Saint *John*; and Saint *Jude* proveth it, because they were carnal, and had not the Spirit. Will you judge of Wheat by Chaff, which the winde hath scattered from amongst it? Have the Children no Bread, because

Infallible evidence in the Faithful, that they are Gods Children.

cause the doggs have not tasted it? Are Christians deceived of that Salvation they look for, because they were denyed the joys of the life to come, which were no Christians? What if they seemed to be Pillars and principal Upholders of our Faith? What is that to us, which know that Angels have fallen from Heaven? Although if these men had been of us indeed (O the blessednes of a Christian man's estate!) they had stood surer than the Angels that had never departed from their place. Whereas now we marvel not at their departure at all, neither are we prejudiced by their falling away, because they were not of us, sith they are fleshly, and have not the Spirit. Children abide in the House for ever; they are Bond-men, and Bond-women, which are cast out.

13. It behoveth you therefore greatly every man to examine his own estate, and to try whether you be bond or free, children or no children. I have told you already, that we must beware we presume not to sit as Gods in judgement upon others, and rashly, as our conceit and fancy doth lead us so to determine of this man, he is sincere; or of that man, he is an Hypocrite, except by their falling away they make it manifest and known that they are. For who art thou that takest upon thee to judge another before the time? Judge thy self. God hath left us infallible evidence, whereby we may at any time give true and righteous sentence upon our selves. We cannot examine the hearts of other men, we may our own. That we have passed from death to life we know it, saith St. *John*, because we love the Brethren: *And know ye not your own selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except you be Reprobates?* I trust, Beloved, we know that we are not Reprobates, because our Spirit doth bear us record, that the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ is in us.

14. It is as easie a matter for the Spirit within you to tell whose ye are, as for the eyes of your Bodie to judge where you sit, or in what place you stand. For, what saith the Scripture? *Ye which were in times past Strangers and Enemies, because your mindes were set on evil works*; Christ hath now reconciled in the body of his Flesh through death, to make you holy, and umblameable, and without fault in his sight: If you continue grounded and established in the Faith, and be not moved away from the hope of the Gospel, *Coloss.* 1. And in the third to the *Colossians*, Ye know, that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of that Inheritance, for ye serve the Lord Christ. If we can make this account with our selves, I was in times past dead in Trespasses and Sinnes, I walked after the Prince that ruleth in the Ayr, and after the Spirit that worketh in the Children of Disobedience, but God, who is rich in mercy, through his great love, wherewith he loved me, even when I was dead, hath quickned me in Christ. I was fierce, heady, proud, high-minded; but God hath made me like the Childe that is newly weaned: I loved pleasures more than God, I followed greedily the joyes of this present World; I esteemed him, that erected a Stage or Theatre, more than *Solomon*, which built a Temple to the Lord; the Harp, Viol, Timbrel, and Pipe, Men-singers, and Women-singers were at my Feast; it was my felicity to see my Children dance before me: I said of every kinde of vanity, O how sweet art thou in my Soul! All which things now are crucified to me, and I to them: Now I hate the pride of life, and pomp of this world; now I take as great delight in the way of thy Testimonies, O Lord, as in all Riches; now I finde more joy of heart in my Lord and Saviour, than the Worldly-minded-man, when his Wheat and Oyl do much abound: Now I taste nothing sweet, but the Bread which came down from Heaven, to give life unto the World: Now mine eys see nothing, but Jesus rising from the dead: Now my ears refuse all kinde of melody, to hear the Song of them that hath gotten victory of the Beast, and of his Image, and of his Mark, and of the number of his Name, that stand on the Sea of Glass, having the Harps of God, and singing the Song of *Moses* the Servant of God, and the Song of the Lamb, saying, Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty, just and true are thy wayes, O King of Saints. Surely, if the Spirit have been thus effectual in the secret work of our Regeneration unto newnes of life; if we endeavour thus to frame our selves anew, then we may say boldly with the blessed Apostle in the tenth to the *Hebrews*, *We are not of them which withdraw our selves to perdition, but which follow Faith to the conservation of the Soul.* For they which fall away from the grace of God, and separate themselves unto perdition, they are fleshly and carnal, they have

have not God's holy Spirit. But unto you, becauſe ye are Sons, God hath ſent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, to the end ye might know, that Chriſt hath built you upon a Rock unmoveable; that he hath regiſtred your names in the Book of life; that he hath bound himſelf in a ſure and everlaſting Covenant, to be your God, and the God of your Children after you, that he hath ſuffered as much, groaned as oft, prayed as heartily for you, as for *Peter*, *O Father keep them in thy Name! O Righteous Father, the World hath not known thee; but I have known thee, and th ſe have known that thou haſt ſent me, I have declared thy name unto them, and will declare it, that the love wherewith thou haſt loved me, may be in them, and I in them.* The Lord of his infinite mercy give us hearts plentifully fraught with the treaſure of this bleſſed aſſurance of Faith unto the end.

15. Here I muſt advertiſe all men, that have the teſtimony of God's holy fear within their Breaſts, to conſider how unkindly and injuriouſly our own Countrey-men and Brethren have dealt with us by the ſpace of four and twenty years, from time to time, as if we were the men of whom St. *Jude* here ſpeaketh; never ceaſing to charge us, ſome with Sciſm, ſome with Hereſie, ſome with plain and manifeſt Apoſtaſie, as if we had clean ſeparated our ſelves from Chriſt, utterly forſaken God, quite abjured Heaven, and trampled all Truth and Religion under our feet. Againſt this third ſort, God himſelf ſhall plead our Cauſe in that day, when they ſhall anſwer us for theſe words, nor we them. To others, by whom we are accuſed for Sciſm and Hereſie, we have often made our reaſonable, and, in the ſight of God, I truſt, allowable Anſwers. For in the way which they call *Hereſie*, we worſhip the God of our Fathers, believing all things which are written in the Law and the Prophets. That which they call *Sciſm*, we know to be our reaſonable ſervice unto God, and obedience to his voyce, which cryeth ſhrill in our ears, *Go out of Babylon my People, that you be not Partakers of her ſinnes, and that ye receive not of her Plagues.* And therefore when they riſe up againſt us, having no quarrel but this, we need not ſeek any farther for our Apology, than the words of *Abiah* to *Jeroboam* and his Army, 2 Chron. 13. *O Jeroboam and Iſrael, hear you me; Ought you not to know, that the Lord God of Iſrael hath given the Kingdom over Iſrael to* David *for ever, even to him, and to his Sons, by a Covenant of Salt?* that is to ſay, an everlaſting Covenant. Jeſuits and Papiſts, hear ye me, ought you not to know, that the Father hath given all power unto the Son, and hath made him the onely Head over his Church, wherein he dwelleth as an Husband-man in the midſt of his Vineyard, manuring it with the ſweat of his own brows, not letting it forth to others? For, as it is in the *Canticles*, *Solomon* had a Vineyard in *Baalhamon*, he gave the Vineyard unto Keepers, every one bringing forth the fruit thereof a thouſand pieces of Silver; but my Vineyard, which is mine, is before me, ſaith Chriſt. It is true, this is meant of the Myſtical Head ſet over the Body, which is not ſeen. But as he hath reſerved the Myſtical Adminiſtration of the Church inviſible unto himſelf, ſo he hath committed the Myſtical Government of Congregations viſible to the Sonnes of *David*; by the ſame Covenant; whoſe Sons they are, in the governing of the Flock of Chriſt; whomſoever the Holy Ghoſt hath ſet over them, to go before them, and to lead them in ſeveral Paſtures, one in this Congregation, another in that; as it is written, *Take heed unto your ſelves, and to all the Flock, whereof the Holy Ghoſt hath made you Overſeers, to feed the Church of God; which he hath purchaſed with his own blood.* Neither will ever any Pope or Papiſt, under the Cope of Heaven, be able to prove the Romiſh Biſhop's uſurped Supremacy over all Churches, by any one word of the Covenant of Salt, which is the Scripture. For the Children in our ſtreets do now laugh them to ſcorn, when they force, *Thou art Peter*, to this purpoſe. The Pope hath no more reaſon to draw the Charter of his univerſal Authority from hence, than the Brethren had to gather by the words of Chriſt, in the laſt of St. *John*, that the Diſciple, whom Jeſus loved, ſhould not dye. *If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?* ſaith Chriſt. Straitways a report was raiſed amongſt the Brethren, that this Diſciple ſhould not dye. Yet Jeſus ſaid not to him, He ſhall not dye; but, *If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?* Chriſt hath ſaid, in the ſixteenth of St. *Matthew*'s Goſpel, to *Simon* the Son of *Jonas*, *I ſay to thee, Thou art Peter.* Hence an opinion is held in the World, That the Pope is univerſal Head of all Churches. Yet Jeſus ſaid not, The Pope is univerſal Head of

The Papiſts falſly accuſe us of Hereſie and Apoſtaſie.

Acts 24.

Apoc. 18.

Cant. 8. 11.

Acts 20.

The Popes uſurped Supremacy.

all Churches; but, *Tu es Petrus*, Thou art *Peter*. Howbeit, as *Jeroboam*, the son of *Nebat*, the servant of *Solomon*, rose up and rebelled against his Lord, and there were gathered unto him vain men and wicked, which made themselves strong against *Roboam*, the son of *Solomon*, because *Roboam* was but a Childe, and tender-hearted, and could not resist them: So the Son of Perdition, and Man of Sin, being not able to brook the words of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, which forbad his Disciples to be like Princes of Nations, *They bear rule that are called Gracious, it shall not be so with you*, hath risen up and rebelled against his Lord; and to strengthen his arm he hath crept into the Houses almost of all the Noblest Families round about him, and taken their Children from the Cradle, to be his Cardinals: He hath fawned upon the Kings and Princes of the Earth, and by Spiritual Cozenage hath made them sell their lawful Authority and Jurisdiction, for Titles of *Catholicus*, *Christianissimus*, *Defensor Fidei*, and such like; he hath proclaimed sale of Pardons, to inveigle the ignorant; built Seminaries to allure young men, desirous of Learning; erected Stews, to gather the dissolute unto him. This is the Rock whereupon his Church is built. Hereby the man is grown huge and strong, like the Cedars, which are not shaken with the winde, because Princes have been as Children, over-tender hearted, and could not resist.

Concil. delector. Cardin. Laurent. Surius Com. de reb. gest. a Pio 5. Franciss. Sansovin. de gubern. Rerum, pub. l. 21. Cap. de Jud. Mareschal. & Soldan.

Hereby it is come to pass, as you see this day, that the Man of Sinne doth war against us, not by men of a Language which we cannot understand, but he cometh as *Jeroboam* against *Judah*, and bringeth the fruit of our own Bodies to eat us up, that the bowels of the Childe may be made the Mother's grave; and hath caused no small number of our Brethren to forsake their Native Countrey, and with all disloyalty to cast off the yoke of their Allegiance to our dread Soveraign, whom God in mercy hath set over them; for whose safeguard, if they carried not the hearts of Tygers in the bosomes of men, they would think the dearest blood in their Bodies well spent. But now, saith *Abiah* to *Jeroboam*, Ye think ye be able to resist the Kingdom of the Lord, which is in the hands of the Sonnes of *David*. Ye be a great multitude, the golden Calves are with you, which *Jeroboam* made you for gods: Have ye not driven away the Priests of the Lord, the Sons of *Aaron*, and the *Levites*, and have made you Priests like the People of Nations? Whosoever cometh with a young Bullock, and seven Rams, the same may be a Priest of them that are no gods. If I should follow the Comparison, and here uncover the Cup of those deadly and ugly Abominations wherewith this *Jeroboam*, of whom we speak, hath made the Earth so drunk, that it hath reeled under us, I know your godly Hearts would loath to see them. For my own part, I delight not to rake in such filth; I had rather take a Garment upon my Shoulders, and go with my face from them, to cover them. The Lord open their Eyes, and cause them, if it be possible, at the length to see, how they are wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blinde, and naked! Put it, O Lord, in their hearts, to seek white Rayment, and to cover themselves, that their filthy nakednesse may no longer appear! For, beloved in Christ, we bow our Knees, and lift up our hands to Heaven in our Chambers secretly, and openly in our Churches we pray heartily and hourly, even for them also: though the Pope hath given out as a Judge, in a solemn Declaratory Sentence of *Excommunication* against this Land, That our gracious Lady hath quite abolished *Prayers* within her Realm; and his Scholars, whom he hath taken from the midst of us, have in their published Writings charged us not onely not to have any holy Assemblies unto the Lord for Prayer, but to hold a Common School of Sinne and Flattery; to hold Sacriledge to be God's Service; Unfaithfulnesse, and breach of Promise to God, to give it to a Strumpet, to be a Vertue; to abandon Fasting, to abhor Confession, to mislike with Penance; to like well of Usury; to charge none with restitution; to finde no good before God in single life; nor in no well-working; that all men, as they fall to us, are much worse, and more, than afore, corrupted. I do not add one word, or syllable, unto that which Mr. *Bristow*, a man both born and sworn amongst us, hath taught his hand to deliver to the view of all. I appeal to the Conscience of every Soul, that hath been truly converted by us, Whether his heart were never raised up to God by our Preaching; Whether the words of our Exhortation never wrung any tear of a penitent heart from his eys; Whether his

Soul

Soul never reaped any joy, and comfort, any conſolation in Chriſt Jeſus by our Sacraments, and Prayers, and Pſalms, and Thankſgiving; Whether he were never bettered, but always worſed by us.

O merciful God! If Heaven and Earth in this caſe do not witneſs with us, and againſt them, let us be razed out from the Land of the Living! Let the Earth on which we ſtand, ſwallow us quick, as it hath done *Corah, Dathan*, and *Abiram!* But if we belong unto the Lord our God, and have not forſaken him: if our Prieſts, the Sons of *Aaron*, miniſter unto the Lord, and the Levites in their Office: if we offer unto the Lord every morning and every evening the Burnt-offerings, and ſweet Incenſe of Prayers, and Thankſgiving; if the Bread be ſet in order upon the pure Table, and the Candleſtick of Gold, with the Lamps thereof, burn every morning; that is to ſay, if amongſt us God's bleſſed Sacraments be duly adminiſtred, his holy Word ſincerely and daily preached; if we keep the Watch of the Lord our God, and if ye have forſaken him: then doubt ye not, this God is with us as a Captain, his Prieſts with ſounding Trumpets muſt cry alarm againſt you; *O ye Children of Iſrael, fight not againſt the Lord God of your Fathers, for ye ſhall not proſper.* 2 Chron. 13. Verſe 12.

THE

THE SECOND SERMON.

Epist. JUDE, Verse 17, 18, 19, 20, 21.

But ye, beloved, remember the words which were spoken before of the Apostles of our Lord *Jesus Christ:*
How that they told you, that there should be Mockers in the last time, which should walk after their own ungodly lusts.
These are makers of Sects, fleshly, having not the Spirit.
But ye, beloved, edifie your selves in your most holy Faith, praying in the Holy Ghost.
And keep your selves in the love of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, unto eternal life.

HAving otherwhere spoken of the words of Saint *Jude*, going next before, concerning *Mockers*, which should come in the last time, and Backsliders, which even then should fall away from the Faith of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; I am now by the aide of Almighty God, and through the assistance of his good Spirit, to lay before you the words of Exhortation, which I have read.

2. Wherein first of all, whosoever hath an eye to see, let him open it, and he shall well perceive, how careful the Lord is for his Children, how desirous to see them profit and grow up to a manly stature in Christ, how loath to have them any way mis-led, either by examples of the wicked, or by inticements of the world, and by provocation of the flesh, or by any other means forcible to deceive them, and likely to estrange their hearts from God. For God is not at that point with us, that he careth not whether we sink or swim. No, he hath written our names in the Palm of his Hand, in the Signet upon his Finger are we graven; in Sentences not onely of Mercy, but of Judgement also, we are remembred. He never denounceth Judgments against the Wicked, but he maketh some *Proviso* for his Children, as it were for some certain priviledged Persons, *Touch not mine Anointed, do my Prophets no harm: Hurt not the Earth, nor the Sea, nor the Trees, till we have sealed the Servants of God in their Foreheads.* He never speaketh of godless men, but he adjoyneth words of comfort, or admonition, or exhortation, whereby we are moved to rest and settle our hearts on him. In the second to *Timothy*, the third Chapter,

Evil

Evil men (saith the Apostle) *and deceivers shall wax worse and worse, deceiving, and being deceived. But continue thou in the things which thou hast learned.* And in the first to *Timothy*, the sixt Chapter, *Some men lusting after money, have erred from the Faith, and pierced themselves thorow with many sorrows: But thou, O man of God, fly these things, and follow after righteousnesse, godlinesse, faith, love, patience, meekenesse.* In the second to the *Thessalonians*, the second Chapter, *They have not received the love of the Truth, that they might be saved, God shall send them strong delusions, that they may believe lies. But we ought to give thanks alway to God for you, Brethren, beloved of the Lord, because God hath from the beginning chosen you to salvation, through sanctification of the Spirit, and faith in the Truth.* And in this Epistle of St. *Jude*, *There shall come Mockers in the last time, walking after their own ungodly lusts. But, beloved, edifie ye your selves in your most holy Faith.*

3. These sweet Exhortations, which God putteth every where in the mouths of the Prophets and Apostles of Jesus Christ, are evident tokens, that God sitteth not in Heaven careless and unmindful of our estate. Can a Mother forget her Childe? Surely, a Mother will hardly forget her Childe. But if a Mother be haply found unnatural, and do forget the fruit of her own Womb, yet God's judgements shew plainly, that he cannot forget the man whose heart he hath framed and fashioned a new, in simplicity and truth to serve and fear him. For when the wickednesse of man was so great, and the Earth so filled with cruelties, that it could not stand with the righteousnes of God any longer to forbear, wrathful sentences brake out from him, like Wine from a Vessel that hath no vent: *My Spirit* (saith he) *can struggle and strive no longer, an end of all flesh is come before me.* Yet then did *Noah* finde grace in the eys of the Lord, *I will establish my Covenant with thee* (saith God) *thou shalt go into the Ark, thou, and thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons wives with thee.* Gen. 6. 3 & 13. Gen. 6. 8 & 18.

4. Do we not see what shift God doth make for *Lot*, and for his Family, in the 19. of *Genesis*, lest the fiery destruction of the wicked should overtake him? Over-night the Angels make enquiry, what Sons and Daughters, or Sons in law, what wealth and substance he had. They charge him to carry out all, *Whatsoever thou hast in the City, bring it out.* God seemeth to stand in a kinde of fear, lest some thing or other would be left behinde. And his will was, that nothing of that which he had, not an hoof of any Beast, not a thred of any Garment, should be sindged with that fire. In the morning the Angels fail not to call him up, and to hasten him forward, *Arise, take thy Wife, and thy Daughters which are here, that they be not destroyed in the punishment of the City.* The Angels having spoken again and again, *Lot* for all this lingereth out the time still, till at the length they were forced to take *both him, and his wife, and his daughters by the arms, (the Lord being merciful unto him) and to carry them forth, and set them without the City.* Gen. 19. 12. Gen. 19. 15. Verse 16.

5. Was there ever any Father thus careful to save his Childe from the flame? A man would think, that now being spoken unto to escape for his life, and not to look behind him, nor to tarry in the Plain, but to hasten to the Mountain, and there to save himself, he should do it gladly. Yet behold, now he is so far off from a chearful and willing heart to do whatsoever is commanded him for his own weal, that he beginneth to reason the matter, as if God had mistaken one place for another, sending him to the Hill, when salvation was in the City. *Not, so, my Lord, I beseech thee, Behold, thy Servant hath found grace in thy sight, and thou hast magnified thy mercy which thou hast shewed unto me in saving my life. I cannot escape in the Mountain, lest some evil take me, and I dye. Here is a City hard by, a small thing; O, let me escape thither (is it not a small thing?) and my Soul shall live.* Well, God is contented to yield to any conditions, *Behold, I have recived thy request concerning this thing also, I will spare this City for which thou hast spoken; haste thee; save thee there; For I can do nothing till thou come thither.*

6. He could do nothing! Not because of the weaknesse of his strength (for who is like unto the Lord in power?) but because of the greatnes of his Mercy, which would not suffer him to lift up his arm against that City, nor to pour out his wrath upon that place, where his righteous Servant had a fancy to remain, and a desire to dwell. O the depth of the riches of the mercy and love of God! God is afraid to offend us, which can are not afraid to displease him! God can do nothing till he have saved us, which can finde

finde in our hearts rather to do any thing than to serve him. It contenteth him not to exempt us, when the Pit is digged for the Wicked; to comfort us at every mention which is made of Reprobates and godlesse men; to save us as the apple of his own eye, when fire cometh down from Heaven to consume the Inhabitants of the Earth; except every Prophet, and every Apostle, and every Servant whom he sendeth forth, do come loaden with these or the like exhortations, *O beloved, edifie your selves in your most holy Faith, Give your selves to Prayer in the Spirit, keep your selves in the love of God; Look for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life.*

7. *Edifie your selves.* The speech is borrowed from material Builders, and must be spiritually understood. It appeareth in the sixth of Saint *John*'s Gospel by the Jews, that their mouths did water too much for bodily food; *Our Fathers*, say they, *did eat Manna in the Desart, as it is written, He gave them Bread from Heaven to eat; Lord, evermore give us of this Bread!* Our Saviour, to turn their appetite another way, maketh them this answer, *I am the Bread of Life; he that cometh to me shall not hunger; and he that believeth in me, shall never thirst.*

8. An usual practice it is of Satan, to cast heaps of worldly baggage in our way, that whilst we desire to heap up gold as dust, we may be brought at the length to esteem vilely that Spiritual Blisse. Christ, in *Matth. 6.* to correct this evil affection, putteth us in minde to lay up treasure for our selves in Heaven. The Apostle, 1 *Tim.* Chapter 3. misliking the vanity of those Women which attired themselves more costly than beseemed the Heavenly Calling of such as professed the fear of God, willeth them to cloath themselves with Shamefastnesse, and Modesty, and to put on the Apparel of Good works. *Taliter pigmentate, Deum habebitis amatorem*, saith *Tertullian.* Put on Righteousnesse as a Garment; instead of Civit, have Faith, which may cause a savour of life to issue from you, and God shall be enamoured, he shall be ravished with your beauty. These are the Ornaments, and Bracelets, and Jewels which inflame the love of Christ, and set his heart on fire upon his Spouse. We see how he breaketh out in the *Canticles* at the beholding of this attire, *How fair art thou, and how pleasant art thou, O my Love, in these pleasures!*

9. And perhaps St. *Jude* exhorteth us here not to build our Houses, but our selves, foreseeing by the Spirit of the Almighty, which was with him, that there should be men in the last days like to those in the first, which should encourage and stir up each other to make Brick, and to burn it in the fire, to build Houses huge as Cities, and Towers as high as Heaven, thereby to get them a name upon Earth; men that should turn out the poor, and the Fatherless, and the Widow, to build places of rest for Dogs and Swine in their rooms; men that should lay Houses of Prayer even with the ground, and make them Stables where God's people have worshipped before the Lord. Surely this is a vanity of all vanities, and it is much amongst men; a special sickness of this age. What it should mean, I know not, except God have set them on work to provide fewel against that day when the Lord Jesus shall shew himself from Heaven with his mighty Angels in flaming fire. What good cometh unto the owners of these things, saith *Solomon*, but onely the beholding thereof with their eyes? *Martha, Martha, thou busiest thy self about many things, One thing is necessary.* Ye are too busie, my Brethren, with Timber and Brick; they have chosen the better part, they have taken a better course that build themselves. *Ye are the Temples of the living God, as God hath said, I will dwell in them, and will walk in them; and they shall be my People, and I will be their God.*

10. Which of you will gladly remain, or abide in a mishapen, a ruinous, or a broken House? And shall we suffer sinne and vanity to drop in at our eyes, and at our ears, and at every corner of our Bodies, and of our Souls, knowing that we are the Temples of the Holy Ghost? which of you receiveth a Guest whom he honoureth, or whom he loveth, and doth not sweep his Chamber against his coming? And shall we suffer the Chambers of our Hearts and Consciences to lye full of vomiting, full of filth, full of garbidge, knowing that Christ hath said, *I and my Father will come and* in [illegible] *you?* Is it meet for your Oxen to lye in Parlors, and your selves to lodge [illegible] seemly for your selves to dwell in your seiled houses, and the

House

Houſe of the Almighty to lye waſte, whoſe Houſe ye are your ſelves; Do not our eys behold, how God every day overtaketh the wicked in their Journeys, how ſuddenly they pop down into the Pit? how God's judgements for their Crimes come ſo ſwiftly upon them, that they have not the leiſure to cry, Alas? how their life is cutt off like a thred in a moment? how they paſſe like a ſhadow? how they open their mouths to ſpeak, and God taketh them even in the midſt of a vain or an idle Word? And dare we for all this lye down, take our reſt, eat our meat ſecurely and careleſly in the midſt of ſo great and ſo many ruines? Bleſſed and praiſed for ever and ever be his Name, who perceiving of how ſenſeleſs and heavy metal we are made, hath inſtituted in his CHURCH a Spiritual Supper, and an Holy Communion, to be Celebrated often, That we might thereby be occaſioned often to examine theſe Buildings of ours, in what caſe they ſtand. For, ſith God doth not dwell in Temples which are unclean, ſith a Shrine cannot be a Sanctuary unto him; and this Supper is received as a Seal unto us, that we are his Houſe and his Sanctuary; that his Chriſt is as truly united to me, and I to him, as my arm is united and knit unto my ſhoulder; that he dwelleth in me as verily, as the elements of Bread and Wine abide within me; which perſwaſion, by receiving theſe dreadful myſteries, we profeſs our ſelves to have: a due comfort, if truly; and if in hypocriſie, then wo worth us. Therefore ere we put forth our hands to take this bleſſed Sacrament, we are charged to examine and to try our hearts, whether God be in us of a truth or no: and if by Faith and love unfeigned we be found the Temples of the Holy Ghoſt, then to judge, whether we have had ſuch regard every one to our building, that the Spirit which dwelleth in us hath no way been vexed, moleſted and grieved: or if it have, as no doubt ſometimes it hath by incredulity, ſometimes by breach of charity, ſometimes by want of zeal; ſometimes by ſpots of life; even in the beſt and moſt perfect amongſt us; (for who can ſay his heart is clean?) O then to fly unto God by unfeigned repentance, to fall down before him in the humility of our Souls, begging of him whatſoever is needful to repair our decays, before we fall into that deſolation whereof the Prophet ſpeaketh, ſaying, *Thy breach is great like the Sea, who can heal thee?* Lam. 2. 13.

The Sacrament of the Lords Supper.

11. Receiving the Sacrament of the Supper of the Lord after this ſort (you that are Spiritual, judge what I ſpeak) is not all other Wine like the Water of *Marah*, being compared to the Cup, which we bleſs? Is not *Manna* like to gall, and our bread like to *Manna*? Is there not a taſte, a taſte of Chriſt Jeſus, in the heart of him that eateth? Doth not he which drinketh, behold plainly in this Cup, that his Soul is bathed in the blood of the Lamb? O beloved in our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, if ye will taſte how ſweet the Lord is, if ye will receive the King of Glory, *Build your ſelves.*

12. *Young men*, I ſpeak this to you; for ye are his Houſe, becauſe by Faith ye are Conquerors over Satan, and have overcome that evil. *Fathers*, I ſpeak it alſo to you; ye are his Houſe, becauſe ye have known him, who is from the beginning. Sweet *Babes*, I ſpeak it even to you alſo; ye are his Houſe, becauſe your ſinnes are forgiven you for his names ſake. *Matrons* and *Siſters*, I may not hold it from you; ye are alſo the Lord's building; and as Saint *Peter* ſpeaketh, *Heirs of the grace of life as well as we.* Though it be forbidden you to open your mouths in Publick Aſſemblies, yet ye muſt be inquiſitive in things concerning this Building, which is of God, with your Husbands and Friends at home; not as *Dalilah* with *Sampſon*, but as *Sarah* with *Abraham*; whoſe Daughters ye are, whilſt ye do well, and build your ſelves.

13. Having ſpoken thus farr of the Exhortation, as whereby we are called upon to edifie and build our ſelves; it remaineth now, that we conſider the things preſcribed, namely, wherein we muſt be built. This preſcription ſtandeth alſo upon two points, the *thing* preſcribed, and the *adjuncts* of the *thing*. And that is, our moſt pure and *holy Faith.*

14. The thing preſcribed is *Faith.* For, as in a chain which is made of many links, if you pull the firſt, you draw the reſt; and, as in a Ladder of many ſtaves, if you take away the loweſt, all hope of aſcending unto the higheſt will be removed: So, becauſe all the Precepts and Promiſes in the Law, and in the Goſpel do hang upon

this, *Believe*; and becauſe the laſt of the graces of God doth ſo follow the firſt, that he glorifieth none, but whom he hath juſtified, nor juſtifieth any, but whom he hath called to a true, effectual, and lively Faith in Chriſt Jeſus; therefore St. *Jude* exhorting us to *build our ſelves*, mentioneth here expreſly onely Faith, as the thing wherein we muſt be edified; for that Faith is the ground and the glory of all the welfare of this Building.

Epheſ. 4. 15. *Ye are not Strangers and Foreigners, but Citizens with the Saints, and of the Houſhold of God* (ſaith the Apoſtle) *and are built upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apoſtles, Jeſus Chriſt himſelf being the chief Corner-ſtone, in whom all the Building being coupled together, groweth unto an holy Temple in the Lord, in whom ye alſo are built together to be the habitation of God by the Spirit.* And we are the habitation of God by the Spirit, if we believe; for it is written; *Whoſoever confeſſeth, that Jeſus is the Sonne of God, in him God dwelleth, and he in God.* The ſtrength of this habitation is great; it prevaileth againſt Satan, it conquereth Sinne, it hath Death in deriſion; neither Principalities nor Powers can throw it down; it leadeth the World captive, and bringeth every enemy, that riſeth up againſt it, to confuſion and ſhame; and all by Faith; for this is the Victory that overcommeth the World, even our Faith. Who is it that overcommeth the World, but he which believeth that Jeſus is the Son of God?

1 John 4. 1 John 5. 16. The ſtrength of every Building, which is of God, ſtandeth not in any man's arms or leggs; it is onely in our Faith, as the valour of *Sampſon* lay only in his hair. This is the reaſon, why we are ſo earneſtly called upon to *edifie our ſelves in Faith.* Not as if this bare action of our mindes, whereby we believe the Goſpel of Chriſt, were able in it ſelf, as of it ſelf, to make us unconquerable, and invincible, like ſtones, which abide in the Building for ever, and fall not out. No; it is not the worthineſs of our believing, it is the vertue of him in whom we believe, by which we ſtand ſure, as houſes that are builded upon a Rock. He is a Wiſe-man, which hath builded his houſe upon a Rock; for he hath choſen a good foundation, and no doubt his houſe will ſtand; but how ſhall it ſtand; Verily, by the ſtrength of the Rock which beareth it, and by nothing elſe. Our Fathers, whom God delivered out of the Land of *Egypt*, were a People that had no Peers amongſt the Nations of the Earth, becauſe they were built by Faith upon the Rock, which Rock is Chriſt. *And the Rock* (ſaith the Apoſtle, in the firſt to the *Corinthians*, the tenth Chapter) *did follow them.* Whereby we learn not onely this, that being built by Faith on Chriſt, as on a Rock, and grafted into him as into an Olive, we receive all our ſtrength and fatneſs from him; but alſo, that this ſtrength and fatneſſe of ours ought to be no cauſe why we ſhould be high-minded, and not work out our ſalvation with a reverent trembling, and holy fear. For if thou boaſteth thy ſelf of thy Faith, know this, That Chriſt choſe his Apoſtles, his Apoſtles choſe not him; that *Iſrael* followed not the Rock, but the Rock followed *Iſrael*; and that thou beareſt not the Root, but the Root thee. So that every Heart muſt thus think, and every Tongue muſt thus ſpeak, *Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us*, nor unto any thing which is within us, but unto thy name onely, onely to thy Name belongeth all the praiſe of all the Treaſures and Riches of every Temple which is of God. This excludeth all boaſting and vaunting of our Faith.

Mat. 7. Rom. 11.

1 John 5. 17. But this muſt not make us careleſs to edifie our ſelves in Faith. It is the Lord that delivereth mens ſouls from death, but not except they put their truſt in his mercy. It is God that hath given us eternal life, but no otherwiſe than thus, If we believe in the name of the Sonne of God; for he that hath not the Sonne of God, hath not life. It was the Spirit of the Lord which came upon *Sampſon*, and made him ſtrong to tear a Lyon, as a man would rend a Kid; but his ſtrength forſook him, and he became like other men, when the Razor had touched his Head. It is the power of God whereby the Faithful have ſubdued Kingdoms, wrought Righteouſneſs, obtained the Promiſes, ſtopped the mouths of Lyons, quenched the violence of Fire, eſcaped the edge of the Sword: but take away their Faith, and doth not their ſtrength forſake them? are they not like unto other men?

18. If ye deſire yet farther to know, how neceſſary and needful it is that we edifie and build up our ſelves in Faith, mark the words of the bleſſed Apoſtle, *Without Faith*

it is impoßible to pleaſe God. If I offer unto God all the Sheep and Oxen that are in the World, if all the Temples that were builded ſince the dayes of *Adam* till this hour, were of my foundation; if I break my very heart with calling upon God, and wear out my tongue with preaching; if I ſacrifice my body and my ſoul unto him, *and have no Faith*, all this availeth nothing. *Without Faith it is impoßible to pleaſe God.* Our Lord and Saviour therefore being asked in the ſixth of St. *John*'s Goſpel, *What ſhall we do that we might work the works of God?* maketh anſwer, *This is the work of God, that ye believe in him whom he hath ſent.* No pleaſing of God without Faith.

19. That no work of ours, no building of our ſelves in any thing can be available or profitable unto us, except we be edified and built in Faith, What need we to ſeek about for long proof? Look upon *Iſrael*, once the very choſen and peculiar of God, to whom the adoption of the Faithful, and the glory of Cherubims, and the Covenants of Mercy, and the Law of *Moſes*, and the ſervice of God, and the promiſes of Chriſt were made impropriate, who not onely were the Off-ſpring of *Abraham*, Father unto all them which do believe, but Chriſt their Off-ſpring; which is God to be bleſſed for evermore.

20. Conſider this People, and learn what it is to *build your ſelves in Faith.* They were the Lord's Vine: He brought it out of *Egypt*, he threw out the Heathen from their places, that it might be planted; he made room for it, and cauſed it to take root, till it had filled the earth; the Mountains were covered with the ſhadow of it; and the boughs thereof were as the goodly Cedars; ſhe ſtretched out her branches unto the Sea, and her boughs unto the River. But, when God having ſent both his Servants and his Son to viſite this Vine; they neither ſpared the one, nor received the other, but ſtoned the Prophets, and crucified the Lord of glory which came unto them; then began the curſe of God to come upon them, even the curſe whereof the Prophet *David* hath ſpoken, ſaying, *Let their table be made a ſnare, and a net, and a ſtumbling block, even for a recompence unto them: Let their eyes be darkned, that they do not ſee, bow down their backs for ever*, keep them down. And ſithence the hour that the meaſure of their infidelity was firſt made up, they have been ſpoiled with Warrs, eaten up with Plagues, ſpent with Hunger and Famine; they wander from place to place, and are become the moſt baſe and contemptible people that are under the Sun. *Ephraim*, which before was a terrour unto Nations, and they trembled at his voyce, is now by infidelity ſo vile, that he ſeemeth as a thing caſt out to be trampled under mens feet. In the midſt of theſe deſolations they cry, *Return, we beſeech thee, O God of hoſts, look down from heaven, behold and viſit this Vine:* but their very Prayers are turned into ſin, and their crys are no better than the lowing of beaſts before him. *Well*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *by their unbelief they are broken off, and thou doſt ſtand by thy Faith: Behold therefore the bountifulneſs, and ſeverity of God; towards them ſeverity, becauſe they have fallen; bountifulneſs towards thee, if thou continue in his bountifulneſs, or elſe thou ſhalt be cut off.* If they forſake their unbelief, and be grafted in again, and we at any time for the hardneſs of our hearts be broken off, it will be ſuch a judgment as will amaze all the Powers and Principalities which are above. Who hath ſearched the counſel of God concerning this ſecret? And who doth not ſee, that *Infidelity* doth threaten *Lo-ammi* unto the Gentiles, as it hath brought *Lo-ruchama* upon the Jews? It may be that theſe words ſeem dark unto you. But the words of the Apoſtle, in the eleventh to the *Romans*, are plain enough, *If God have not ſpared the natural branches, take heed*, take heed *leſt he ſpare not thee:* Build thy ſelf in Faith. Thus much of the thing which is preſcribed, and wherein we are exhorted to edifie our ſelves. Now conſider the *Condition* and *Properties* which are in this place annexed unto Faith. The former of them (for there are but two) is this, *Edifie your ſelves in your Faith.*

Pſal. 69. Rom. 11.

Pſal. 18. 14.

Rom. 11. 20.

Verſe 22.

Hoſea 1. 9. not my people. *Verſe* 6. not obtaining mercy.

21. A ſtrange, and a ſtrong deluſion it is wherewith the *man of Sin* hath bewitched the World; a forcible ſpirit of Errour it muſt needs be which hath brought men to ſuch a ſenſeleſs and unreaſonable perſwaſion as this is, not onely that men cloathed with mortality and ſinne, as we our ſelves are, can do God ſo much ſervice as ſhall be able to make a full and perfect ſatisfaction before the Tribunal ſeat of God for their own ſinnes; yea, a great deal more than is ſufficient for themſelves: but alſo, that a man at the hands of a Biſhop or a Pope, for ſuch or ſuch a price, may buy the *over-plus* of

other mens merits, purchaſe the fruits of other men's labours, and build his Soul by another man's faith. Is not this man drowned in the gall of bitterneſs? Is his heart right in the ſight of God? Can he have any part or fellowſhip with *Peter*, and with the Succeſſors of *Peter*, which thinketh ſo vilely of building the precious Temples of the Holy Ghoſt? Let his money periſh with him, and he with it; becauſe he judgeth that the Gift of God may be ſold for money.

22. But, beloved in the Lord, deceive not your ſelves, neither ſuffer ye your ſelves to be deceived: Ye can receive no more eaſe nor comfort for your Souls by another man's faith; than warmth for your Bodies by another man's cloaths; or ſuſtenance by the bread which another man doth eat. The juſt ſhall live by his own Faith. *Let a Saint, yea a Martyr, content himſelf, that he hath cleanſed himſelf of his own ſins*, ſaith *Tertullian*: No Saint or Martyr can cleanſe himſelf of his own ſins. But if ſo be a Saint or a Martyr can cleanſe himſelf of his own ſins, it is ſufficient that he can do it for himſelf. Did ever any man by his death deliver anoher man from death, except onely the Sonne of God? He indeed was able to Safe-conduct a Thief from the Croſs to Paradiſe: for to this end he came, that being himſelf pure from ſinne, he might obey for Sinners. Thou which thinkeſt to do the like, and ſuppoſeſt that thou canſt juſtifie another by thy Righteouſneſs, if thou be without ſinne, then lay down thy life for thy Brother; dye for me. But if thou be a Sinner, even as I am a Sinner, how can the Oyl of thy Lamp be ſufficient both for thee and for me? *Virgins* that are wiſe, get ye Oyl, while ye have day, into your own Lamps: For out of all peradventure, others, though they would, can neither give nor ſell. Edifie your ſelves in your own moſt holy faith. And let this be obſerved for the firſt *property* of that wherein we ought to edifie our ſelves.

23. Our Faith being ſuch, is that indeed which St. *Jude* doth here term *Faith*; namely, a thing moſt *holy*. The reaſon is this, We are juſtified by *Faith*: For *Abraham* believed, and this was imputed unto him for Righteouſneſs. Being juſtified, all our iniquities are covered; God beholdeth us in the Righteouſneſs which is imputed, and not in the Sins which we have committed.

24. It is true, we are full of ſin, both *original* and *actual*; whoſoever denieth it, is a double Sinner, for he is both a Sinner and a Lyar. To deny ſin, is moſt plainly and clearly to prove it, becauſe he that ſaith he hath no ſin, lyeth, and by lying proveth that he hath ſin.

25. But *imputation* of Righteouſneſs hath covered the ſins of every Soul which believeth; God by pardoning our ſin, hath taken it away: So that now, although our tranſgreſſions be multiplied above the hairs of our head, yet being juſtified, we are as free, and as clear, as if there were no one ſpot or ſtain of any uncleanneſs in us. For it is God that juſtifieth; *And who ſhall lay any thing to the charge of God's choſen?* ſaith the Apoſtle, in *Rom.* 8.

26. Now ſin being taken away, we are made the righteouſneſs of God in Chriſt: for *David* ſpeaking of this Righteouſneſs, ſaith, *Bleſſed is the man whoſe iniquities are forgiven.* No man is bleſſed, but in the righteouſneſs of God. Every man whoſe ſin is taken away, is bleſſed. Therefore every man whoſe ſin is covered, is made the Righteouſneſs of God in Chriſt. This Righteouſneſs doth make us to appear moſt holy, moſt pure, moſt unblameable before him.

27. This then is the ſum of that which I ſay, Faith doth juſtifie, Juſtification waſheth away ſin; ſin removed, we are cloathed with the righteouſneſs which is of God; the righteouſneſs of God maketh us moſt holy. Every of theſe I have proved by the teſtimony of God's own mouth. Therefore I conclude, That Faith is that which maketh us moſt holy, in conſideration whereof, it is called in this place, *Our moſt holy faith.*

28. To make a wicked and a ſinful man moſt holy through his believing, is more than to create a World of nothing. Our faith moſt holy! Surely, *Solomon* could not ſhew the Queen of *Sheba*, ſo much treaſure in all his Kingdom, as is lapt up in theſe words. O that our hearts were ſtretched out like tents, and that the eyes of our underſtanding were as bright as the Sun, that we might throughly know the riches of the glorious inheritance of the Saints, and what is the exceeding greatneſs of his power towards us, whom he accepteth for pure, and moſt holy, through our believing. O that

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the Spirit of the Lord would give this Doctrine entrance into the ſtony and brazen heart of the Jew, which followeth the Law of Righteouſneſs, but cannot attain unto the righteouſneſs of the Law! Wherefore, ſaith the Apoſtle, they ſeek righteouſneſs, and not by faith; wherefore they ſtumble at Chriſt, they are bruiſed, ſhivered to pieces as a ſhip that hath run herſelf upon a Rock. O that God would caſt down the eyes of the proud, and humble the ſouls of the high-minded! that they might at the length abhor the garments of their own fleſh, which cannot hide their nakedneſs, and put on the faith of Chriſt Jeſus, as he did put it on which hath ſaid, *Doubtleſs I think all things but loſs, for the excellent knowledge-ſake of Chriſt Jeſus my Lord, for whom I have counted all things loſs, and do judge them to be dung, that I might win Chriſt, and might be found in him, not having mine own righteouſneſs, which is of the Law; but that which is through the faith of Chriſt, even the righteouſneſs which is of God through faith.* O that God would open the Ark of Mercy, wherein this Doctrine lyeth, and ſet it wide before the eys of poor afflicted Conſciences, which fly up and down upon the water of their afflictions, and can ſee nothing but onely the gulf and deluge of their ſinnes, wherein there is no place for them to reſt their feet. The God of pity and compaſſion give you all ſtrength and courage, every day, and every hour, and every moment, to build and edifie your ſelves in this moſt pure and holy faith. And thus much both of the thing preſcribed in this Exhortation, and alſo of the properties of the thing, *Build your ſelves in your moſt holy faith.* I would come to the next branch, which is of Prayer, but I cannot lay this matter out of my hands, till I have added ſomewhat for the applying of it, both to others, and to our ſelves.

29. For your better underſtanding of matters contained in this Exhortation, *Build your ſelves*, you muſt note, that every Church and Congregation doth conſiſt of a multitude of Believers, as every Houſe is built of many Stones. And although the nature of the Myſtical body of the Church be ſuch, that it ſuffereth no diſtinction in the inviſible members, but whether it be *Paul* or *Apollos*, Prince or Prophet, he that is taught or he that teacheth, all are equally Chriſt's, and Chriſt is equally theirs: yet in the external adminiſtration of the Church of God, becauſe God is not the Author of Confuſion, but of Peace; it is neceſſary that in every Congregation there be a diſtinction, if not of inward dignity, yet of outward degree; ſo that all are Saints, or ſeem to be Saints, and ſhould be as they ſeem: But are all Apoſtles? If the whole Body were an eye, where were then the hearing? God therefore hath given ſome to be Apoſtles, and ſome to be Paſtors, &c. for the edification of the body of Chriſt. In which work, we are God's labourers (ſaith the Apoſtle) and ye are God's husbandry, and God's building.

30. The Church, reſpected with reference unto adminiſtration Eccleſiaſtical, doth generally conſiſt but of two ſorts of men, the *Labourers*, and the *Building*; they which are miniſtred unto, and they to whom the work of the Miniſtery is committed; *Paſtors*, and the *Flock* over whom the Holy Ghoſt hath made them Overſeers. If the *Guide* of a Congregation, be his name or his degree whatſoever, be diligent in his Vocation, feed the flock of God which dependeth upon him, caring for it, not by conſtraint, but willingly; not for filthy lucre, but of a ready minde; not as though he would tyrannize over God's heritage, but as a pattern unto the Flock, wiſely guiding them: If the People in their degree do yield themſelves frameable to the truth, not like rough ſtone or flint, refuſing to be ſmoothed and ſquared for the building: if the Magiſtrate do carefully and diligently ſurvey the whole order of the work, providing by Statutes and Laws, and bodily puniſhments, if need require, that all things may be done according to the rule which cannot deceive; even as *Moſes* provided; that all things might be done according to the pattern which he ſaw in the Mount; there the words of this Exhortation are truly and effectually heard. Of ſuch a Congregation every man will ſay, *Behold a people that are wiſe, a people that walk in the Statutes and Ordinances of their God, a people full of knowledge and underſtanding, a people that have skill in building themſelves.* Where it is otherwiſe, there, *as by ſloathfulneſs the roof doth decay*; and as by *idleneſs of hands the Houſe droppeth thorow*, as it is in *Eccleſ.* 10. 18. ſo firſt one piece, and then another of their building ſhall fall away, till there be not a ſtone left upon a ſtone.

31. We ſee how fruitleſs this Exhortation hath been to ſuch as bend all their travel

vel onely to build and manage a *Papacy* upon earth, without any care in the World of building themſelves in their moſt holy faith. God's people have enquired at their mouths, *What ſhall we do to have Eternal life?* Wherein ſhall we build and edifie our ſelves? And they have departed home from their Prophets, and from their Prieſts, laden with Doctrines which are Precepts of men; they have been taught to tire out themſelves with bodily exerciſe: thoſe things are enjoyned them, which God did never require at their hands, and the things he doth require are kept from them; their eyes are fed with pictures, and their ears are filled with melody, but their ſouls do wither, and ſtarve, and pine away; they cry for bread, and behold ſtones are offered them; they ask for fiſh, and ſee they have Scorpions in their hands. Thou ſeeſt, O Lord, that they build themſelves, but not in faith; they feed their Children, but not with food: their Rulers ſay with ſhame, Bring, and not build. But God is Righteous; their drunkenneſs ſtinketh, their abominations are known, their madneſs is manifeſt, the winde hath bound them up in her wings, and they ſhall be aſhamed of their doings. *Ephraim*, ſaith the Prophet, *is joyned to Idols, let him alone.* I will turn me therefore from the Prieſts which do miniſter unto Idols, and apply this Exhortation to them, whom God hath appointed to feed his Choſen in *Iſrael*.

32. If there be any feeling of Chriſt, any drop of heavenly dew, or any ſpark of God's good ſpirit within you, ſtir it up, be careful to build and edifie, firſt, your ſelves, and then your flocks, in this moſt holy Faith.

33. I ſay, *firſt, your ſelves*; For, he which will ſet the hearts of other men on fire with the love of Chriſt, muſt himſelf burn with love. It is want of faith in our ſelves, my Brethren, which makes us * wretchleſs in building others. We forſake the Lords inheritance, and feed it not. What is the reaſon of this? Our own deſires are ſettled where they ſhould not be. We our ſelves are like thoſe women which have a longing to eat coals, and lime, and filth; we are fed, ſome with honour, ſome with eaſe, ſome with wealth; the Goſpel waxeth loathſom and unpleaſant in our taſte; how ſhould we then have a care to feed others with that, which we cannot fancy our ſelves! If *Faith* wax cold and ſlender in the *heart* of the *Prophet* it will ſoon periſh from the ears of the People. The Prophet *Amos* ſpeaketh of a famine, ſaying, *I will ſend a famine in the Land, not a famine of bread, nor a thirſt of water; but of hearing the Word of the Lord. Men ſhall wander from ſea to ſea, and from the North unto the Eaſt ſhall they run to and fro, to ſeek the Word of the Lord, and ſhall not finde it. Judgement muſt begin at the Houſe of God*, ſaith *Peter*. Yea, I ſay, at the Sanctuary of God, this judgement muſt begin. This famine muſt begin at the heart of the Prophet. He muſt have darkneſs for a viſion, he muſt ſtumble at noon day, as at the twi-light; and then truth ſhall fall in the midſt of the ſtreets; then ſhall the people wander from ſea to ſea, and from the North unto the Eaſt ſhall they run to and fro, to ſeek the Word of the Lord.

* Careleſs.

Amos 8. 11, 12

1 Pet. 4. 17.

34. In the ſecond of *Haggai*, *Speak now*, ſaith God to his Prophet, *Speak now to Zerubbabel, the Son of Shealtiel, Prince of Judah, and to Jehoſhua, the Son of Jehozadak the High-prieſt, and to the reſidue of the people, ſaying, Who is left among you, that ſaw this Houſe in her firſt glory, and how do you ſee it now? Is not this Houſe in your eyes, in compariſon of it, as nothing?* The Prophet would have all mens eyes turned to the view of themſelves, every ſort brought to the conſideration of their preſent ſtate. This is no place to ſhew what duty *Zerubbabel* or *Jehoſhuah* doth owe unto God in this reſpect. They have, I doubt not, ſuch as put them hereof in remembrance. I ask of you, which are a part of the reſidue of God's Elect and choſen people, Who is there amongſt you that hath taken a ſurvey of the Houſe of God, as it was in the days of the bleſſed Apoſtles of Jeſus Chriſt? Who is there amongſt you, that hath ſeen and conſidered this Holy Temple in her firſt glory? And how do you ſee it now? Is it not in compariſon of the other, almoſt as nothing? when ye look upon them which have undertaken the charge of your Souls, and know how far theſe are, for the moſt part, grown out of kind, how few there be that tread the ſteps of their antient Predeceſſors, ye are eaſily filled with indignation, eaſily drawn unto theſe complaints, wherein the difference of preſent, from former times, is bewailed; eaſily perſwaded to think of them that lived to enjoy the days which now are gone, that ſurely they were happy in compariſon of us that have ſucceeded them: Were not their Biſhops men unreproveable, wiſe, righteous, holy,

holy, temperate, well-reported of, even of thoſe which were without? Were not their Paſtors, Guides, and Teachers, able and willing to exhort with wholſome Doctrine, and to reprove thoſe which gain-ſaid the Truth? had they Prieſts made of the reffuſe of the people? were men, like to the children which were in *Nineveh*, unable to diſcern between the right hand and the left, preſented to the charge of their Congregations? did their Teachers leave their flocks over which the Holy Ghoſt had made them Overſeers? did their Prophets enter upon holy things as ſpoils, without a reverend calling? were their Leaders ſo unkindly affected towards them, that they could finde in their hearts to ſell them as ſheep or oxen, not caring how they made them away? But, Beloved, deceive not your ſelves. Do the faults of your Guides and Paſtors offend you? it is your fault if they be thus faulty. *Nullus qui malum Rectorem patitur, eum accuſet; quia ſui fuit meriti, perverſi Paſtoris ſubjacere ditioni*, ſaith St. *Gregory*, whoſoever thou art, whom the inconvenience of an evil Governor doth preſs, accuſe thy ſelf, and not him; his being ſuch, is thy deſerving. *O ye diſobedient Children, turn again*, ſaith the Lord, *and then will I give you Paſtors according to mine own heart, which ſhall feed you with knowledge and underſtanding.* So that the onely way to repair all ruines, breaches, and offenſive decays in others, is to begin reformation at your ſelves. Which that we may all ſincerely, ſeriouſly, and ſpeedily do, God the Father grant for his Son our Saviour Jeſus ſake, unto whom, with the Holy Ghoſt, three Perſons, one Eternal, and Everlaſting God, be honour, and glory, and praiſe for ever. *Amen.* Jer. 3. 14. 15.

FINIS.